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STUDIES
IN HONOR OF
HENRY T. ROWELL

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*Vir profecto heroicis connumerandus ingeniis,
claritudine rerum et coalita maiestate conspicuus.*

(Ammianus Marcellinus, XXV, 4, 1)

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HENRY T. ROWELL AND A. J. P.

For over a quarter of a century, from 1946 to his retirement from the Johns Hopkins University, Henry T. Rowell was Editor-in-Chief of the *American Journal of Philology*. His colleagues and friends wish to honor his outstanding services to classical studies both in this country and abroad with a special issue of the *Journal*.

It is hardly necessary—indeed it would be presumptuous—to pay tribute to Henry Rowell the scholar and teacher. He is and has been for some time one of the most distinguished classicists of his generation. His intellectual toughness, his genial warmth, his rich and understanding humanity have earned him the respect and love of scholars in many countries. In these pages, however, it seems more appropriate to consider the imprint which he has left on twenty-six volumes of the *Journal*.

Henry Rowell became Editor-in-Chief on his return from the Second World War. Kemp Malone and Benjamin D. Meritt continued to work along with him as Associate Editors, and Evelyn H. Clift, who had been appointed Secretary nine years before, assisted him faithfully with the invaluable skill and diligence that she still applies today.

From the beginning it was Henry Rowell's goal to keep alive, in a different age, the great Gildersleeve tradition. To say that he achieved his goal in every respect is the highest praise. The character of the *Journal* had naturally changed from the days

when articles outside the field of classics were not unusual, the days when Gildersleeve's famous "Brief Mentions" delighted readers by a casual and urbane approach to scholarship which has lost nothing of its freshness today. Henry Rowell was aware of these changes when he took over, and a retrospective article which he wrote in 1954 on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the *Journal* (*A. J. P.*, LXXV, pp. 337 ff.) expresses his views forcefully. He observes, for instance, that under Tenney Frank the emphasis had shifted to Ancient History whereas Grammar and Linguistics were receding. He also noted a lack of interest in literary criticism: "It would almost seem as if only the hardy few venture to believe that even now, after all that has been said in the past, something fresh can still be said about Homer and Aristophanes, Vergil and Horace."

Henry Rowell has done a great deal to make literary criticism respectable in the eyes of the classicists. His strong interest in modern currents and his encouragement of younger scholars helped produce important work in the field. There is a particular type of critical essay, both graceful and learned, which has developed in the *Journal* over the last ten years or so, and even if Henry Rowell did not invent the *genus* he certainly gave it his full attention.

Between 1946 and 1971 the section "Authors and Texts" (to use the classification of *L'Année Philologique*) represents, with almost 250 articles, the largest bulk. The second largest group is "Ancient History" (including History of Religions), with almost 150 papers. Under "Philology and Linguistics" we can group roughly 70 articles; there has been a new interest in Metrics in recent years. "Philosophy" and "Antiquities" (including Epigraphy) share the fourth place, with about 60 articles each. It should be said that, for many years, the *Journal* has made a contribution of exceptional value to Epigraphy, thanks to Benjamin D. Meritt and James H. Oliver who not only wrote many important studies but kept in touch, as members of the Editorial Board, with workers in many parts of the world. "Literary History" comes next, with about 50 articles; a concentration on Rhetoric and Historiography seems typical of the last few years. About 30 contributions deal with "History of Texts," Textual Criticism and Papyrology moving

slightly ahead. Little work has been published in "Law," "Classical Studies," and "Arts, Sciences and Technology."

This sketchy survey, for all it is worth, may be instructive. But in the end it is not the judicious blend of subjects that counts, but an Editor who recognizes quality. Henry Rowell's standards of excellence were high. Because he combined learning with common sense he always had an uncommon instinct for quality and took pleasure in work that was soundly conceived and constructed.

Everyone active in the field of Classics today owes a great debt to Henry Rowell's dedication over a long period of time. This volume in his honor can only be a small *ἀντίδωρον*.

GEORG LUCK.

THE FORM, PURPOSE, AND POSITION OF HORACE'S
SATIRE I, 8.

When a scholar has immersed himself for so many years in Roman history, archaeology, and literature, it is only appropriate to offer him an essay on some aspect of Rome. Inasmuch as Henry Rowell's studies have ranged widely from Naevius to Ammianus Marcellinus, there is still a wide choice of apt material. However, it seems to me that he has repeatedly returned to topics concerned with Augustan Rome: Vergil, Horace, and the Forum of Augustus. With that in mind, I have chosen to discuss the amusing, but usually ignored, Horatian *Satire I, 8*, a poem which records one of the first topographical changes that anticipate those of Augustan Rome and, I think, draws from that change significance that is typically Horatian.

haec verba qualiacumque ridens legat vir sapiens atque facetus.

According to the usual view of this *Satire*, it may be classified as a rather slight anecdote with some basis in facts known to Horace's more intimate friends.¹ Canidia, one of two leading characters, plays an important part in two *Epodes* as well as this *Satire* and receives incidental mention in *Epode 3* and *Satires, II, 1* and *II, 8*.² Whether or not the information of Porphyrio is correct, that Canidia is the Neapolitan Gratidia, it is generally agreed that Horace used Canidia as a symbolic figure.³ The other leading character in this *Satire*, Priapus, was invented by Horace, but the invention was presumably inspired by an actual statue in the Gardens of Maecenas.⁴ Finally,

¹ Cf. E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford, 1957), p. 124, and W. Ludwig, "Die Komposition der beiden Satirenbücher des Horaz," *Poetica*, II (1968), p. 318. N. Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 160, expresses skepticism about any effective links between *Satire I, 9* and the previous two.

² On Canidia, see the able discussion of Fraenkel, pp. 62 ff., and V. Pöschl, *Entretiens Fondation Hardt*, II (1953), pp. 102-4; also C. E. Manning, *Mnemosyne*, XXIII (1970), pp. 393-401.

³ Porphyrio repeats his statement, that Canidia is Gratidia, in his notes on *Epodes, 3, 8* and *5, 43* and on *Sat., I, 8, 23*.

⁴ So Rudd, p. 72.

the scene of this little drama, the gardens which Maecenas had made for himself from terrain once used as *commune sepulchrum*, was well known and much frequented by Horace and other friends of Maecenas.⁵ Despite these factual links, however, this Satire has not impressed its readers. Modern critics view it as peripheral to the main concerns of Book I of the *Satires*, and some go so far as to assume that Horace put it together from materials alien to the best of his *Satires*, more to get ten poems for the Book than to write an appropriate Satire.⁶ Since both I, 7 and 9 may also be classified as "anecdotes," Horace has been conceded the credit of at least grouping his anecdotes, slight though they may be.⁷ But that fact hardly improves the general impression of this poem.

The events of Horace's "anecdote" do not arouse much critical interest and can be rapidly summarized. Into Maecenas' garden, where a somewhat powerless talking statue of Priapus presides, come two witches, in order to exploit the former funereal associations of the place for their black magic. When they have proceeded quite far in their fiendish spells, Priapus produces a loud fart and frightens them off, then calls for our laughter (and applause). That four-letter Anglo-Saxon word which I have boldly used has traditionally embarrassed English-speaking critics into a variety of euphemisms, and similar circumlocutions have emerged from French, German, and Italian interpreters. For the same reason, I think, the commentators have not tried to deal with the poem in its own right, as a perhaps carefully composed Satire with qualities analogous to those of the other *Satires* in Book I. Instead, treating it as an anomaly, they tend to devote their attention to the elements in it which can be regarded as extraneous to the *Satires*. According to Fraenkel, then, the genesis of I, 8 would be as follows:

⁵ Cf. Porphyrio's note on *Sat.*, I, 8, 7. Horace is proceeding towards Maecenas' Esquiline villa in the scene of *Sat.*, II, 6, 23 ff. (cf. 33). In *C.*, III, 29, 9 ff. he tries to lure Maecenas away from the same spot into the quieter country. On the significance of the *horti Maecenatiani* for the recovery and refLOURISHING of a large part of Rome, see G. Lugli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma e Suburbio*, III (Rome, 1938), pp. 456 ff.

⁶ Cf. Fraenkel, pp. 112 and 124.

⁷ E. g., by Ludwig (above, n. 1) and his predecessors.

Horace took certain conventional forms and slightly manipulated them in order to place them, with at least partial propriety, in a book of Satires.⁸

As Fraenkel observed, when Horace decided to make the statue of Priapus into the narrator, he was exploiting a tactic common to a variety of Greek epigrams. Statues bearing inscriptions are often represented as speaking in the inscription, just as funerary inscriptions frequently affect to give a voice to the dead.⁹ Priapus resorts to the familiar contrast between *olim* and *nunc*, not only in relation to his own change from useless wood to god but also in commenting on the transformation of the common burial ground into Maecenas' charming garden. This, too, adheres to well-known inscriptional patterns. But a talking statue of Priapus owes something to a poetic form popular in Horace's own period, Priapean verse, of which somewhat more than eighty poems have survived from a collection assembled in the first century of our era. In these poems, Priapus presents himself less as *furum aviumque / maxima formido* (the claim he advances in *Satire* I, 8, 3-4) than as the terror and delight of handsome young boys and girls. The purpose of Priapean verse is to extract witty situations from the ithyphallic god.

It does not take much effort to see that the identification of epigrammatic and Priapean features in *Satire* I, 8, does not contribute much to its interpretation. The opposition of then and now in 1-3 serves merely as an opening motif and, as I shall show, does not operate independently but is subordinated to the major themes of the Satire. Horace's Priapus possesses all the requisite equipment to threaten obscene penalties in the conventional Priapean manner, but Horace chooses to represent him in quite a different fashion: this Priapus can do nothing with the witches, is himself terrified by their magic, and it is only by accident, when he loses control of himself from fear, that the unintentional fart causes the comic dénouement. Thus, the normally prominent *mentula* remains quite literally

⁸ Fraenkel, p. 124.

⁹ In *Iambi* 7 and 9, Callimachus represented Herms as speaking, to provide a local aetiology. These are perhaps the closest Greek parallels to *Sat.*, I, 8.

inutile lignum throughout the poem,¹⁰ and Horace's Priapus scares off the intruders paradoxically with a novel part of his anatomy.

The commentators then resort to another conventional aspect to help explain Horace's purpose in this poem: it is aetiological, they suggest. "When he was walking in Maecenas' gardens Horace may possibly have seen a wooden Priapus with an oddly shaped posterior."¹¹ Possibly. But since Horace does not use the standard methods of aetiology, for example those of Callimachus' *Iambi* 7 and 9 or Propertius in IV, 2, such aetiology as is present in *Satire* I, 8 could be appreciated only by the private friends of Maecenas who frequented his gardens and recognized the veiled allusion to a particular statue. Another feature of the poem attracts commentary: the dramatization of magic rites. Lejay found this the most significant aspect of *Satire* I, 8, and he connected it with what seems to be a controversial view of magic in this period of the 30's B. C. Thus, he argued that Horace expressed through this drama his adherence to the position adopted by Octavian when he expelled sorcerers from Italy.¹² Rudd does not go that far, but he also believes that the magical element of the *Satire* has definite contemporary reference.¹³

This accumulation of material about epigrams, Priapea, aetiology, and magic does shed some illumination on *Satire* I, 8, but not so much as the commentators seem to think. They have not accounted for the essential form of the *Satire*; they have evaded the issue of its purpose by vaguely labeling it an anecdote; and they see only the slightest reasons for its inclusion in Book I of the *Satires* at this point. Accordingly, I consider it more important to read the poem for itself and as part of its book than to attempt to illuminate it by external data.

¹⁰ The author of *Priap.*, 73 contrived an ingenious situation from *inutile lignum*, understood in this obscene sense.

¹¹ Rudd (above, n. 1), p. 72.

¹² P. Lejay, in his edition of the *Satires* (Paris, 1911), p. 220. Since the expulsion of sorcerers took place in 33 B. C., several years after the publication of *Sat.*, I, 8, Lejay assumes that the official antagonism to magic was manifested well in advance of the drastic action of 33 and that Horace, friend of Maecenas, knew and shared it.

¹³ Rudd, pp. 72 ff.

Consider again the point made by Fraenkel: the talking Priapus uses the epigrammatic contrast of *olim* and *nunc*. The contrast is there, but it is not really helpful, I think, to label it epigrammatic, for Horace has constructed the entire poem on a series of contrasts, only one of which might be derived from epigram. As Priapus has changed from *inutile lignum* (1) to *deus* (3) and *maxima formido* (4), he is located in "new" gardens (*novis in hortis*, 7), and by mentioning this, he introduces the second antithesis. What once (*prius*, 8) was the common burying ground of paupers has now (*nunc*, 14) become a healthful and pleasant spot for a stroll. Is there a connection between these two interwoven contrasts? It seems likely, especially when one realizes that the main scene features a hostile encounter between Priapus and the witches Canidia and Sagana. The function of Priapus is to preserve the new pleasant garden-like qualities of the spot, whereas Canidia and her companion have invaded the garden in order to revive its former sinister aspects as a cemetery. As they proceed in their malevolent rituals, Priapus seems to grow weaker, when the sudden sound that he produces in weak terror terrifies in turn the witches and so once again gives him mastery over his little domain. Thus, an important theme of the entire Satire emerges in the contrast between once and now. The former times are associated with a useless piece of figwood, a paupers' graveyard, and evil witches; the present times offer instead a genial and well-behaved Priapus and a delightful garden which is in his care. The plot of the Satire focuses on this opposition, the threat to present values from former evils, and the miraculous defeat of this menace.

Horace devotes by far the largest single portion of the Satire to his lurid description of the rites practiced by Canidia and Sagana (22-44). With their fingernails, they scratch a hole in the earth, over which they kill a black lamb, rending it with their teeth. Setting up two mannikins, one of wool and one of wax, they proceed to invoke the evil powers of the Underworld. They have nearly completed the rite when the providential fart drives them off. All these minute details work, I think, to emphasize the sinister nature of Priapus' enemies. It is a cumulative effect; Horace does not single out for special emphasis parts of the total picture.

Since we are viewing these witches through the eyes of Priapus, it is important to note how he comments on them. First of all, he presents himself in a curious way, for he does not talk or behave like the usual Priapus. He seems devoid of the salty lust normally exhibited and boasted about by the god of the Priapea and familiar myths. Far from being a successful and frightening guard for the park, poor Priapus feels helpless before these witches, *carminibus quae versant atque venenis / humanos animos* (19-20). At the climax of the scene, he declares that he did not fail to avenge what he had witnessed (*non testis inultus*, 44), but surprises us by the main verb which follows in enjambement: *horruerim* (45): I shook with fear! Then he explains. Indirectly, his fear did wreak vengeance, for it caused the terrifying *peditum*. Whereupon the lurid scene dissolves into comic movement, as the witches rush back into the city dropping in their haste various essential parts of their horrid being.

On the one hand, then, *Satire* I, 8 dramatizes an encounter between the new and the old qualities of the Esquiline; on the other, and in more general terms, it shows how the inoffensive and fearful Priapus took vengeance on the women "who upset human minds by spells and poisons." Rudd briefly noted that *Satire* I, 8 "resembles 1.7 in being a tale of comic revenge";¹⁴ but he did not pursue the point except to observe correctly that I, 8 handles its revenge more skilfully. I know of no scholar who has remarked on the more important link between the plots of I, 7 and 8, which can be recognized by matching the passages cited above from I, 8, 19-20 and 44-5 with the opening lines of I, 7:

proscripti Regis Rupili pus *atque venenum*
hybrida quo pacto sit Persius *ultus*, opinor
omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.

Persius gained revenge against the poison of Rex by resorting to a bad pun on Brutus the regicide that dissolved his fierce encounter with the foe into comedy. Now, we are bound to admit that the poison of Rex was metaphorical: it was venomous invective. I hope to show, however, that the distinction between

¹⁴ Rudd, p. 67.

metaphorical and literal poison is less important here than the fact that Horace used the same key word for both, to work out a common dramatic situation, the comic punishment of the "poisoner."

In a recent article, Buchholz has probed the meaning of *Satire I, 7* and shown how Horace has employed the comic dispute between Rupilius Rex and Persius in order to present, among other things, some of his own literary ideas in polemic.¹⁵ When Persius cracks his pun and reduces Rex to the laughing-stock of the court, he effectively punishes Rex for his intemperate name-calling. In a certain sense, then, Horace is dramatizing a basic theme of his satiric disagreement with Lucilius, that simple laughter achieves more than spiteful invective. All the angry words of both Rex and Persius accomplish nothing, whereas the bad pun devised by Persius as a last resort achieves more than he anticipated: the audience laughs at his enemy. No doubt, the audience was laughing at both foes, and the main result is that the pun reduces the tensions of the bitter dispute. Nevertheless, according to the stated theme, we have been watching how poison was punished.

If the anecdotal *Satire I, 7* exhibits, though with artful dissimulation, some of Horace's fundamental literary ideas, it is equally possible that *Satire I, 8*, anecdotal as it may be, works with basic Horatian themes. Priapus tells of his revenge upon the witches who upset men's minds with their charms and poisons (*carminibus atque venenis*, 19), and in fact he frightens them away while they are in the process of making their spells and concocting seemingly poisonous potions. Unlike Persius in *Satire I, 7*, Priapus is not the intended victim of the poison, and this fact helps to clarify the antithesis between the witches and himself. Although his notorious shape and the special personality given him by Horace make him superficially comic, Priapus also acquires associations from his connection with Maecenas. The witches, on the other hand, are prejudiced by their attempts to exploit the older features of the cemetery. Thus, the rather genial, inoffensive, easily shocked Priapus may suggest, in a humorous understated manner, some of the positive

¹⁵ V. Buchheit, "Homerparodie und Literaturkritik in Horazens Sat. I 7 and I 9," *Gymnasium*, LXXV (1968), pp. 542 ff.

values of Maecenas' Circle, whereas the malevolent witches suggest the literary opponents who are too devoted to the dead, destructive past. It is not of course necessary to allegorize the antithesis into a strictly literary one, but on the other hand the literary allusions form part of the total complex. Thus, the "charms" and "poisons" of the witches remind us of the poisonous invective of lampoons and the Lucilian tradition.¹⁶ The attitude towards the literary/ethical failing implied by poisonous language (*Satire* I, 7) and poisonous spells (I, 8) is a consistent one in Book I of the *Satires*: Horace and his friends reject it, ridicule it, and substitute for it the more genial manner of laughter: *ridiculum acri / fortius* (I, 10, 14-15). Everyone but Rex and Persius laughs at the comic animosity which these two "heroes" express. Similarly, Priapus invites us to laugh at the comic discomfiture of the witches: *cum magno risuque iocoque videres* (50). Their malevolence has dwindled to nothing. With the same playful ending, Horace concluded the report of his journey to Brundisium: *Gnatia . . . dedit risusque iocosque* (I, 5, 97-8): he laughed at trivial events and ignored the bitter political antagonisms that swirled around his head.

In the narrator-hero it employs, then, *Satire* I, 8 recapitulates many of the central themes of Book I, though in a patently comic form. Priapus announces his function as that of frightening away thieves and birds (*furum aviumque / maxima formido*, 3-4). In fact, he neither performs that role in this drama nor does he behave in the lusty, menacing way towards boys and girls that his counterparts in the *Priapea* constantly exhibit.¹⁷ In a grotesquely accidental fashion, by means of his prodigious fart, he overcomes the evil witches and their ghoulish designs, thus preserving the creative, idyllic world of Maecenas' garden

¹⁶ In *Sat.*, I, 4, 100-1 Horace represents the spiteful language of people (like Lucilius), which he avoids, in metaphorical terms as follows: *nigrae sucus loliginis* and *aerugo mera*. Verdigris is poisonous. In *Sat.*, II, 1, 48 Horace playfully deals with the invective aspects of Roman satire and once again uses Canidia's poison as an analogy for the satirist's harsh language. And in II, 1, 82 he puns on *carmina* (poems or lampoons).

¹⁷ It is perhaps relevant to point out here that Horace in *Sat.*, I, 4, 60 ff. expressly differentiates his satiric manner from the fearsome ways of Sulcius and Caprius, "detectives" whom he calls *magnus timor latronibus*.

from assault. Master of the scene after the hasty retreat of Canidia, he almost invites us, it seems to me, to view him as a humorously distorted image of Horatian satire itself. I shall not go so far as to call Priapus a comic version of Horace, although I would not reject such a suggestion. However, the first-person narrative of a "dangerous encounter" that ended paradoxically in victory for the weaker individual takes us easily from *Satire* I, 8 to *Satire* I, 9, where indeed Horace narrates his own experiences, where Horace "defends" Maecenas' home from attack, where Horace has all but succumbed to the belligerent pressures of his talkative, ambitious companion when a "miracle" occurs to rescue him and preserve Maecenas' world intact.¹⁸

I have attempted to describe the way Horace uses this *Satire*, to which he gave the ostensibly innocent form of an anecdote, to glance at some of the dominant themes of his Book: his admiration for Maecenas and the creative goals of political and literary development to which Octavian's adviser dedicated himself; his disagreement with the methods and results of Lucilius; his working hypothesis that laughter achieves more than venomous invective; his charming sense that one's own efforts are most subject to ironic observation. It remains only to suggest some of the good reasons Horace found for placing the *Satire* where he did in the Book.¹⁹ *Satires* 5 and 6 both deal with Horace's view of politics as a way of life; he ends the latter poem by openly declaring for *otium* rather than the *onus* of political office. They also exhibit the satirist's view that invective accomplishes less than laughter, partly by laughing at those who use invective, partly by winning the audience through laughter to agreement with his moral argument. In *Satires* 7, 8, and 9 Horace avoids the tactic of preaching about himself and casts his poems in the form of anecdotes, only the last of

¹⁸ See my article, "Horace, the Unwilling Warrior: *Satire* I, 9," *A. J. P.*, LXXVII (1956), pp. 148-66.

¹⁹ The most important works on the arrangement of the *Satires* in recent years are those of Ludwig (above, n. 1) and C. A. van Rooy. Van Rooy has so far published articles on the order of I, 1-4, on I, 4 and 10, and on I, 5 and 6. See *Acta Classica*, XI (1968), pp. 37-82, XIII (1970), pp. 7-27 and 45-59. Another article on I, 7 will appear in *A. O.*, XIV (1971) and a final one on I, 8 and 9 in *A. O.*, XV (1972).

which records an experience of Horace himself. In 7, as some critics have noted, Horace makes of a trial an exchange of invective that produces general laughter, much as he did earlier in Satire 5 with the "battle" between Messius and Sarmentus (51 ff.). Inasmuch, however, as he describes the plot in terms of revenge upon infection and poison, he prepares a parallel with the plot of Satire 8. The energy and passion which Rex and Persius expend upon their mutual name-calling elicit laughter from the court and from the satirist, and indirectly they tend to confirm the value of the *otium* which the satirist has chosen in Satire 6.

In Satire 8, although the encounter between Priapus and the witches follows the general plot of Satire 7, new features appear. The satirist withdraws, and we enjoy the narration of a central character, Priapus himself. Instead of two relatively unimportant men, now perhaps dead, whose encounter took place nearly a decade ago far from Rome, we observe Priapus, Canidia, and Sagana in Maecenas' newly created gardens. The representative qualities of both Priapus and the witches seem so obvious that it is not difficult to view this encounter as a conflict between the malevolent forces of the past (including the Lucilian tradition) and the creative spirit of Maecenas and his friends. Priapus' revenge, totally accidental and the comic result of his own fear, once again emphasizes the surprising power of laughter. And now the way has been well prepared for Satire 9, in which Horace replaces Priapus as narrator, his defense of Maecenas' way of life becomes explicit, his adversary plainly encompasses the sins both of ambition and literary vulgarity, and the escape of Horace appears as dramatic as Priapus' theatrical fart, but less gross. Thus, Satire 8 plays an important part in the succession of three anecdotes, all of which should be read as more than mere anecdotes, for it picks up the plot of Satire 7 while introducing new motifs that in turn ready us for Satire 9.²⁰

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²⁰ In 9, 31 Horace may be alluding to the theme of poison of the previous two Satires: he repeats a prediction that he will not succumb to poison or other familiar dangers, but will perish because of something much worse, a *garrulus*.

IMPERIUM AND CAPACES IMPERII IN TACITUS.

*Henrico T. Rowell magistro quondam discipulus,
amico iam pridem amicus*

What made Rome great was her freedom from internal stasis; so judged Polybius, in an acute analysis of the workings of the Roman state, which appears in his narrative at perhaps the most despondent junction in Rome's history. But even while Polybius was writing, the seeds of internal discord and the beginning of the decline of the republic were being sown. The reason, to Sallust's mind, was the removal of the salutary *metus hostilis* with the destruction of Carthage, a *metus* that had kept Rome honest. This judgment is not in every respect accurate; there were instances of the breakdown of Roman *fides* before 146, but it is true that after that year Rome's outlook toward empire changed, and the ruling class thought less and less of their responsibility in government as a *patrocinium orbis*. Soon after the proud triumph of the second Africanus over Rome's most feared opponent, Carthage was succeeded by a more dread enemy in the struggle against Roman supremacy, Romans themselves. The century of the Roman revolution was at hand.

Tacitus' views on the late republic are no less critical than those of Sallust. Were the reader not alert to chronology, he might be tempted to assign Tacitus' judgments to Sallust. In *Hist.*, II, 38, 1, he briefly sketches the collapse of Roman order.

sed ubi subacto orbe et aemulis urbibus regibusve excisis
securas opes concupiscere vacuum fuit, prima inter patres
plebemque certamina exarsere. modo turbulenti tribuni,
modo consules praevalidi, et in urbe ac foro temptamenta
civilium bellorum; mox e plebe infima C. Marius et no-
bilium saevissimus L. Sulla victam armis libertatem in
dominationem verterunt. post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior,
non melior, et numquam postea nisi de principatu quae-
situm.

This is one brief presentation of the last hundred years of the *res publica libera*, as it tends to be called, although the origin of trouble was centuries earlier. Particularly revealing is

Tacitus' use of the words *dominatio* and *principatus*. The free republic was a fraud.

Nor is this all; in *Ann.*, III, 27-8, he speaks of the Gracchi and Saturninus as *turbatores plebis*, and Livius Drusus was no better. Sulla produced a respite, but not for long, and the consequence was that in a most corrupt state there was a superabundance of legislation, *corruptissima re publica plurimae leges*.

Tum Cn. Pompeius, tertium consul corrigendis moribus delectus et gravior remediis quam delicta erant, suarumque legum auctor idem ac subversor, quae armis tuebatur, armis amisit. exin continua per viginti annos discordia, non mos, non ius; deterrima quaeque impune ac multa honesta exitio fuere.

Such a political climate could not win his approval. One might think that he would welcome a form of government that would eliminate it, yet in the gloomy pages of the *Annales* Tacitus is generally critical of principate and emperors. He may well, late in life, have yearned for the fresher days of the late republic before an oppressive oneness had cast its pall over the political scene. Yet one needs to remember that he himself served as a high functionary in imperial government, reaching the peaks of a consulate and governorship in the province of Asia and membership in one of the major priesthoods. Not for him was opposition to the principate, and I do not think that he was a hypocrite, who believed and wrote one thing but belied his beliefs in his actions.

Some years ago, I tried to trace the change of Tacitus' views about the principate through an analysis of three crucial and overlapping words, *principatus*, *dominatio*, and *regnum*.¹ My conclusion then was that at first he accepted if not welcomed the principate, and that, even later, when disillusion had come, his chief complaint was with individual *principes* rather than with the principate. In this paper, I intend to sketch briefly an

¹ "Tacitus and the Principate," *C.J.*, LX (1964-65), pp. 97-106; further references are given there in note 1. In addition, see my "Recent Work on Tacitus (1964-68)," *C. W.*, LXIII (1969-70), p. 266. The most recent discussion is Sir Ronald Syme, "The Political Opinions of Tacitus," in *Ten Studies in Tacitus* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 119-40. This originally appeared as "Tacitus und seine politische Einstellung," *Gymnasium*, LXIX (1962), pp. 241-63.

expression of Tacitus' thoughts on the empire by discussion of some crucial passages and then to suggest some answers to the question, whom would Tacitus have liked to see on the throne of the Caesars, who were the *capaces imperii*?

One must, of course, be cautious in attempting to extract the thoughts of an author from his works, particularly from an historian as brilliant as Tacitus in the production of speeches for his characters. Where does a figure in the narrative fairly represent the author? Surely it would be foolhardy, indeed wrong, to delineate Tacitus' views on empire on the basis of Calgacus' outburst in the *Agricola*, marked by the devastating *ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*. Cerialis, in the *Historiae*, in his reasoned defense of empire and the peace and stability that it brings must more fairly represent the senator, consul, and governor who wrote history with the knowledge of the workings of that empire. He, like his father-in-law and the reigning emperor, had chosen not to become part of the disloyal opposition but rather to serve the commonwealth. There is throughout Tacitus' work a tension between those who opposed the emperors and those who served them. Was he defending himself, among others, against insinuations of improper behavior when he cried out, in the *Agricola* (42, 4), *sciunt, quibus moris est illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta sed in nullum rei publicae usum ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt*?

There is no doubt in my mind that Tacitus' reception of the principate of Nerva and his adoption of Trajan was enthusiastic and sincere. Early in the biography of his father-in-law (3, 1), he speaks of the return of men's spirits and praises Nerva for having, at the very beginning of the *beatissimum saeculum*, reconciled the principate and individual liberty, which had formerly been incompatible, and, late in the work (44, 5), he regrets that Agricola had not been allowed to survive into the light of the *beatissimum saeculum* and to see Trajan as emperor, an event he had prayed for and forecast. Certainly, at this point, there is nothing wrong with the principate if there is the right kind of princeps, for the principate has not been responsible for a decline of Rome's prestige and power, even granting that

not every princeps was interested in extending the empire. When Tacitus says, in the *Germania*, *protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres terminos imperii reverentiam* (29, 3), he refers not only to Domitian by circumlocution but to the stature of the Roman state before Domitian's reign as well, and the statement should be compared with that in the *Agricola* (23) where the Roman army was prevented from settling for boundaries this side of Scotland by their own bravery and the glory of the Roman name, *ac si virtus exercitus et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus*.

Everything is not always better in the past and worse in the present, says Tacitus in the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* (18, 3).² At the end of the work, Maternus delivers what is almost a peroration, and it may not be inappropriate to see Tacitus himself in the figure of the great orator who retires from the battlefield of court and forum. Maternus speaks of the present day, the principate, as *composita et quieta et beata res publica* (36, 2), because of the presence of *moderator unus* (36, 2) (is it totally idle to perceive the influence of Cicero's *De Republica* behind this expression and, indeed, behind the fabric of the principate itself?), as *optimus civitatis status* (37, 5), as a period of *longa temporum quies et continuum populi otium et assidua senatus tranquillitas et maxima principis disciplina* (38, 2), as a time when decisions of state are made, not by the ignorant and inexperienced many, but by *sapientissimus et unus* (41, 4). Granted that personal freedom has been impaired (27, 3), granted that the seeds of great and fiery oratory have disappeared (36, 1), in comparison with the turbulent days of the late republic—*non mos, non ius*, as it is put in *Ann.*, III, 28, 1—one cannot have everything: *nunc, quoniam nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnam famam et magnam quietem, bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur* (41, 5).

How is this state brought about, how is it to be maintained? The key is, of course, the emperor. How will he be chosen? The

² The same view is presented in *Ann.*, III, 55, 5, *nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit*.

answer is given in Galba's long speech on the adoption of Piso, which perhaps represents Tacitus' own views more than anything else he wrote.

When Galba had become emperor as Nero's successor, in the midst of violence and grumbling, he realized, because of his *rei publicae cura* (*Hist.*, I, 13, 2) that the elimination of Nero would prove futile were the commonwealth to pass into the hands of Otho. He therefore adopted a young man of eminent family but lacking in the achievements and reputation necessary to weld a people together in a moment of crisis. This was Piso Licinianus, whose moments of glory were to be brief. Galba begins his address at the ceremony of adoption by expatiating on Piso's illustrious ancestry and his own; then, claiming that he himself had been summoned to power with the support of gods and men, *deorum hominumque consensu ad imperium vocatum* (15, 1), he offers the principate, in the past the prize of warfare, to his selected successor, as the deified Augustus had sought his successor first in his nephew, then in his son-in-law, then in his grandsons, and finally in his stepson. But Augustus looked no further than his own household, Galba's search encompassed the state, because there he was able to find the best man. Next comes the most crucial part of his discourse (16, 1):

Si immensum imperii corpus stare ac librari sine rectore posset, dignus eram a quo res publica inciperet: nunc eo necessitatis iam pridem ventum est, ut nec mea senectus conferre plus populo Romano possit quam bonum successorem, nec tua plus iuventa quam bonum principem. sub Tiberio et Gaio et Claudio unius familiae quasi hereditas fuimus: loco libertatis erit quod eligi coepimus; et finita Iuliorum Claudiorumque domo optimum quemque adoptio inveniet.

The state cannot exist without an emperor, but there cannot be full freedom or total enslavement, *imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt nec totam libertatem* (16, 4). That being the case, the best method of choosing an emperor is not relation by blood but by adoption. There is unquestionable criticism of the descendants of Augustus and of Vespasian; without family connections, Gaius, Claudius, Nero, and Domitian

would never have been emperors. Tiberius and Vespasian had long and distinguished careers behind them when, in the fullness of years, they clearly stood out above any potential rivals, and Titus, though Vespasian's son, was on his own *capax imperii* (II, 77, 1). The only parallel with the adoption of Piso was that of Trajan by Nerva. The choice of Piso was unwise and doomed, for, in spite of Galba's boast, he himself had not been the choice of gods and men. The omens were unfavorable for the presentation of Piso to the praetorians (I, 18, 1 and 38, 1), but with Trajan the gods supported the choice—he was *divinitus constitutus princeps*.³ And there was something else; Trajan was a distinguished man, with an outstanding career.

These statements strongly suggest that Tacitus recognized the necessity for the principate and was even enthusiastic about it, provided the emperor was good. The accession of Nerva, followed very quickly by the adoption of Trajan, caused him to believe that stability of government and the opportunity for senators to pursue public careers could coexist, and his increasing gloom as his writing career advanced arose not from dissatisfaction with Trajan but from the realization that it is precisely under good emperors, particularly under an *optimus princeps*, that power tends to fall more and more into the hands of the ruler.⁴ In the last analysis, he realized that the senate must always be inferior to the emperor, even an emperor who respected the body from which he rose; as Otho said to the praetorians, *nam ut ex vobis senatores, ita ex senatoribus principes nascuntur* (I, 84, 4). But Tacitus did grant that there were good emperors (I, 46, 4); for that, one must be grateful, and to guarantee a good succession is perhaps the main responsibility of the current princeps (cf. I, 29, 2). How effective this could be is clearly illustrated by Rome's experience under the succession of emperors from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius, each of whom save the last adopted his successor.

What the empire has given must of course be balanced by what

³ See D. Kienast, "Nerva und das Kaisertum Trajans," *Historia*, XVII (1968), pp. 51-71. Note also the attic reliefs of the Arch at Beneventum, with the Capitoline triad hailing Trajan.

⁴ This is underscored in M. Hammond, *The Antonine Monarchy* (Rome, 1959).

has been lost. This was the theme of Maternus' remarks in the *Dialogus*; it is continued in the speech of Curtius Montanus in the *Historiae* (IV, 42, 6): *non timemus Vespasianum: ea principis aetas, ea moderatio; sed diutius durant exempla quam mores. elanguimus, patres conscripti, nec iam ille senatus sumus, qui occiso Nerone delatores et ministros more maiorum puniendos flagitabat. optimus est post malum principem dies primus.*

The importance of these words has recently been underscored:

They are remarkably appropriate to the mood of a critical observer writing in the early years of Trajan's reign, when initial enthusiasm for the new emperor had begun to be replaced by a feeling of disillusionment. If behind these last words of Curtius Montanus we can see something of the thoughts of Cornelius Tacitus, it is scarcely too much to see . . . a palinode to what Tacitus had written in *Agricola* 3. There, while welcoming the new era of Nerva and Trajan in terms of some warmth, Tacitus had apologized for being unable to greet the new age with the immediate enthusiasm and upsurge of spirit it deserved; these things, he said, take time: destruction is instant, growth a slow process. In 98 that was something to look forward to. When Curtius Montanus' speech was written, time enough had elapsed to allow the spirits ravaged by the Domitianic terror to recover; the conclusion of Montanus' speech shows that those hopes had not been realized. Looking back over the intervening years Tacitus could observe that time had seen, not growth and improvement (*lente augescunt, Ag. 3*) but decline (*elanguimus, Hist. IV, 42*). The best time was not to come: it was already past—*optimus est post malum principem dies primus*. Internal peace and settled government there was: great eloquence and political freedom, no.⁵

Tacitus' mood is set; the *Annales* add nothing new. The dominant tone in his last work is one of acceptance with regret. The burden of the empire is so great that one man can scarcely meet it; yet there is no alternative, for the days of personal freedom had been destructive and that freedom largely elusive.

To be emperor required capacity that was almost superhuman. Even Tiberius, with his extraordinary background of public

⁵ R. H. Martin, "The Speech of Curtius Montanus: Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 42," *J.R.S.*, LVII (1967), p. 114.

service, was overcome by the weight of office (*post tantam rerum experientiam vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus*, *Ann.*, VI, 48, 2); how could lesser men withstand it? Tiberius himself admitted his shortcomings, saying that he did not have the capacity of Augustus, *solam divi Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem* (I, 11, 1), and Mucianus aroused Vespasian's ambition by pointing out that he would challenge a Vitellius, not an Augustus, *non adversus divi Augusti acerrimam mentem* (*Hist.*, II, 76, 2). To manage the empire was as difficult a task as it once had been for Aeneas to found the Roman people: *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem* (*Aen.*, I, 33). Vergil's *Romana gens* has become the equivalent, in Tacitus' mind, of the *imperium Romanum*.

The early *populus Romanus* was able to be well ruled by consuls, but when the empire gradually developed, the inadequacy of the city-state's capacity for government on a larger scale became obvious. Augustus brought peace; that was his greatest gift. For every gain there was a loss; Maternus' comments are repeated, on a larger scale, in the talk for and against Augustus after the emperor's death (*Ann.*, I, 9-10). No one really expected that the old republic would return, and the great majority would not have welcomed it. That being the case, *sic converso statu neque alia re Romana quam si unus imperitet* (IV, 33, 2), the real and crucial question was, who would that *unus* be? Did Tacitus have any particular standard that he would have imposed upon all emperors?

The answer to this question lies, I think, in the *Agricola*, when Domitian broods over the prestige that the governor of Britain had obtained by his momentous victory at Mons Graupius: *id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principem adtolli: frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet; cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse* (39, 2). The last is the key. Who were the great generals who might have become emperor had adoption been the means of succession?

Agricola is the most obvious answer. History might have offered an emperor from Gallia Narbonensis before it recorded one from Spain. *Agricola* and Trajan were contemporaries, but

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Agricola was the senior on every count: some thirteen years older, consul fourteen years earlier, with experience in a martial province and a military reputation unrivalled. Agricola had been made a patrician by Vespasian, who clearly recognized in the younger man one like himself, he possessed *auctoritas*, *vigor*, *constantia*, and an *expertus bellis animus* (9, 3 and 41, 3), which shone all the more because of the *temeritas* and *ignavia* of many other generals. Tacitus' description of Vespasian's military virtues in the *Historiae* (II, 5, 1) could easily be transferred to Agricola in the biography.

Had Agricola survived to the end of Domitian's reign in adequate health, he might well have been chosen *princeps* in preference to Nerva. He would have been younger and more vigorous (approximately the same age as Tiberius when he succeeded) with the military repute that Nerva lacked and which would perhaps have made Trajan's adoption superfluous. One can only divine whether Agricola would have made an *optimus princeps*.

The suggestion has been made that Tacitus believed that Agricola might have risen against Domitian and, following the example of Verginius Rufus but going further, received the purple from the senate. Tacitus himself would then have become emperor in succession to his father-in-law.⁶ This is an intriguing thought, but, I think, an idle one. With whatever talents Tacitus may have had for administration and government, he clearly lacked the *imperatoria virtus*, the abilities of a great general. He just does not fit into the mold of a potential emperor that he has himself cast. If one discerns hostility toward Trajan at all, the cause will have to be sought elsewhere. Furthermore, such a succession would have gone against the principle of adoption that he favored.

Mucianus, in his vigorous charge to Vespasian to claim the empire (*Hist.*, II, 76, 3), cites Corbulo as a potential rival to Nero, as Vespasian was to Vitellius, who was murdered as a precaution by the emperor. Corbulo plays a leading role in three books of the *Annales*, and the picture of him that is presented is consistent and cumulative. He was a general of the

⁶ R. G. Tanner, "Tacitus and the Principate," *G. and R.*, XVI (1969), pp. 95-9.

old school (XI, 18), clearly a source of concern to Claudius, *formidolosum paci virum insignem et ignavo principi praegravem* (XI, 19, 3). *Formidolosum* is a potent word; similarly, Domitian was annoyed by Agricola's prestige. Corbulo ranked himself with the great generals of old, when, in dismay upon being ordered to withdraw from Germany, he exclaimed, '*beatos quondam duces Romanos*' (XI, 20, 1), and when he thought the recovery of Armenia, the conquest of Lucullus and Pompey, *dignum magnitudine populi Romani* (XIII, 34, 2). He was *dux egregius* (XIII, 6, 4), whose appointment to the Armenian command seemed to the Senate to have opened the way to ability, *locus virtutibus patefactus* (XIII, 8, 1). He displayed the accustomed qualities of a great general in the field and on the march (XIII, 35, 4; XIV, 24), spoke with *auctoritas* which served for eloquence (XV, 26, 3), and was respected and trusted among Rome's enemies (XV, 28, 1). A man of such talents clearly outshone the two emperors whom he served, one of whom blunted his military aspirations, the other, after using him in moments of crisis for the commonwealth, put him to death. Rome's greatest man for about a score of years, he was clearly one of Tacitus' heroes, and *capax imperii*.⁷

His chief rival in prestige was not either of the emperors, but the only man who could challenge him for consideration as Rome's greatest marshal (*Ann.*, XIV, 29, 2). This was Suetonius Paulinus, who subdued Mauretania at the beginning of Claudius' reign and later, as governor of Britain, withstood the revolt under the leadership of Boudicca. He was a *diligens ac moderatus dux* (*Agr.*, 5, 1), gifted with *mira constantia* during the British crisis (*Ann.*, XIV, 33, 1), who preferred carefully thought-out campaigns to the uncertainties of speed and chance. *Ratio* and *cunctatio* (*Hist.*, II, 25, 2, and 26, 2) combined to produce *auctoritas* (I, 87, 2). He had only one major shortcoming, and that was a vindictive arrogance toward those who surrendered after the defeat of Boudicca (*Agr.*, 16, 2). This lack of compassion kept the island in turmoil and led to his recall. Nonetheless, in the fateful year of the four emperors

⁷ Nonetheless, Tacitus does not ignore Corbulo's faults (XV, 6 and 30, 1), but in balance they do not weigh heavily.

that saw Vespasian ultimately succeed to the mantle of the Caesars, it was Suetonius Paulinus whose military repute was the greatest of all (*Hist.*, II, 32, 1), Corbulo now being dead; while serving Otho, he fancied, it was reported, that circumstances might lead the senate to choose a new emperor and that he might be their choice, *quod vetustissimus consularium et militia clarus gloriam nomenque Britannicis expeditionibus meruisset* (II, 37, 1).

Of Verginius Rufus little need, or can, be said. He had the opportunity but resisted, whether because of lack of confidence in his own background or abilities or a sincere belief in the senate's right to choose Nero's successor. He died, at an advanced age, in the year of Tacitus' consulate, having survived years of retirement under the Flavians and having reached the pinnacle of a third consulate as colleague of the Emperor Nerva. It was Tacitus who delivered the eulogy at the funeral (Pliny, *Ep.*, II, 1). He obviously knew and admired Verginius, but we cannot be sure whether he considered him material for the principate; he makes Valens say, when enflaming Vitellius' ambition, *merito dubitasse Verginium equestri familia, ignoto patre, imparem, si recepisset imperium, tutum, si recusasset* (*Hist.*, I, 52, 4). May we perhaps see a judgment on Verginius not unlike that on Galba, *omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset* (I, 49, 4)? As it was, Verginius became a legend in his own lifetime, with *admiratio* and *fama* even among those who hated him (II, 68, 4). The epitaph which he chose proudly read (Pliny, *Ep.*, VI, 10, 4):

hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam
imperium adseruit, non sibi sed patriae.

Nor was Mucianus quite good enough. Not unlike Petronius and Otho, he possessed a character marked by great virtues and great vices (*Hist.*, I, 10, 1-2). He chose, probably because he realized his shortcomings, to make an emperor rather than to attempt to become emperor himself. His services to the cause of Vespasian were great; the Flavians profited from his undoubted abilities in civil administration (II, 5, 1); he himself became wealthy (II, 84, 2) and gained a second and third consulate at very brief intervals from his first. But he had been

too much concerned with his own prestige and military repute in the Italian campaign (III, 52, 2) and his arrogance offended the senate (IV, 4, 1). His arrival in Rome did not offer the commonwealth a respite from its sufferings under Otho and Vitellius, only a change of characters: *donec succedere Mucianus et Marcellus et magis alii homines quam alii mores* (II, 95, 3). A great general need not be *gloriae avidus atque omne belli decus sibi retinens* (III, 8, 3) and he will lead men by the force of his own example and integrity. This Mucianus could not do.

Petilius Cerialis also falls short. Tacitus speaks favorably of his achievements in Britain in the early seventies but his earlier career was chequered. He had been routed by Boudicca's forces because of *temeritas* (*Ann.*, XIV, 33, 1); his rise in the turmoil of civil war was due more, perhaps, to his relationship with Vespasian than to his military renown, though he was not *inglorius militiæ* (*Hist.*, III, 59, 2). His actions were marked by bravado (IV, 71), his self-discipline was not all that it should have been (IV, 77, 1) (a commander should not absent himself from camp to enjoy feminine charms when the enemy is at hand), and his preparations were careless and often impromptu, *sane Cerialis parum temporis ad exsequenda imperia dabat, subito consiliis et eventu clarus: aderat fortuna, etiam ubi artes defuissent: hinc ipsi exercituique minor cura disciplinæ* (V, 21, 3). Nonetheless, it is to Cerialis that Tacitus assigns the great justification of Rome's empire, and his over-all prestige is high.

Sextus Iulius Frontinus is hardly mentioned in Tacitus' writings as we now have them. One may suspect that he would have played a significant role in the lost books of the *Historiæ*. In the *Agricola*, after speaking of Cerialis' achievement, Tacitus says (17, 2), *et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset: subiit sustinuitque molem Iulius Frontinus, vir magnus quantum licebat*. This is unusual praise; is the word *molem* to gain significance from its use early in the *Annales*, when Tiberius claims *solam divi Augusti mentem tantæ molis capacem? Vir magnus quantum licebat*. How great, indeed, had further opportunity been permitted? Pliny speaks of him, in later years, as *princeps vir* (*Ep.*, IV, 8, 3).

Tacitus certainly got to know him well when their political careers intertwined and Frontinus crowned his career with a third consulate. Might Tacitus also, if we had his pages, have spoken of Frontinus as *princeps vir*, but with the added sense of *capax imperii*?⁸

There are many others of whom Tacitus writes favorably, but none of them ranks as a potential emperor. For Tacitus, to maintain the well-being of the empire that he accepts, the emperor should be chosen from among the best, and the prime attribute must be military ability and repute. He must not be a *princeps proferendi imperi incuriosus* (*Ann.*, IV, 32, 2). And, of the hundreds of individuals who fill Tacitus' narrative, only four stand out who, as *privati*, were *capaces imperii*: Corbulo, Suetonius Paulinus, Frontinus, and Agricola. Trajan was such a man; and it is intriguing to contemplate the history of the early empire without a Nero, a Domitian, and with the benefits of the adoptive emperors accruing to the state more than fifty years before Trajan.⁹

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⁸ The theme of *capax imperii* is pervasive throughout Syme's writings, particularly his great book *Tacitus* (Oxford, 1958). Its impact upon all students of the historian has been enormous.

⁹ For helpful criticism and suggestions, I am indebted to my wife, Professor Janice M. Benario, and to Professor Harry C. Rutledge of the University of Tennessee. I have not followed their urgings in all matters.

GALEN'S PLATONISM.

Whether Galen should be called a Platonist is perhaps a matter of terms, and, as Galen himself was fond of saying, the terms are unimportant so long as the facts are clear.¹ The facts in this case appear to be that although Galen was generally scornful of "those who call themselves Platonists," he esteemed Plato himself as second only to Hippocrates.

Galen's charges against the Platonists are similar to those he makes against the members of other schools or sects. People become attached to this or that group not as a result of careful inquiry, but for some accidental reason.² Once committed, they are more concerned with defending the doctrines of their group than with discovering the truth,³ and in logical competence they are inferior to mathematicians,⁴ or even to persons trained in other non-philosophical disciplines.⁵ When confronted with questions about the men they follow, they are unable to answer. Thus the self-styled Platonists do not understand Plato's view of the relation of soul and body,⁶ and they are not able to explain why an immortal soul is compelled to leave its body

¹ See for example the passages quoted in note 18, where Galen says that this was Plato's opinion also.

² *De ordine librorum suorum*, 1 (*Galen Scripta Minora* [= *S.M.*], II, pp. 80-1).

³ Cf. *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* [= *P.H.P.*], IX, 7, p. 797 Müller. This is said to be the case with the Stoics other than Posidonius in *P.H.P.*, IV, 4, p. 362 Müller.

⁴ *De libris propriis*, 11 (*S.M.*, II, pp. 116-17).

⁵ *De cuiuslibet animi peccatorum dignotione et medela*, 5 (*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* [= *C.M.G.*], V, 4, 1, 1, p. 62); and specifically of the Stoics, *P.H.P.*, VIII, 1, pp. 652-6 Müller.

⁶ *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur* [= *Q.A.M.*], 9, 10 (*S.M.*, II, pp. 64-70). They disagree on the interpretation of Plato's statement that the lower parts of the soul are mortal (*P.H.P.*, IX, 9, pp. 815-16 Müller); and in general the commentaries on the *Timaeus* are unsatisfactory (*P.H.P.*, VIII, 5, p. 686 Müller). Similarly, the self-styled Hippocrateans misinterpret Hippocrates (*De elementis ex Hippocratis sententia*, I, 8 [Vol. I, p. 478 Kühn]); the Aristotelians misinterpret Aristotle (*De semine*, I, 3 [Vol. IV, pp. 516-19 Kühn]).

when the blood has been drained or hemlock has been drunk.⁷

This is not to say that Galen was uninfluenced by the Platonists of his day. He tells us that in his youth he studied under a pupil of Gaius,⁸ and later at Smyrna under Albinus.⁹ He gave two of his works to a friend who was a Platonist,¹⁰ and from time to time he includes Platonists among those with whom he is in agreement.¹¹ Parallels to some of his views may be found in their writings; for example, his differentiation of four kinds of premises—scientific, dialectical, rhetorical, and sophistic—has its closest parallel, so far as I can discover, in Albinus' list of four kinds of syllogisms: apodeictic, epicheirematic, rhetorical, and sophistical.¹² His objections to the introduction of quotations from Homer and other poets into philosophical controversy may owe something to Plutarch, whose *Homeric Studies*, Galen tells us, made the point that the poets are witnesses to all doctrines.¹³ Still other parallels have been noted by R. Walzer in *Plato Arabus I: Galeni Compendium Timaei Platonis* (London, 1951), pp. 9-12, 15. Moreover, Galen all but places himself among the Platonists in *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, V, 6, p. 458 Müller, where he says that if

⁷ *Q. A. M.*, 3 (*S. M.*, II, p. 38). Similarly, the Stoics cannot answer questions about Chrysippus (*P. H. P.*, III, 4; IV, 5, pp. 279-80, 362-3, 376 Müller).

⁸ *De propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione*, 8 (*C. M. G.*, V, 4, 1, 1, p. 28).

⁹ *De libr. prop.*, 2 (*S. M.*, II, p. 97).

¹⁰ *De libr. prop.*, 1 (*S. M.*, II, p. 94). The Glaucon of the title, *Ad Glauconem de medendi methodo*, was also, apparently, a Platonist. Galen says at one point that it would be ridiculous to instruct Glaucon in Plato's doctrines, calling them *τὰ σά*. See Vol. XI, pp. 3-4 Kühn.

¹¹ E. g., *Adversus ea quae Iuliano in Hippocratis aphorismos enuntiata sunt*, 5 (*C. M. G.*, V, 10, 3, p. 50). Galen accepts the statement of Plato's pupils that he had unwritten doctrines: *In Hippocratis de natura hominis librum commentarii*, I, 27 (*C. M. G.*, V, 9, 1, p. 36).

¹² Galen, *P. H. P.*, II, 3, pp. 178-80 Müller, and Albinus, *Epitome*, 3, 2, p. 9 Louis. It is of course possible that Albinus is the borrower. Albinus must have got from a post-Aristotelian physician the information that the nerves come from the brain (cf. *Epitome*, 17, 4, p. 97 Louis). But to make Galen his source is to reverse the relation of teacher and student.

¹³ *P. H. P.*, III, 2, p. 266 Müller. Galen's attitude toward the poets is discussed in my article, "Galen and the Greek Poets," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, VII (1966), pp. 259-66.

Zeno followed Plato he would be a partner in "our philosophy"; and in *De usu partium*, III, 10 (Vol. I, p. 173 Helmreich), he asks the reader to consider whether he will join the "chorus" of Plato and Hippocrates and all who admire nature, or of those who find fault with her. Galen therefore belongs among the Platonists of the second century, and more especially, among those Platonists who found large areas of agreement between Plato and Aristotle and even the Stoics.¹⁴

It is possible also to detect in Galen some slight influence of the New Academy. Although he was by no means a skeptic, he used an argument reminiscent of Carneades in refuting one of his Platonic teachers who said that embryos are shaped by the soul which extends throughout the cosmos; it borders on impiety to assign to this source scorpions, venomous spiders, and the like.¹⁵ He also assimilates to his own doctrine of the criteria of truth the three stages of Carneadean "probability."¹⁶ It is perhaps worth noting that in one passage he lists Platonists and Academics as two distinct groups.¹⁷

Yet clearly Galen thought of his relation to Plato as direct, not mediated by the Platonists. He and Plato share a common authority and set a common example. "If you are persuaded," he says, "by me and Plato, you will always be scornful of names and will pursue first and foremost the knowledge of things; and then, when you instruct another, you will strive for clarity, which you see Plato and me taking pains to achieve to

¹⁴ Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, III, 1², pp. 854-63, classifies Galen as an eclectic. Ueberweg-Praechter, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, I², p. 563, describe his position as eclectic Aristotelianism. But in spite of his extensive borrowings from Aristotle and the Stoics, he clearly regarded Plato as their superior. His use of Aristotle and others to clarify and amplify Plato's thought is a feature that he shares with the Middle Platonism of Albinus and Apuleius; see P. Merlan in *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, edited by A. H. Armstrong (Cambridge, 1967), p. 64.

¹⁵ *De foetuum formatione*, 6 (Vol. IV, pp. 700-1 Kühn). Compare Cicero, *Academica priora*, II, 120 (with Reid's note *ad loc.*) and *De natura deorum*, III, frag. VII (with Pease's note *ad loc.*).

¹⁶ *P. H. P.*, IX, 7, pp. 796-7 Müller.

¹⁷ *De peccatorum dignotione*, 5 (*C. M. G.*, V, 4, 1, 1, p. 62). The Academy is mentioned also in a list of post-Hippocratic schools in *In Hippocratis librum de officina medici commentarii*, I, 4 (Vol. XVIII, B, p. 658 Kühn).

the best of our ability."¹⁸ He knew the *Dialogues* well and quoted extensively from them. At least twelve are mentioned by name: *Alcibiades (I)*, *Euthydemus*, *Gorgias*, *Laws*, *Phaedrus*, *Philebus*, *Republic*, *Sophist*, *Statesman*, *Symposium*, *Theaetetus*, and *Timaueus*. There are allusions also to passages in several others.¹⁹ Some of his references were no doubt from memory, and at least once his memory failed him: in *De pulsuum differentiis*, III, 7 (Vol. VIII, p. 689 Kühn), he assigned to the *Sophist* a passage that is actually from the *Theaetetus* (155 E 7-8). Other kinds of misstatements about Plato may also be in part the result of faulty memory, but perhaps they arise in greater part from his attempt to bring Plato into agreement with his own views. Thus he says in *P. H. P.*, IX, 9, p. 825 Müller, that Plato uses the word *δύναμις* only of doing, not of undergoing. This statement is in direct conflict with such passages as *Sophist*, 247 D 8-E 4; but no doubt it expresses Galen's view of how the term should be used.

In *De libris propriis*, 13 (*S. M.*, II, p. 122), Galen gives a list of his writings on Plato. First he mentions a work (now lost) on Plato's school, *Περὶ τῆς Πλάτωνος αἰρέσεως*. In second place is a commentary on the medical passages in the *Timaueus*, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος Τιμαίῳ ἱατρικῶς εἰρημένων*. The fragments of this commentary were published by H. Schroeder and P. Kahle in *C. M. G.*, Supplement I. The third work was apparently a defense of the theory of Ideas: *Πρὸς τοὺς ἐτέρωσ ἢ Πλάτων*

¹⁸ *De anatomicis administrationibus*, VI, 13 (Vol. II, p. 581 Kühn). See also *De nominibus medicis*, p. 8 Meyerhof-Schacht. Galen probably had in mind such Platonic passages as *Statesman*, 261 E, and the conclusion of the *Cratylus*.

¹⁹ There is a reference to *Menæxenus*, 247 B, in *Protrepticus*, 7, p. 7 Kaibel; to *Meno*, 96 D-98 A, in *De ordine librorum suorum*, 2 (*S. M.*, II, p. 83); to *Phaedo*, 70 E, in *Meth. med.*, XI, 12 (Vol. X, pp. 771-2 Kühn), to 96-99 in *De usu partium*, VI, 12 (Vol. I, pp. 338-9 Helmreich), and to 100 E in *De pulsuum differentiis*, II, 6 (Vol. VIII, pp. 597-8 Kühn); to *Epist.*, II, 314 C 1, in *Meth. med.*, VII, 4 (Vol. X, p. 465 Kühn); to *Epist.* VII, 344 B 5, in *P. H. P.*, II, 3, p. 185 Müller, and probably to 340 D-341 A in *In aphorismos comm.*, I, 1 (Vol. XVII, B, p. 350 Kühn). References to the *Apology* may be intended at *Protrepticus*, 9, p. 12 Kaibel; *Meth. med.*, I, 2 (Vol. X, p. 11 Kühn); and *De captionibus quae per dictionem fiunt*, 4 (p. 15 Gabler). *Cratylus* and *Parmenides* are among the dialogues of which Galen wrote summaries (see above).

περὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν δοξάντων.²⁰ This work has been lost, as has also the fourth: Περὶ τῆς κατὰ Πλάτωνα λογικῆς θεωρίας. Fifth is a collection of summaries, Πλατωνικῶν διαλόγων σύνοψις, in eight books. From an Arabic source²¹ we know which dialogues were summarized in the first four books: (1) *Cratylus*, *Sophist*, *Statesman*, *Parmenides*, *Euthydemus*; (2) *Republic*, I-IV; (3) *Republic*, V-X, and *Timaeus*; (4) *Laws*. The summary of the *Timaeus*, preserved in Arabic, was edited by R. Walzer in *Plato Arabus*, I, along with two fragments from the summary of the *Republic* and one from the summary of the *Laws*. Next on Galen's list are two lost works, *On the Transitions in the Philebus* (Περὶ τῶν ἐν Φιλήβῳ μεταβάσεων), and *On the Parts and Powers of the Soul* (Περὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν καὶ δυνάμεων). Finally, Galen mentions two extant works: *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur* (edited by Müller, *S. M.*, II, pp. 32-79) and *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*.²² Galen might have added to this list his book Περὶ ὧν ἑαυτῷ διαφέρεισθαι δοκεῖ Πλάτων ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς λόγοις (*De foet. form.*, 6 [Vol. IV, pp. 699-700 Kühn]), if indeed this is not to be identified with one of the other titles.²³

Plato is repeatedly praised. He is first among philosophers, as Hippocrates is the best of all physicians (*P. H. P.*, III, 4, p. 285 Müller). Like Hippocrates, he is "divine."²⁴ He is a

²⁰ The title, which is corrupt in the manuscripts, was convincingly restored by Kalbfleisch (*Philologus*, LV [1896], p. 690) and Ilberg (*Rh. M.*, LII [1897], p. 597, n. 2).

²¹ A report by Hunain; see Walzer, *Plato Arabus*, I, pp. 1-3; 97-8.

²² Edited by I. Müller (Leipzig, 1874). A new edition, with translation and commentary, is being prepared by the present writer.

²³ In *De foet. form.*, 6 (Vol. IV, pp. 701-2 Kühn), Galen refers to a work *On the Forms of the Soul* (Περὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς εἰδῶν). This work is probably alluded to also in *P. H. P.*, IX, 9, p. 825, 10-12 Müller, where, following Einarson, I would read: καθότι μοι δέδεικται καὶ διὰ τῆςδε τῆς πραγματείας <καὶ> ἐν ᾗ περὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς εἰδῶν ἐμνημόνευσα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος γνώσιν τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος. With the addition of καὶ, the reference of *P. H. P.*, p. 827, 5 Müller, to "the above-mentioned treatise" is no longer blind. Ilberg's identification of the work *On the Forms of the Soul* with *P. H. P.* (cf. *Rh. M.*, LII, p. 596) is accordingly rejected.

²⁴ Hippocrates is θεῖος in *Q. A. M.*, 7 (*S. M.*, II, p. 57) and *De causis pulsuum*, II, 12 (Vol. IX, p. 88 Kühn), θεϊότατος in *De diebus decretoriis*, I, 2 (Vol. IX, p. 775 Kühn). Similarly, Plato is θεῖος in *Meth.*

member of the "chorus" that is closest to God, whose members are devoted to the pursuit of the highest arts and sciences and are honored equally with the gods.²⁵ In him, as in Aristotle, Hipparchus, Archimedes, and others, the nature of intelligence is especially manifest.²⁶ Clearly he belongs to that idealized past, when the pursuit of truth was not yet corrupted by envy and shameless ambition.²⁷

But even this high honor does not mean that his views are to be accepted simply on trust. In *De naturalibus facultatibus*, III, 10 (*S.M.*, III, p. 231), Galen exhorts the young man with an "erotic madness" for the truth to strive night and day to learn what the most illustrious of the ancients have said; but having learned it, he must test and examine it, to see how much is in agreement with the evidence and how much is not, and he must accept the former and reject the latter. The intelligent person, Galen says in *P.H.P.*, III, 4 (p. 286 Müller), does not accept the mere statement even of the wisest men, but "waits for the proof." It is because their teachings are true and their proofs valid that Hippocrates and Plato are honored.²⁸

med., XI, 12 (Vol. X, p. 772 Kühn), *θευρατος* in *De usu partium*, XVI, 1 (Vol. II, p. 377 Helmreich) and *P.H.P.*, IX, 9, p. 812 Müller.

²⁵ *Protrepticus*, 5, pp. 4-5 Kaibel. Other members of this chorus are Socrates, Homer, Hippocrates, and those who love them.

²⁶ *De usu partium*, XVII, 1 (Vol. II, pp. 446-7 Helmreich). The context makes it clear that Galen is referring to the intelligence that is responsible for the order and design in living things.

²⁷ It is a commonplace in Galen that the true teachings of Hippocrates were subverted by later physicians because of their shameless ambition. Thus there was a decline in scientific inquiry, resulting from a moral decline. See especially *De purgantium medicamentorum facultate*, 1 (Vol. XI, pp. 323-5 Kühn). The same thing happened in philosophy: "Plato's successors, even if they all burst with envy or contentiously contrive shameless sophisms, as Chrysippus and his school did, will never be able to surpass his reputation or match the beauty of his proofs" (*P.H.P.*, III, 4, p. 285 Müller).

²⁸ Cf. *Q.A.M.*, 9 (*S.M.*, II, p. 64) and *In Hippocratis epidemiarum librum sextum commentarii*, II, 27 (*C.M.G.*, V, 10, 2, 2, p. 91). These passages are cited by R. Walzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians* (Oxford, 1949), p. 51, n. 3, in his discussion of the difference between the Greek attitude toward authority, and that of Jews and Christians. Galen recognizes, of course, that sometimes a doctrine of the ancients may be true but the proof lacking or incomplete. Thus Plato in *Republic*, IV, proves that the soul has three divisions, but his proof does not go

Of these two luminaries, however, Plato has the lesser magnitude, for at least three reasons. (1) Plato was inferior to Hippocrates in the discussion of strictly medical matters. Because his knowledge of medicine was limited, he sometimes got things wrong. (2) There is much in Plato that is practically useless and scientifically undemonstrated. Plato engaged in speculation about matters where certainty is not attainable, as for example, whether the universe had a beginning. The man of action will have no occasion to pursue this kind of speculation. (3) Finally, Plato actually took his most important teachings from Hippocrates.

(1). The treatment of Plato's errors provides especially revealing evidence of Galen's esteem for him. It is Galen's usual practice, as a polemicist, to hit hard when he catches someone in an error. Even Aristotle, for whom Galen has a good deal of respect, is sometimes soundly berated. He and Praxagoras, for example, when they wrote that the heart is the source of the nerves, "were either blind themselves or were addressing a blind audience" (*P.H.P.*, I, 6, p. 144 Müller). In the *De semine*, where Aristotle's views are under constant attack, he is twice addressed as "dearest Aristotle,"²⁹ a phrase that expresses a certain exasperation at the obtuseness of the person criticized. Thus Chrysippus, of whom Galen has very little good to say, is both *φίλαρε* and *γενναϊότερε*.³⁰

Plato receives gentler treatment. Consider for example the errors in his account of the causes of disease.³¹ Plato identifies four things from which the body has been compounded: earth,

so far as to establish that they are three distinct parts rather than three powers (*P.H.P.*, V, 7, pp. 460-1 Müller; cf. IX, 9, p. 815 Müller). The proof of this latter point is supplied by Galen himself.

²⁹ *De semine*, I, 5, 11 (Vol. IV, pp. 530, 553 Kühn); cf. also *P.H.P.*, I, 8 (p. 160 Müller). A violent attack on Aristotle is recorded also in an Arabic source; see N. Rescher and M. E. Marmura, *The Refutation by Alexander of Aphrodisias of Galen's Treatise on the Theory of Motion* (Islamabad, Pakistan, Islamic Research Institute, 1965), pp. 7, 18.

³⁰ Cf. *P.H.P.*, III, 1, 5, 7; IV, 2, 5; V, 2 (pp. 258, 290, 296, 310, 345, 367, 417 Müller). The latter term was used ironically also by Plato, *Gorgias*, 521 B 1.

³¹ *Timaeus*, 82 A1-B7, quoted and discussed by Galen in *P.H.P.*, VIII, 2-4, pp. 667-73, 678-83 Müller. See also *Adv. Iulianum*, 4 (*C.M.G.*, V, 10, 3, pp. 44-6).

fire, water, and air. Hippocrates, more precisely and more usefully, identifies the four components by their active qualities: dry and moist, hot and cold. (Plato also has a theory about the geometrical structure of the elements, but this is quite useless to a physician.) It is the dislocation or disproportion of earth, fire, water, and air that causes disease, according to Plato, whereas in fact, as Hippocrates states, it is the dislocation or disproportion of the four humors. Nevertheless, in all of this Plato was trying to follow Hippocrates, and there is no real conflict in their views.

True, there are times when Plato is simply wrong. He does not understand the causes of periodic fevers (*P. H. P.*, VIII, 6, pp. 702-4 Müller), and his explanation of the origin of phlegm is most absurd (*ibid.*, p. 705). His account of respiration is also absurd (*P. H. P.*, VIII, 8, p. 720 Müller). In *Timaeus*, 77 D 5-6, he made an anatomical error, but "it is not surprising that he was ignorant of anatomy, just as Homer was also" (*In Platonis Timaeum commentarius*, III, 5, p. 14 Schroeder-Kahle).

Sometimes he errs by omission. His failure to discuss the diseases of various age groups is commendable, as he lacked the necessary medical experience; but he could have learned something about the relation of disease and health to different ages and seasons not only from Hippocrates, but even from his own experience and that of his friends, as he was probably well advanced in years when he wrote the *Timaeus* (*P. H. P.*, VIII, 6, pp. 701-2 Müller).

Yet even when he is wrong, Plato can be instructive. Thus he erred in identifying trembling (*τρόμος*) with shivering (*ῥίγος*); but in spite of that he deserves to be praised for having tried to give a complete account of shivering (*De tremore, palpitatione, convulsione et rigore*, 7 [Vol. VII, pp. 630-1 Kühn]).

It is not surprising, given this good will toward Plato, that Galen sometimes defends him, presumably against attacks by others. In *P. H. P.*, VIII, 9 (pp. 721-8 Müller), Galen argues that it is possible to demonstrate experimentally that Plato was correct in saying that some drink goes to the lungs.³² In another

³² The question whether drink goes to the lungs was the subject of much controversy. Some relevant references may be found in M. Cohen and I. Drabkin, *Source Book in Greek Science* (New York, 1948), p.

passage he answers the charge that Plato made conflicting statements on the question whether there is soul in rocks and plants.³³ The third item in the list of Galen's writings on Plato may also have been a polemic on Plato's behalf, as well as the lost work, *Περὶ τοῦ τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον ἐν τ' εἶναι καὶ πολλά* (cf. *De libr. prop.*, 11 [*S.M.*, II, p. 120]). Evidence that Galen accepted the concept of the philosopher-king, and also that he may have defended the myth of Er, has been found by Walzer in Arabic sources.³⁴

Defending Plato includes defending him against misinterpretation. It appears that some physicians claimed for their teachings the authority of his name, thus imputing to him views which (in Galen's opinion at least) he did not hold. In *Meth. med.*, IV, 4 (Vol. X, pp. 265-6 Kühn), Galen condemns Thessalus for attributing to Plato and Aristotle the view that the knowledge of similar and dissimilar is in itself the method of science;³⁵ and in *Adversus Iulianum*, 4, 8 (*C.M.G.*, V, 10, 3, pp. 42-3, 47, 67), he accuses Julianus of being ignorant of Plato, whom he claims to follow. Thessalus and Julianus belonged to the Methodic school of medicine.

(2). Whether Galen considered it a serious fault to indulge in speculative philosophy is not entirely clear, but certainly

479. From *De naturalibus facultatibus*, II, 8 (*S.M.*, III, p. 182) it appears that Erasistratus may have attacked Plato on this point. Cf. also Aristotle, *De partibus animalium*, III, 3, 664 b 4-19.

³³ *De propriis placitis* (Vol. IV, pp. 757-9 Kühn); cf. Walzer, *Plato Arabus*, I, p. 16, and the lost work, *Περὶ ὧν ἐαυτῷ διαφέρεισθαι δοκεῖ Πλάτων ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς λόγοις* (mentioned above). The excerpt from *De propriis placitis* in Vol. IV, pp. 757-66 Kühn, bears the erroneous title, *Περὶ οὐσίας τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων*, *De substantia facultatum naturalium*. It was identified by Helmreich, *Philologus*, LII (1893), p. 431. The identification was confirmed by Einarson, *C.P.*, LIV (1959), p. 258.

³⁴ *Galen on Jews and Christians*, pp. 57-63.

³⁵ Cf. also *In Hipp. de off. med. comm.*, III, 33 (Vol. XVIII, B, p. 909 Kühn), where Galen rejects an assertion that Plato's proofs are mostly inductive. For Galen the observation of similars is a necessary part of scientific method, but it must be combined with a rational determination of classes, natures, and causes. He finds all these elements combined in Plato's method of division. See *P.H.P.*, IX, 4-7, pp. 763, 766-76, 791-6 Müller, and my article, "Plato and the Method of the Arts," in *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan* (Ithaca, 1966), pp. 123-5, 131.

he considered such speculation useless to the physician. The difficulty with debating the question whether the cosmos had a beginning, or whether there is anything outside it, is that there is no empirical test by which the dispute may be resolved.³⁶ Speculative (θεωρητική) philosophy must therefore be distinguished from that philosophy which is called ethical (ἠθική) or political (πολιτική) or practical (πρακτική).³⁷

Consider for instance our knowledge of God and the soul. We know that God exists, because the intelligent design of living things requires a divine providence and a divine craftsman. Moreover, it is better for all of us to examine the statement that there is something in the universe superior to man in wisdom and power. Similarly, we know that the soul exists because we can distinguish its parts and its powers; and this knowledge is useful both for medicine and for ethical and political philosophy. But we do not know the substance (οὐσία) of God or the soul, and such knowledge, even if we had it, would be of no help either for the promotion of ethical and political virtue, or for the cure of the soul's affections.³⁸

What can be said in extenuation of Plato's speculations on such matters in the *Timaeus*? This much at least is to his credit, that he made Timaeus, not Socrates, his spokesman,³⁹ and he claimed for his views no more than likelihood.⁴⁰ Galen has a three-fold reaction to Plato's treatment of the "natural" part of ethical philosophy: some statements he applauds as true, others he accepts as plausible, and still others he neither accepts nor opposes.⁴¹

(3). One of the strangest features of Galen's Platonism is his

³⁶ Cf. *P.H.P.*, IX, 6 (pp. 782-3 Müller); *In Hippocratis librum de acutorum victu commentarii*, I, 12 (*C.M.G.*, V, 9, 1, p. 125).

³⁷ *P.H.P.*, IX, 7, 9 (pp. 798, 815 Müller); *De propriis placitis* (Vol. IV, p. 764 Kühn).

³⁸ *P.H.P.*, IX, 7, 9 (pp. 799-800, 813-15 Müller).

³⁹ *P.H.P.*, IX, 7 (p. 800 Müller). Galen reports that according to Xenophon, Socrates disapproved of such speculation; cf. *Memorabilia*, I, 1, 11-16.

⁴⁰ *P.H.P.*, IX, 9 (pp. 811-12, 815 Müller); *De propriis placitis* (Vol. IV, p. 759 Kühn).

⁴¹ *De propriis placitis* (Vol. IV, 759-63 Kühn). An example of the third class is the statement that the rational part of the soul is immortal; see *Q.A.M.*, 3 (*S.M.*, II, p. 36).

claim that Plato took his most important doctrines from Hippocrates.⁴² In two cases the evidence is reasonably strong: Plato's remarks on physiology and medicine, and the method of division. It was not difficult for Galen to find in the *Aphorisms* and the treatise *On the Nature of Man* references to the four humors that are close enough to the *Timaeus* to indicate a connection of some sort, and he could explain the differences in terms of Plato's fondness for speculation and inadequate medical knowledge. There is an extended discussion of these similarities and differences in *P. H. P.*, VIII, along with the sweeping statement that not only Plato but also Aristotle, Theophrastus, and the other followers of Plato and Aristotle admired the reasoning of Hippocrates on the humors (*P. H. P.*, VIII, 5, p. 688 Müller).⁴³ It was even easier to trace the method of division to Hippocrates, since Plato himself in *Phaedrus*, 270 C 1-D 7, says that Hippocrates employed it. Galen finds that the method followed in the Hippocratic *De natura hominis* fits Plato's description exactly and concludes that Plato regarded this treatise as an authentic work of Hippocrates.⁴⁴

In other areas the evidence is more tenuous. No doubt Galen included among Plato's "most important doctrines" his tripartite psychology, the proof of which occupies the major portion of the treatise *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*. Where is this doctrine to be found in Hippocrates? Galen probably gave his answer to this question in the lost beginning of *P. H. P.*, I.⁴⁵ In a later book he quotes a passage from *De alimento* on the relation of liver to veins and heart to arteries, and a passage from *Epidemiae*, II, where a violent pulse in the

⁴² Cf. *De usu partium*, I, 8 (Vol. I, p. 11 Helmreich): . . . ζηλωτῆς ὢν Ἱπποκράτους ὁ Πλάτων, εἶπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν δογμάτων παρ' ἐκείνου λαβών.

⁴³ Cf. also *Meth. med.*, I, 2 (Vol. X, p. 17 Kühn). Galen maintains also that Plato took from Hippocrates the four elements and their qualities; see above, and especially *Adv. Iulianum*, 4 (*C. M. G.*, V, 10, 3, p. 45).

⁴⁴ In *Hippocratis de natura hominis librum comm.*, I, 44 (*C. M. G.*, V, 9, 1, pp. 54-5; *Meth. med.*, I, 2 (Vol. X, pp. 13-14 Kühn).

⁴⁵ Cf. In *Hippocratis epidemiarum librum tertium comm.*, I, 40 (*C. M. G.*, V, 10, 2, 1, pp. 57-8), where Galen says that he explained in *P. H. P.* why Hippocrates did not mention the three parts of the soul in the discussion of a certain case. There is no such passage in the extant portion of *P. H. P.*

elbow is said to indicate an irascible temperament. In explanation of the paucity of pertinent passages in Hippocrates, Galen points out that it was proper for Hippocrates, the physician, to deal with the organs of the body, and for Plato, the philosopher, to deal with the powers of the soul.⁴⁶

Another Platonic doctrine of importance to Galen was the view that a divine artisan, or *demiourgos*, fashioned animals in accordance with a providential design. His *De usu partium* makes constant use of this doctrine, and in *P. H. P.*, IX, 8, he undertakes to prove the existence of the divine artisan on the basis of an analogy between animals and artefacts. Again the Hippocratic texts contain only the merest hints of such a doctrine. Galen is able to cite a few passages on the power of nature, and from these he argues that "nature" is Hippocrates' name for the cause that fashioned us, τὸ δημιουργικὸν ἡμῶν αἴτιον.⁴⁷

Other points on which Galen finds Hippocrates and Plato in agreement include the value of appropriate and moderate exercise (*De consuetudinibus*, 4 [*C. M. G.*, Suppl. III, pp. 28-30]); the dangers of athletic εὐεξία (*De bono habitu* [Vol. IV, p. 753 Kühn]; *Thrasybulus*, 36 [*S. M.*, III, p. 83]); the function of the spleen (*De naturalibus facultatibus*, II, 9 [*S. M.*, III, p. 197]); the cause of pain (*De symptomatum causis*, I, 6 [Vol. VII, p. 115 Kühn]); the use of the terms χολός and χυμός (*De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*, I, 38 [Vol. XI, p. 450 Kühn]); and the use of the plural form with reference to a single uterus (*De anatomicis administrationibus*, XII, 2, p. 113 Duckworth-Lyons-Towers).

Plato's relation to Hippocrates, however, is not to be viewed simply as one of dependence. Plato extends and clarifies much that was unclear or incomplete in Hippocrates. It is not possible, Galen says, for the same person to begin a thing and bring it to completion; the followers of Hippocrates deserve to be praised for working out the details and supplying what was missing.⁴⁸ An example of this kind of advance is the differenti-

⁴⁶ *P. H. P.*, VI, 8 (pp. 567-71 Müller). The Hippocratic passages are *De alim.*, 31 (Vol. IX, p. 110 Littré) and *Epidem.*, II, 5, 16 (Vol. V, p. 130 Littré).

⁴⁷ Pp. 810-11 Müller. Cf. also *De diebus decretoriis*, II, 2 (Vol. IX, pp. 843-4 Kühn).

⁴⁸ Cf. *De nat. fac.*, II, 9 (*S. M.*, III, p. 203); *In Hippocratis aphorismos comm.*, III, 16 (Vol. XVII, B, p. 608 Kühn).

ation of primary and secondary formations in animals. These two levels, Galen says, are not mentioned at all by Hippocrates. They are hinted at by Plato in the *Timaeus*, when he refers to a "secondary formation," and in the *Statesman*, when he speaks of what is first produced. Aristotle, however, describes them in detail.⁴⁹ Galen looked on his own medical discoveries in the same light: "Nothing prevents us from becoming not similar to Hippocrates but even better than he if first we learn the things that he wrote well and then ourselves search out what he omitted."⁵⁰

Galen's great admiration for Plato was something new in ancient medicine. One Mnesitheus had employed the method of division, possibly under Plato's influence.⁵¹ Galen tells us also that the term *διάφραγμα* was taken over by physicians from Plato (*De locis affectis*, V, 4 [Vol. VIII, p. 327 Kühn]), that Athenaeus followed Plato's error in identifying *τρόμος* and *ῥγος* (*De trem. palp. conv. rig.*, 6 [Vol. VII, p. 609 Kühn]), and that Thessalus and Julianus invoked his name in support of their own doctrines (see above). But on the whole his influence on medical writers appears to have been slight. It was Galen who saw how Platonic doctrines could be used to give medicine a theoretical structure. This structure, which proved to be remarkably durable, ranks as one of Galen's major contributions to the history of medicine.

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⁴⁹ Cf. *P.H.P.*, VIII, 4 (pp. 675-6 Müller); *Q.A.M.*, 3 (*S.M.*, II, p. 37); and *In Hipp. de nat. hom. comm.*, I, proem. (*C.M.G.*, V, 9, 1, p. 6). The primary formations are homoeomerous (fat, bone, flesh, and the like); the secondary formations are organic (finger, eye, heart, for example). Other examples of Aristotle's expanding Plato may be found in *De pulsuum differentiis*, III, 7 (Vol. VIII, p. 687 Kühn), and *De nat. fac.*, II, 8 (*S.M.*, III, p. 192).

⁵⁰ *Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus*, 4 (*S.M.*, II, p. 8); see also *ibid.*, 2 (*S.M.*, II, p. 4) and *P.H.P.*, IX, 1 (p. 735 Müller).

⁵¹ See Deichgräber, "Mnesitheos," *R.-E.*, XV, 2 (1932), col. 2281.

LIGHT FROM ANATOLIA ON THE ROMAN FASCES *

In the past few years there have appeared several studies illuminating the nature of imperium in early Rome.¹ However divergent their various conclusions may be, some common ground is apparently being reached. It is now rather widely held that the concept of imperium originated before the creation of the Republic, and designated not absolute and all-inclusive power, but a defined power of the king. There is a growing tendency to regard imperium as originally applying to the relationship of a commander-in-chief to his troops, but opinion is divided concerning the identity of the troops over whom the king exercised imperium: were they Roman troops, or the troops of allied states?² This set of alternatives is closely related to another: was imperium basically a religious concept, or was it a more secular contrivance?³ The small suggestion which I wish

* This article is affectionately dedicated to Professor Rowell, an excellent teacher whom a generation of Johns Hopkins students, *non passibus aequis*, followed from Ilium to Italy.

¹ Most recently, R. Combès, *Imperator. Recherches sur l'emploi et la signification du titre d'Imperator dans la Rome républicaine* (Paris, 1966); J. J. Nicholls, "The Content of the 'Lex Curiata'," *A.J.P.*, LXXXVIII (1967), pp. 257-78; A. Magdelain, *Recherches sur l'imperium. La loi curiate et les auspices d'investiture* (Paris, 1968); R. E. A. Palmer, *The Archaic Community of the Romans* (Cambridge, 1970).

E. S. Staveley, "Forschungsbericht: The Constitution of the Roman Republic, 1940-1954," *Historia*, V (1956), included on pp. 107-12 a review of opinions on "The Nature of Imperium." Subsequently there appeared P. de Francisci's "Intorno all'origine del concetto di *imperium*," *Studi Etruschi*, ser. II, XXIV (1955-6), pp. 19-43; the same author's *Primordia Civitatis* (Rome, 1959); Staveley's "The *fascēs* and *imperium maius*," *Historia*, XII (1963), pp. 458-84.

² The more traditional view, that imperium expressed the command of the Roman leader over Roman troops, is maintained by Combès, Magdelain, and Palmer. Staveley, following the suggestion of U. Coli, inclines toward the opinion that "*imperium* was at one time the military authority of the king over the allied armies of Rome . . ." ("Constitution," p. 112).

³ Staveley, "Constitution," p. 112, n. 178, believes that imperium was not "conferred upon the magistrates by divine sanction," and sug-

to make about the fasces supports the thesis that imperium had to do with the military role of the king, signifying the relationship, religiously based, between the commander and his own, Roman troops.

In the late Republic the Romans regarded the fasces as the *insignia imperii*. It is possible that at one time the abstraction expressed by the fasces may have gone under a name other than imperium; or, vice versa, the Latin language might well have included the verb, *imperare*, before the Roman rulers were accompanied by lictors. But historians are naturally more concerned with the connotations of imperium in the days when the word had taken on special significance as an expression of the ruler's power, or at least some aspect of that power,⁴ and there is no reason to doubt that the association of the fasces with imperium goes back as far as the formative period of the Roman

gests that "it is more natural to regard it with Coli as an entirely secular concept." For a similar assessment see Palmer, *Archaic Community*, pp. 213 and 216 ff.

The opposite view, expressed in extreme and eccentric form by H. Wagenvoort, *Roman Dynamism* (Oxford, 1947), has now been ably set forth by Magdelain.

Combès presents a middle view: the religious aspect of imperium, lost in the late Republic, had been a gradual development of the early Republic. The chief impetus to this development, Combès believes, came in 380, when T. Quinctius Capitolinus dedicated on the Capitoline a statue of Jupiter Imperator, taken from Praeneste. This dedication "... soudait les notions d'*imperium* et d'*auspicium* . . ." (*Imperator*, p. 47). But it is equally possible that the dedication reflected rather than stimulated an association between imperium and the chief god of the Capitoline. The Jupiter who presided at military triumphs (a ritual, so far as we know, always dependent on the triumphator's holding of imperium) was almost identical in Praeneste and Rome. See Larissa Bonfante Warren, "A Latin Triumph on a Praenestine Cista," *A.J.A.*, LXVIII (1964), pp. 37-8. Jupiter Capitolinus, of course, was already the god of the Roman triumph in regal times (see Warren's "Roman Triumphs and Etruscan Kings," *J.R.S.*, LX [1970], pp. 61-3). Magdelain (*Imperium*, pp. 17-20) has now shown that from the beginning imperium was tied to the auspices, and that both were conferred by the *comitia curiata*.

⁴ On the basis of several passages from Plautus and late Republican authors, Combès plausibly suggests that before *imperare* took on a more general meaning it meant "to mobilize," i.e. to place a citizen under arms (*Imperator*, pp. 31-2).

state. Roman tradition recalled that the fasces had come into use during the reign of the first Tarquin, or of Tullus Hostilius, or possibly of Romulus himself.⁵

What was the significance of the twelve fasces which accompanied the supreme magistrate? The number twelve, first of all, deserves attention. It is true that according to Roman tradition the twelve lictors symbolized the secular fact that Rome exercised hegemony over the twelve cities of the original Etruscan League.⁶ But that explanation is difficult to accept. In the first place, it is unlikely that the fasces would have been regarded with such fear and respect in Rome itself if they were merely the token of external hegemony over the Etruscan League, of which Rome was not even a member. Secondly, although Rome may have been a sizeable city in the sixth century, she did not control the Etruscan cities to the north. Alföldi believes that Rome did not pretend to such a position until the fourth century, and accordingly he suggests that the Roman magistrates of the fifth century were accompanied by a single lictor, and that it was not until after 400 that the number was increased to twelve.⁷ This solution is not very attractive. The murky traditions about the war with Veii do at least imply that the war was not perceived as a contest with the Etruscan League.⁸ And in the aftermath of the Gallic sack Rome was in no position

⁵ Dion. Hal., *A. R.*, III, 61, 2-3, after telling how Tarquinius Priscus received the twelve fasces from the Etruscan cities, remarks that "some authorities" claimed that the fasces antedated Tarquinius and were instituted by Romulus upon becoming king. For their adoption under Hostilius see Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, 6, 7. On the fundamental connection between fasces and imperium see Staveley, "*Fasces*," p. 459.

⁶ Cf., for example, Dion. Hal., *loc. cit.*: "... they brought the twelve axes to him (i. e. Tarquinius Priscus), taking one from each city. For it seems that it was customary for each of the kings of the several cities to be preceded by one lictor bearing an axe, together with the band of rods. But if there was a common campaign involving the twelve cities, the twelve axes were given over to the one who held the over-all command." Macrobius, *loc. cit.*, says that Hostilius took over the lictors, *debellatis Etruscis*.

⁷ A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor, 1965), pp. 27-8 and p. 179, n. 3.

⁸ See Marta Sordi's discussion of the war in *I rapporti romano-ceriti e l'origine della civitas sine suffragio* (Rome, 1960), pp. 1-23.

whatever to aspire to the hegemony of Etruria. Miss Sordi has argued convincingly that in 386 and the years following, Rome was in fact quite dependent on the good will of Caere.⁹ In addition, we should have suspected that if the number of lictors was increased from one to twelve some time after the conquest of Veii, some reflection of the change would be found in Roman tradition.

It seems preferable to discard the link between the number twelve and Roman control of the Etruscan League. Twelve was a sacred number for the Romans, as it was for the Etruscans and other peoples.¹⁰ In Rome we find twelve Arval Brethren, twelve Salii, twelve *flamines minores*, and perhaps twelve Luperi. The fact that there were twelve lictors may point to a religious conception of their function.¹¹

What of the fasces which they carried? Did they signify nothing more than the magistrate's authority to inflict corporal punishment—the axe as the instrument for capital punishment, the rods for scourging? This was apparently their significance by the year 300,¹² but again there is reason to believe that the

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 53-6. Miss Sordi's argument that *civitas sine suffragio* was a benefit which Caere conferred on Rome, rather than vice versa, has been enhanced by the now famous bilingual inscription found at Pyrgi in 1964. Since there was apparently a Punic settlement at Pyrgi ca. 500, the Carthaginians there may well have enjoyed a status analogous to *civitas sine suffragio*.

¹⁰ For a full survey of the occurrences of twelve as a sacred number in antiquity see Th. Weinreich, "Zwölfgötter," in Roscher's *Ausf. Lexikon der gr. und röm. Mythologie*, VI, cols. 764-848. Perhaps the two rows of twelve monograms found at Karniyarik Tepe, the "Tomb of Gyges" at Sardis (G. Hanfmann, "The Eighth Campaign at Sardis [1965]," *B. A. S. O. R.*, no. 182 [1966], p. 27, and Hanfmann and A. H. Detweiler, "Sardis through the Ages," *Archaeology*, XIX [1966], p. 94) had some religious meaning; for Anatolian instances of twelve as a sacred number see Weinreich, "Zwölfgötter," cols. 794-5; for Etruscan instances see cols. 818-19.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, col. 768.

¹² According to Livy, X, 9, 3-6 and Cicero, *De Rep.*, II, 53, the first Valerian law, which Roman tradition placed in the first year of the Republic, purportedly forbade *eum qui provocasset virgis caedi securique necari*. Staveley, "Provocatio during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B. C.," *Historia*, III (1954-5), pp. 412-28, argues that it was not until 300 that Rome had a *lex de provocatione*.

Late Republican authors, of course, make many allusions to the fasces

fascis, or at least the axe which the bundle of rods contained, was at one time a religious symbol: the attribute of the commander-in-chief who with divine sanction led the citizens in war.

In Republican Rome the axe was carried only outside the pomerium. Within the city the lictors carried fasces *securibus demptis*.¹³ Cicero reports that this was an innovation of the Republican revolution, the result of the Valerian *lex de provocatione* of 508.¹⁴ It does seem that the presence of the axe and the absence of the right of appeal were related, for the protection of *provocatio* did not, in the early Republic, extend beyond the pomerium. But it is somewhat strange that only the axe was barred from the city, since the *lex de provocatione* applied both to execution and to scourging. Furthermore, why did the citizens of Rome demand the right of appeal only when within the city, since many of them lived and labored outside the pomerium? Undoubtedly, the presence and absence of the axe marked the distinction between the magistrate's powers in the field and at home, a distinction in later times referred to as *imperium militiae* and *imperium domi*.¹⁵ The pomerium limited the one sphere from the other. As Magdelain has argued,¹⁶ this distinction is not, *pace* Mommsen, constitutional but religious, and must go back to the beginnings of the *urbs*. It was not a constitutional safeguard erected at the beginning of the Republic, or a political adjustment issuing from the conflict between patricians and plebeians, but reflects the rituals and ceremonies

as symbols of punishment and execution, the instruments of the magistrate's *ius coercionis*.

¹³ Cicero, *De Rep.*, II, 53-5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Plutarch, *Poplicola*, 10, and Dio Cassius, III, 13, 2, on the other hand, explain Valerius' removal of the axes from the fasces as a sign of the magistrate's respect for the people, who had given him his power. I cannot agree with Staveley, "*Fasces*," p. 465, that this very theoretical explanation is correct.

¹⁵ K. H. Vogel, "Imperium und Fasces," *Zeitschr. der Sav.-Stift. für Rechtsgeschichte*, Röm. Abt., LXVII (1949), pp. 76 ff. Magdelain, *Imperium*, p. 45, n. 1, is perhaps right in stating that the presence of the axe marked the absence of the *ius provocationis*, which was invalid under *imperium militiae*. It may be, however, that the axe signified first of all the fact that the magistrate was leading the citizens to battle; and that therefore the *ius provocationis* was suspended.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff., 57 ff., and 67-9.

with which the sacred topography of the *urbs* was first delimited. If so, then even during the monarchy the axe would have appeared in the fascis only outside the pomerium, when the king was leading the army on campaigns.

It is well known that Etruscan sarcophagi portray lictors whose fasces contain no axe.¹⁷ These sarcophagi, dating from the third and second centuries, might be used as evidence that at that time the Etruscan cities recognized the right of appeal. But why would an Etruscan magistrate not desire his sarcophagus to portray his more impressive retinue *extra pomerium*? Or did the Etruscan cities extend the right of appeal beyond the boundary of the city? The argument that the axe was not appropriate to the funereal setting of the sarcophagus is not very strong, since a Roman tomb near the Porta Esquilina does exhibit the axe in this context.¹⁸ It is best to explain the absence of the axe on Etruscan sarcophagi as a result of the fact that in the third and second centuries the Etruscan magistrate, even the *zilath purthne*, was no longer distinguished by the axe, perhaps because at that time Etruscan troops fought under the auspices of a Roman consul.¹⁹

The sarcophagi do not prove that the axe had never been a part of Etruscan regalia. Roman tradition is unusually insistent upon the fact that their fascis, including both rods and axe, was of Etruscan origin,²⁰ and with rare exception modern scholars have agreed.²¹ Silius Italicus specifies Vetulonia as

¹⁷ For plates and discussion of these sarcophagi see R. Lambrechts, *Essai sur les magistratures des républiques étrusques* (Brussels and Rome, 1959), pp. 121-97.

¹⁸ Lambrechts, *Essai*, p. 197.

¹⁹ Lambrechts, *ibid.*, concludes: "Le retrait de la hache en Étrurie semble donc marquer une contrainte, comme chez les magistrats municipaux."

²⁰ The full list of relevant passages can be found in K. O. Müller and W. Deecke, *Die Etrusker*, I (Graz, 1965 reprint of 1877 edition), pp. 344-7.

²¹ P. de Francisci dissents. His arguments against an Etruscan origin of the fascis, set forth fully in "Concetto di *imperium*," pp. 32-7, and recapitulated in *Prim. Civ.*, pp. 721 ff., seem rather desperate: 1. The Romans themselves did not consistently hold to an Etruscan provenance for their fasces, since some of them believed that Romulus had initiated

the Etruscan city whence came the royal and imperial insignia:

Maeoniaeque decus quondam Uetulonia gentis,
Bissenos haec prima dedit praecedere fasces
Et iunxit totidem tacito terrore securis.²²

As is well known, the Tomba del Littore, excavated at the end of the last century, yielded coincidental substantiation for Silius' claim.²³ The miniature Vetulonian fascis, complete with axe, dates from the late seventh century, and remains by far the earliest specimen yet discovered.

What did the axe mean in seventh-century Vetulonia, or elsewhere in Etruria? We have no direct evidence with which to answer that question. But I believe that it is methodologically defensible to suggest an answer based on Anatolian evidence. Although the origin of the Etruscans is still disputed, there is no doubt that much in Etruscan civilization was a survival of a cultural background shared with the peoples of western Asia Minor. Just as the activity of the haruspices cannot be understood without reference to the liver-models found at Boghazköy, and the texts which set forth their interpretation, so the Etruscan fascis might profitably be viewed alongside a counterpart from the *gens Maeonia*.

We find the following in Plutarch, *Aetia Graeca*, 45 (*Moralia* 301F-302A):

Why has the statue of Zeus Labrandeus in Caria been fashioned holding up an axe (*πέλεκυν*) and not a scepter or a thunderbolt?

their use. 2. The pre-Etruscan kings at Rome must have had power to execute citizens, and so must have had lictors. 3. The axe was the heart of the fascis, but Etruscan sarcophagi depict no axe in their magistrates' fasces.

²² *Pun.*, VIII, 483-5.

²³ I. Falchi, "Vetulonia: nuove scoperte nella necropoli," *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (1898), p. 147 and fig. 26; for photograph see M. Pallottino, *The Etruscans* (Harmondsworth, 1955), plate 32. De Francisci, "Concetto di *imperium*," p. 34, questioned whether the Archaeological Museum in Florence was justified in displaying the axe within the fascis, apparently unaware that Falchi had found it in that position: five or six rods, ". . . disposte attorno ad altra centrale più lungo, che superiormente si attacca alla metà di un'accetta a doppio taglio" (Falchi, *loc. cit.*).

Because after slaying Hippolyte, Heracles, taking her axe along with her other weapons, gave them as a gift to Omphale. The Lydian kings after Omphale used to carry it as part of their sacred gear (*ὡς τι τῶν ἄλλων ιερῶν*), passing it down in succession until Candaules, thinking it not worth much, gave it to one of his companions to carry (*ἐν τῶν ἐταίρων φορεῖν ἔδωκεν*).

But when Gyges revolted and made war against him, Arselis of Mylasa came with an armed force as an ally to Gyges; and he slew both Candaules and his companion, and fetched the axe to Caria along with other booty. Having constructed a statue of Zeus, he put the axe in its hand, and called the god "Labrandeus." For the Lydians call the axe "labrys."

Much of this must be discarded, but not all. The aetiological tale of Heracles and Omphale would not have arisen had not the Lydians of later times known that until the accession of Gyges their kings had been distinguished by an axe. The story that Arselis fetched the axe from Sardis to Labraunda must mean that the Carians and Lydians recognized an affinity between the "axe of Omphale" and the *labrys* of Zeus Labrandeus. The otherwise unnecessary note that Candaules out of indifference permitted a companion to carry the axe betrays a tradition that the axe had been borne by an attendant of the king. Plutarch's story, I suggest, is valid evidence that in the early seventh century the Lydian king was attended by a single "lictor" who bore an axe, apparently a *labrys*. According to Roman tradition, the kings of Etruscan cities were also accompanied by only one lictor.²⁴

The axe in the Roman fascis had a single blade, and so might seem unrelated to the *labrys*, the double-axe of Anatolia.²⁵ But since the Vetulonian fascis contains a double-axe, it is possible that the *securis* was a variation from the *bipennis*.²⁶ Until an

²⁴ See note 6.

²⁵ So W. Gross, "Labrys," *Der Kleine Pauly*, III, col. 432: "Bei den Etruskern spielt die Labrys keine Rolle; weder Charons Hammer noch das (aus Etrurien übernommene) Fasesbündel mit Beil haben mit der Labrys etwas zu tun." On the other hand, Ganszyniec, "Labrys," *R.-E.*, XII, col. 297, did suggest that the *labrys* as a symbol of kingship was brought to Italy by the Etruscans, and was the antecedent of the Roman fascis.

²⁶ The double-axe is also pictured on a late seventh-century Vetulonian

early Etruscan fascis with a *securis* is found, in fact, we might wonder whether at one time the double-axe was the normal burden of the Etruscan lictor.

It is therefore not irrelevant to glance at the cult of Zeus Labrandeus, whose attribute, as numismatic evidence shows, was the double-axe.²⁷ The god at Labraunda, whatever his native name, was translated into Greek as Zeus Stratios, Zeus Lord of the Army.²⁸ Labraunda and its "old wooden temple" lay some sixty stades from Mylasa, and was connected to the city by a pavement called the Sacred Way.²⁹ Since in the city itself there was a sanctuary of Zeus Osogos,³⁰ It seems that the *labrys* differentiated the military aspect of the god from the domestic.

Perhaps the citizenry under arms met in the precinct of Zeus Stratios. In Herodotus we read about the Carian troops who in 497 were defeated by the Persians in a battle near the Maeander river:

Those who made their escape from there were collected together at Labraunda at the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios, a great and holy grove of plane-trees. The Carians alone, of the peoples whom we know, offer sacrifices to Zeus Stratios. So then, collected together there they deliberated about their safety, whether they would do better to hand themselves over to the Persians or to leave Asia entirely. While

stele, this time not in a fascis but held upright in the hand of a warrior. See fig. 1 in H. H. Scullard, *The Etruscan Cities and Rome* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1967); for discussion and a suggested reading of the inscription see J. Heurgon, *Daily Life of the Etruscans* (New York, 1964), p. 45. Heurgon remarks that the double-axe is here "flourished like a commander's baton." De Francisci, "Concetto di *imperium*," p. 36, suggests to the contrary that the warrior depicted on the stele in not menacing anybody, but seems to be about to offer the axe to a deity.

²⁷ A. Laumonier, *Les cultes indigènes en Carie* (Paris, 1958), pp. 45-101, presents what is now known of the sanctuary and cult. For coins depicting Zeus Labrandeus see his plate 4. Most of the Labraunda inscriptions still await publication.

²⁸ G. Bockisch, "Karer und ihre Dynasten," *Klio*, LI (1969), p. 131: "Der griechische Beiname des Zeus von Labraunda, Στρατιος = der Kriegerische, scheint eine Übersetzung des karischen Λαβραυνδος oder Λαβρανδεός zu sein."

²⁹ Strabo, XIV, 2, 23.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

they were deliberating these matters the Milesians and their allies arrived to assist them. Thereupon the Carians put aside their earlier deliberations, and prepared to fight all over again.³¹

It is noteworthy that the Carian troops who fled after the first battle did not retreat to Mylasa or to another city (and Herodotus tells us³² that some time passed before the Persians attacked the Carian cities), but to an undefended grove of plane-trees. Might they not have chosen that place for their deliberations because in times past the troops of the Mylasian *koinon* had there made important decisions, under the guidance of Zeus Stratios?

Herodotus remarks that, of the peoples whom he knew, only the Carians worshipped Zeus Stratios. Although in the fifth century the Lydians could not have had a sanctuary of Zeus Stratios or his local equivalent, they may once have included him in their pantheon. Herodotus himself, while discussing the Carians' claim that they were autochthonous, remarks,

They point to an old sanctuary of Carian Zeus at Mylasa, a sanctuary in which the Mysians and Lydians have a share, since they are kinsmen of the Carians. For they say that Lydus and Mysus were brothers of Car.³³

We know little else about Carian Zeus and this old sanctuary. Aelian, in a passage that is not worth very much, asserts that Carian Zeus and Zeus Labrandeus were one and the same.³⁴

There is now evidence, however, that at least in Roman times Zeus Stratios, or an equivalent thereof, was worshipped in Sardis. The recent excavations there have disclosed a statue, Antonine in date, which to all appearances is "a very free version of the image of Zeus Stratios of Labraunda."³⁵ At any rate, whether or not the Lydians worshipped a god whom

³¹ Herodotus, V, 119, 2—120, 1.

³² V, 121.

³³ I, 171.

³⁴ *De nat. anim.*, XII, 30; for objections see Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 41. Herodotus' "old sancturay" does, however, recall the "old wooden temple" which Strabo mentions in XIV, 2, 23.

³⁵ Guy P. R. Métraux, "A New Head of Zeus from Sardis," *A. J. A.*, LXXV (1971), p. 156 and plate 36, fig. 7.

the Greeks translated as Zeus Stratios, their kings were accompanied by the same *labrys* which was the attribute of Zeus Stratios at Labraunda.

Returning, then, to the Plutarch passage and the significance of the Lydian axe, we note that unlike his Heraclid predecessors, Gyges was not attended by a companion carrying the "axe of Omphale." If the Lydian axe had been the symbol of the ruler's right to inflict capital punishment, Gyges' rule must have been mild indeed. But it is more likely that his abandonment of the axe reflected a change in the relationship between the Lydian ruler and his subjects. As I have suggested elsewhere,³⁶ Gyges overthrew the last legitimate Lydian king with the aid of a mercenary force, and continued to employ mercenaries once he had become tyrant. In such a situation, the citizens of Lydia were no longer mobilized under the auspices of a king, who led them with divine sanction.

In conclusion, the Lydian and Carian parallels suggest that the axe carried by Roman lictors was originally the attribute of the Roman king as military commander of a mobilized citizenry. It recalled the special relationship between the king and the god under whose protection the campaign was conducted.³⁷

With such religious significance, it is not surprising that the axe remained the *insignium imperii* when the Roman kings were replaced by Republican magistrates. Just as the conservative structure of the *Regia*, erected at the end of the sixth century, seems to demonstrate the transfer of certain functions from the king to the Pontifex Maximus,³⁸ so the retention of the

³⁶ "The First Tyrants in Greece," *Historia* (forthcoming).

³⁷ The Anatolian parallels also suggest that although strictly speaking the word "fascis" refers to the bundle of rods encasing an axe, in a real sense the axe was the core of the fascis. Unless the *virgae* had from the beginning a significance of their own, the fascis without the axe may have originally symbolized the potential but latent powers of the magistrate as commander. *Securis*, of course, is often used as a synonym for *fascis*, but this is a literary convention.

³⁸ Frank Brown, "New Soundings in the *Regia*: the Evidence for the Early Republic," *Les origines de la république romaine (Entretiens Hardt, XIII [Geneva, 1967])*, pp. 47-60, especially p. 58: "Though no dwelling, the *Regia* kept the outward forms of a kingly house, because it embodied the cults and emblems, which remained inseparable from

fascēs shows that the Roman aristocrats were concerned that their new commander-in-chief, the *praetor maximus*,⁸⁹ should exercise his authority with the same divine sanction which the kings had possessed.

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the office and name of king and without which the state, although no longer ruled by a king, could not prosper."

⁸⁹ I use the singular since it seems that the king was replaced first by a single supreme magistrate, and that a few years intervened before the institution of a double annual magistracy. See especially Heurgon, "Magistratures romaines et magistratures étrusques," *Les origines de la rép. rom.*, pp. 117 ff. The *lex vetusta* (*lex vetusta est, priscis litteris verbisque scriptis, ut qui praetor maximus sit idibus Septembribus clavum pangat*) which Livy, VII, 3 seems to assign to the year 508, has been much discussed. For a review of the possible interpretations and implications see A. Momigliano, "Praetor Maximus e questioni affini," *Riv. Stor. Ital.*, LXXX (1968), pp. 222-7. Momigliano himself believes that the wording of the law can be reconciled with the tradition that the king was immediately replaced by two annual magistrates.

If, however, we look not only at the law itself, but also at the interpretation given it by the plague-ridden Romans in 363, the other alternative is more likely. In 363 the Romans were in the throes of a pestilence which had ravaged the community for three years. A *lectisternium*, the third in the history of the city, and the innovation of *ludi scenici* had failed to placate the gods; at that point it was remarked that according to the *lex vetusta* a *praetor maximus* should drive the annual nail into the Capitoline temple. Since a consul did not seem to qualify for the title, *praetor maximus*, it was found expedient to name a dictator, *clavi figendi causa*. Since the Romans in 363 equated *praetor maximus* with a dictator, they must have believed (or were led to believe) that at the beginning of their Republic the state had at its head a single magistrate. This would certainly suggest that in 363 the pontiffs did not have available a list of consuls stretching back to the expulsion of the kings.

MILTON'S HEXAMETER PATTERNS—VERGILIAN OR OVIDIAN?

John Milton in his youth acquired a thorough knowledge of ancient literature and, as is well known, the two classical poets who influenced him most throughout his life were Vergil and Ovid.¹ As Bowra says, "the great features of *Paradise Lost*, its language, its temper, its scope, its theology, its ornaments, are all natural developments of Virgil's art."² Structurally also the *Aeneid* and *Paradise Lost* are similar, each being composed of twelve books divided both into halves (I-VI, VII-XII) and into trilogies of four books each (I-IV, V-VIII, IX-XII).³ Milton's earlier poems, both Latin and English, are far more Ovidian. Rand says: "Ovid tempered his youth and Virgil his age."⁴

Of all the neo-Latin poets of the Renaissance, Milton is perhaps the most important, and he is considered the best Latin poet the English speaking race has produced.⁵ His elegies and hexameter poems help us to understand better "the evolving character, sensibility, ambitions, and artistic equipment of the young poet. Further, . . . his saturation in the Latin language

¹ For other Latin poets used by Milton, see D. Bush, *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton*, I, *The Latin and Greek Poems* (New York, 1970), p. 12. Cf. G. B. A. Fletcher, "Milton's Latin Poems," *M. P.*, XXXVII (1939-40), pp. 343-50, for lists of parallel phrases in Milton and the Latin poets.

² C. M. Bowra, *From Virgil to Milton* (London, 1948), p. 246. E. K. Rand, "Milton in Rustication," *Stud. Philol.*, XIX (1922), p. 135, calls the imagery of *Paradise Lost* "thoroughly Virgilian."

³ See W. A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 59 f.; G. E. Duckworth, review of Camps, *A. J. P.*, XCII (1971), p. 125.

⁴ Rand (above, note 2), p. 132; of the Latin elegies, he says (p. 111): "to write them, he must have known his Ovid virtually by heart." For Milton's devotion to Ovid, see also D. Bush, *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry* (rev. ed., New York, 1963), pp. 262-6.

⁵ With the possible exception of George Buchanan. See K. C. M. Sill, "Milton's Latin Poems," *O. J.*, XXXII (1936-37), p. 418.

and poetic technique had its effects on his English poetry early and late."⁶ The Latin poems are mostly the product of his youth, composed from his eighteenth to his twenty-second year. The *Epitaphium Damonis*, a pastoral to express his grief at the death of his friend Charles Diodati, was written when he was thirty-one or thirty-two; this poem has been praised for its superb artistry, "no whit inferior to that of *Lycidas* itself."⁷

Do Milton's hexameter poems, written mostly in his youth, have the metrical characteristics of Ovid or do they resemble more closely the technique of Vergil? And what about the elegies—are they more Ovidian than the hexameter poems? I hope in the following discussion to throw new light on these questions.

I have recently examined the hexameter patterns of the Roman hexameter poets from Ennius to Arator and Corippus in the sixth century A. D. in an endeavor to "fingerprint" the different poets and show their relation to Vergil (with the *Aeneid* considered as the "norm") or to Ovid (*Metamorphoses*) who, in his greater preference for dactyls, stands out as the exact opposite of Vergil; e. g., in the first four feet of the eight patterns used most frequently, Vergil has twenty spondees and twelve dactyls, but Ovid twelve spondees and twenty dactyls. Also, in order to study the metrical variety achieved by the various poets, I introduced several new criteria based on patterns repeated in adjacent lines and the shift from fourth-foot homodyne to heterodyne, or from heterodyne to homodyne, in these repeated patterns; the use in successive lines of opposite patterns (e. g., *ds ss-sddd*) or reverse patterns (e. g., *ds ss-sssd*) also proved of significance.⁸ These criteria I shall now apply to the hexameter poems of John Milton.

The hexameter poems are *In Quintum Novembris, Naturam*

⁶ Bush (above, note 1), p. 3. For a general evaluation, see W. H. Semple, "The Latin Poems of John Milton," *B. R. L.*, XLVI (1963-64), pp. 217-35.

⁷ A. S. P. Woodhouse, "Milton's Pastoral Monodies," *Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood* (Toronto, 1952), p. 277.

⁸ See G. E. Duckworth, *Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry. A Study in Metrical Variety* (Ann Arbor, 1969). For my numerous articles on which this work is based, cf. the Bibliography, p. 164.

non pati senium, Ad patrem, Mansus, and Epitaphium Damonis; these form the bulk of the *Sylvarum Liber* and total 732 lines.⁹ I give below Milton's first eight patterns in the order of frequency and add for comparison the first eight patterns in Vergil's *Eclogues*, his *Aeneid*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Milton:	<i>dsds</i>	<i>dsss</i>	<i>ddss</i>	<i>ddsd</i>	<i>dddd</i>	<i>sdss</i>	<i>dssd</i>	<i>sdsd</i>
Verg., <i>Ecl.</i> :	<i>ddss</i>	<i>dsss</i>	<i>dsds</i>	<i>dssd</i>		<i>sdss</i>	<i>dddd</i>	<i>sdds</i>
				<i>ddsd</i>				
Verg., <i>Aen.</i> :	<i>dsss</i>	<i>ddss</i>	<i>dsds</i>	<i>sdss</i>	<i>ssss</i>	<i>dddd</i>	<i>ssds</i>	<i>sdds</i>
Ovid, <i>Metam.</i> :	<i>ddss</i>	<i>dsss</i>	<i>dssd</i>	<i>dsds</i>	<i>ddsd</i>	<i>dddd</i>	<i>dsdd</i>	<i>dddd</i>

The appearance in Milton of *ddsd* in fourth place and of *dssd* in seventh place is significant. An unusually high ratio of *dssd* and *ddsd* is considered "the true distinguishing mark of Ovid's works, mature and juvenile alike."¹⁰ Milton's preference for these two patterns may therefore be the influence of Ovid (third and fifth place), but could equally well be an imitation of Vergil's *Eclogues* (tied for fourth place). Milton's total of spondees and dactyls in the first four feet of the first eight patterns is sixteen spondees and sixteen dactyls; in Vergil's *Eclogues* we likewise find sixteen spondees and sixteen dactyls, whereas the totals in the *Aeneid* are twenty spondees and twelve dactyls, in Ovid twelve spondees and twenty dactyls. In this respect, then, Milton's patterns are identical with those of the *Eclogues*; also, seven of the first eight patterns are the same.

Other statistics for Milton's hexameter poems follow, and I give these also for Vergil's *Eclogues* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (but not for Vergil's *Aeneid*; Milton's patterns as given above lack the spondaic quality of the Latin epic).

⁹ I exclude two spondaic verses, *In Quintum Novembris*, 201, and *Epitaphium Damonis*, 184.

¹⁰ R. S. Radford, "Tibullus and Ovid," *A.J.P.*, XLIV (1923), p. 299. For this and other reasons, he assigns the *Culex* (*dssd* in third place, *ddsd* eighth) to Ovid, ignoring the fact that these two patterns are tied for fourth place in Vergil's *Eclogues*; see Duckworth (above, note 8), pp. 81-3.

	Milton	<i>Eclog.</i>	<i>Metam.</i>
% 1st pattern:	12.02	13.09	13.08
% 1st form patterns:	44.26	41.45	48.37
% 1st 8 patterns:	72.95	69.09	81.62
Average per 16-line unit:	9.5	9.7	8.9
% of units with 8 or more patterns:	88.64	97.37	86.35
% of 4th-foot homodyne:	47.13	39.73	50.0
Repeats, 1 every x lines:	10.3	13.1	10.7
% of change, m to t or reverse:	38.03	49.21	46.91
Differs from m %:	—9.10	+9.48	—3.09
Repeats plus Near Repeats, 1 every x lines:	4.5	5.1	4.1
R plus NR, % of change:	46.95	44.10	46.19
Differs from m %:	— .18	+4.37	—3.81
Opposites, 1 every x lines:	29.2	19.6	29.3
Most frequent opposite:	<i>sdsd-dsds</i>	<i>ssdd-ddss</i>	<i>sdsd-dsds</i>
% of <i>sdsd</i> with <i>dsdd</i> , or <i>ssdd</i> with <i>ddss</i> :	27.97	26.92	22.11
Reverses, 1 every x lines:	73.2	55.0	39.3
Most frequent reverse:	<i>sssd-dsss</i>	<i>dsdd-ddsd</i>	<i>dsdd-ddsd</i>
% of <i>sssd</i> with <i>dsdd</i> , or <i>dsdd</i> with <i>ddsd</i> :	26.67	16.28	24.0

This list contains a number of Ovidian features: the low percentage of units with eight or more patterns, the high percentage of fourth-foot homodyne, the high frequency of repeats and near repeats, and the failure in repeated patterns to introduce variety by shifting from homodyne to heterodyne, or the reverse; also, the frequency of opposites is similar. On the other hand, Milton resembles Vergil in the *Eclogues* in several important points: the percentage of the first eight patterns (72.95) is definitely Vergilian (*Eclogues*, 69.09; *Georgics*, 73.42; *Aeneid*, 72.78), whereas Ovid, with less variety and a heavier concentration on the first eight patterns, has a percentage of 81.62, thus marking a return to the higher frequencies of the Republican poets; the average number of patterns per sixteen-line unit is similar, 9.5 (*Eclogues*, 9.7). Reverses in Milton occur

even less often than in Vergil, but in Ovid they are almost twice as frequent as in Milton. When we add these points to the fact that in both Milton and Vergil's *Eclogues* the spondees and dactyls in the first four feet of the first eight patterns are identical (sixteen each), we seem justified in concluding that the hexameter poems reveal clearly the influence of Vergil's *Eclogues*, but at the same time show a disregard for variety that is characteristic of Ovid.

I turn now to Milton's elegies and epigrams. It is impossible in the elegiac meter to work with repeated, opposite, and reverse patterns in adjacent lines, but his choice of patterns and their frequencies will indicate the difference in his procedure, and the extent to which he is more Ovidian.

Also, since Milton's metrical style has been compared not only to Ovid's but to that of the earlier Roman elegists,¹¹ I shall include information concerning the hexameters in the elegies of Catullus, LXV-CXVI, of Tibullus, Book I, and of Propertius, Book I. The order of the first eight patterns, with especial attention to the position of *dssd* and *ddsd*, and other important statistics follow.

	Catullus	Tibullus	Propertius	Milton	
				Elegies	Hex. Poem
1	<i>dsss</i>	<i>dsss</i>	<i>dsss</i>	<i>DSSD</i>	<i>dsds</i>
2	<i>ssss</i>	<i>dsds</i>	<i>sdss</i>	<i>DDSD</i>	<i>dsss</i>
3	<i>sdss</i>	<i>ddss</i>	<i>dsds</i>	<i>ddss</i>	<i>ddss</i>
4	<i>ddss</i>	<i>ddds</i>	<i>ddss</i>	<i>dsss</i>	<i>DDSD</i>
5	<i>dsds</i>	<i>DSSD</i>	<i>DSSD</i>	<i>dddd</i>	<i>ddds</i>
6	<i>DSSD</i>	<i>DDSD</i>	<i>ddds</i>	<i>dsds</i>	<i>sdss</i>
7	<i>ssds</i>	<i>ssds</i>	<i>ssds</i>	<i>ddds</i>	<i>DSSD</i>
8	<i>sdds</i>	<i>sdss</i>	<i>sdss</i>	<i>sdds</i>	<i>sdsd</i>
9	<i>sssd</i>	<i>dsdd</i>	<i>sdds</i>		
			tied with		
10	<i>ddds</i>		<i>DDSD</i>		
	tied with				
11	<i>DDSD</i>				

¹¹ Cf., e.g., F. R. B. Godolphin, "Notes on the Technique of Milton's

% 1st pattern:	24.65	18.72	15.38	12.60	12.02
% 1st eight:	81.60	78.57	76.07	79.73	72.95
Distribution,					
Spondees:	21	17 or 15	18	13	16
Dactyls:	11	15 or 17	14	19	16
% 4th-foot m:	52.08	28.08	42.0	49.86	47.13

There is much of interest here, and I shall discuss my findings in relation to Ovid under four headings, in increasing order of importance.

1. *Percentage of fourth-foot homodyne.* Here we find a wide spread, from 28.08 in Tibullus,¹² to 52.08 in Catullus. I pointed out above that Ovid's percentage in the *Metamorphoses* is 50.0. Milton's procedure resembles that of Catullus and Ovid and differs strikingly from that of Tibullus and Propertius.

2. *Percentage of first eight patterns.* Milton's first eight patterns in his elegies total 79.73 per cent, much higher than in his hexameter poems (72.95). This high percentage resembles that of Catullus (81.60)¹³ and Tibullus (78.57), but is thoroughly Ovidian: cf. the following: *Heroides*, I-XV, 81.89; *Heroides*, XVI-XXI, 86.03; *Fasti*, 89.27; *Metamorphoses*, 81.62; *Tristia*, 86.87; *Epistulae ex Ponto*, 85.85, etc.¹⁴

3. *Distribution of spondees and dactyls in the first eight patterns.* Milton's distribution in the first four feet of the eight

Latin Elegies," *M.P.*, XXXVII (1939-40), pp. 351-6; S. Koehler, *Milton and the Roman Elegists. A Study of Milton's Latin Poems in their Relation to the Latin Love Elegy* (Ann Arbor, 1941 [Princeton University dissertation, microfilmed]). See Bush (above, note 1), pp. 15-17.

¹² Tibullus' percentage is abnormally low. Among the Latin hexameter poets from Ennius to Corippus, the lowest is that of Valerius Flaccus, 31.70 (with the exception of Vergil's Fourth Eclogue, 28.57).

¹³ Catullus' percentage, 81.60, is much lower than that in LXIV, an amazingly high 90.98 (which Vergil imitated in *Eclogue* IV, 91.93). Catullus' percentages for the first pattern are also abnormally high: elegies, 24.85; LXIV, 27.59.

¹⁴ See Duckworth (above, note 8), p. 145. My percentages for Ovid's elegiac poems are based on the pattern totals given by Tr. Costa, "Formele Hexametralui la Ovidiu," *Publius Ovidius Naso* (Bucarest, 1957 [= *Biblioteca Antică Studii*, II]), pp. 236-75.

patterns (sixteen and sixteen in the hexameter poems) is a surprising thirteen spondees and nineteen dactyls. Not only is this very different from what we find in the earlier elegists (Catullus, twenty-one spondees, eleven dactyls; Tibullus, seventeen or fifteen spondees, fifteen or seventeen dactyls;¹⁵ Propertius, eighteen spondees, fourteen dactyls), but again is definitely Ovidian and very close to Ovid's twelve spondees and twenty dactyls. This distribution appears not only in the *Metamorphoses* but in *all* Ovid's elegiac poetry (with the exception of the *Medicamina*, fifteen spondees, seventeen dactyls). Even the Silver Latin poets like Valerius Flaccus and Statius, whom I term "post-Ovidian," are less dactylic, with a total of fifteen spondees and seventeen dactyls. In his preference for dactyls, therefore, Milton is more Ovidian than any Roman poet from Ennius to Corippus, with the exception of Calpurnius Siculus and the *Laus Pisonis*, which I assign to Calpurnius.¹⁶

4. *Relative position of DSSD and DDSD.* The most surprising feature of Milton's elegies is the sudden appearance of *dssd* and *ddsd* in first and second place.¹⁷ This bears no relation to their use by the earlier elegists; in Catullus, *dssd* is sixth and *ddsd* is tied with *ddds* for tenth place; Tibullus has *dssd* and *ddsd* in fifth and sixth place; in Propertius, *dssd* is likewise fifth and *ddsd* is tied with *sdds* for ninth place.

I mentioned above that a high ratio of *dssd* and *ddsd* has been considered the true distinguishing mark of Ovid's poetry. I shall now compare the position of *dssd* and *ddsd* in Milton's elegies and in Ovid's elegiac poetry.¹⁸

Ovid's preference for *dssd* and *ddsd* is truly amazing; nowhere does either pattern fall below fifth place; one or the other ap-

¹⁵ The variation results from the fact that *sdss* and *dsdd* are tied for eighth place.

¹⁶ See Duckworth (above, note 8), pp. 96 f.

¹⁷ Koehler (above, note 11), p. 132, wrongly assigns *dssd* and *ddsd* to second and third place in Milton's elegies. Also he is inaccurate when he states (p. 131) that there are no spondaic verses in the Latin elegies; IV, 21 provides an instance: *Hei mihi quot pelagi, quot montes interjecti*.

¹⁸ I give Ovid's elegiac works in the chronological order furnished by Costa (above, note 14), pp. 236-75. The relative frequencies of *dssd* and *ddsd* are based on the totals given by Costa.

pears four times in first place, three times in second. The two patterns are in first and second place in *Heroides*, I-XV and *Ibis*.

	<i>dssd</i>	<i>ddsd</i>
Milton:	1	2
<i>Heroides</i> , I-XV:	2	1
<i>Amores</i> :	3	4
<i>Ars Amatoria</i> , I-II:	5	3 (tie with <i>ddss</i>)
<i>Ars Amatoria</i> , III:	3	4
<i>Remedia Amoris</i> :	5	3
<i>Heroides</i> , XVI-XXI:	1	4
<i>Fasti</i> :	2	5
[<i>Metamorphoses</i> :	3	5]
<i>Tristia</i> :	1	4
<i>Ibis</i> :	2	1
<i>Epistulae ex Ponto</i> :	3	4
Ovid's elegies, total:	2	4

In all Latin poetry, apart from Ovid, we find *dssd* first only in Ausonius, *Mosella*; it is in second place in *Dirae* and in Avienus (both *Aratea* and *Descriptio Orbis*); *ddsd* is second in Calpurnius Siculus and Arator. But nowhere do we find *dssd* and *ddsd* in first and second place, as in Milton.

In his elegies, Milton has either deliberately imitated Ovid's striking preference for these two patterns, or his feeling for Ovid's rhythms was so sensitive that he unconsciously reproduced this feature of Ovid's metrical technique. In either case, his devotion to Ovid cannot better be shown than by his use of these two patterns which appear more frequently in Ovid than in any other Latin poet. Perhaps the fact that *ddsd* and *dssd* fall to fourth and seventh place respectively in Milton's hexameter poetry is an added argument to indicate the increasing influence of Vergil's *Eclogues*.

The answer to our question of the title is therefore clear: Milton in his Latin poetry is both Vergilian and Ovidian. In his elegies he resembles Ovid more closely than do most Roman poets, especially in his high proportion of dactyls and his emphasis on *dssd* and *ddsd*; in his hexameter poems he follows to a degree Vergil's technique in the *Eclogues*, especially in his

proportion of spondees and dactyls, but he still reveals many Ovidian features.

Perhaps a final question may be permitted. If Milton had composed a great epic in Latin, possibly an *Arthuriad*,¹⁹ would he have imitated the more stately and spondaic rhythms of the *Aeneid*, or would his metrical technique still have been in part that of his beloved Ovid? Or both, as in the case of Maphaeus Vegius?²⁰

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¹⁹ See Rand (above, note 2), pp. 124 f.

²⁰ Two hundred years before Milton (1428) Maphaeus Vegius, aged twenty-one, composed a *Liber XII Aeneidos Supplementum*, usually called the "Thirteenth Book of the Aeneid." This has a distribution of twenty spondees and twelve dactyls in the first four feet of the first eight patterns. In many respects, however, Maphaeus resembles Ovid more closely than Vergil; see G. E. Duckworth, "Maphaeus Vegius and Vergil's *Aeneid*: A Metrical Comparison," *C.P.*, LXIV (1969), pp. 1-6.

PERSON IN NOUNS: IS THE VOCATIVE A CASE? *

Modern students of Latin grammar, so far as I can judge from the works accessible to me, ignore the fact of person in nouns and their accompanying adjectives. Priscian does better in some respects than the moderns, for he recognizes that nouns possess all three persons. On this point he says of the vocative "nisi secundae . . . personae coniungi non potest" and continues "cum superiores quattuor [*casus*] omnes personas possunt complecti figurate adiuncti pronomibus, ut 'ego Priscianus scribo,' 'tu Priscianus' vel 'Prisciane scribis,' 'ille Priscianus scribit' ; 'mei Prisciani eges,' 'tui Prisciani egeo,' 'illius Prisciani eget' ; 'mihi Prisciano das,' 'tibi Prisciano do,' 'illi Prisciano placet' ; 'me Priscianum videt,' 'te Priscianum video,' 'illum Priscianum videt.' Similiter ablativus tribus adiungitur personis. . . ." ¹ Later, in Book XI, 9 (Keil, II, p. 533), he adds, "Vocativus quoque quomodo nominativus intransitivis adiungitur, ut 'doctus loquens proficis,' et 'docte loquens proficis' vel 'profice.'"

Bennett, to be sure, among the moderns acknowledges person in nouns indirectly when he says in his school grammar that the relative pronoun agrees with its antecedent "in Gender, Number, and Person" ² ; but all of his examples are in the third person and consequently throw no light on the question of first or second person in nouns. Priscian's examples, too, seem to show that his analysis falls short in three respects. For one, he appears to believe that the pronouns *ego*, *tu*, and so on are necessary to the construction, though examples drawn from the actual texts of Latin authors show that this is not true. When the pronouns are expressed, the accompanying form of the noun, except nouns in the vocative, becomes simply an

* Particular thanks are owing to Professors James W. Poultney and Georg Luck for searching and helpful criticisms of this paper; but they are not responsible for any of the ideas expressed here.

¹ Heinrich Keil, *Grammatici Latini* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1887; reprinted, Hildesheim, Georg Olms, 1961), II, pp. 186-7: Prisciani *Institutiones Grammaticae*, V, 74.

² Charles E. Bennett, *New Latin Grammar* (New York and Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1918), p. 161, § 250, 1.

appositive. Secondly, the vocative is found in Priscian's examples only with the nominative of the pronoun, though here too actual examples reveal its use with other cases. Finally, Priscian implies that 'tu Priscianus scribis' and 'tu Prisciane scribis' are equivalent and interchangeable, as also 'doctus loquens proficis' and 'docte loquens proficis' or 'profice,' without consideration of the differences in the inflectional forms. He does perhaps indicate some reservations when he says, "Vocativus . . . *quomodo* nominativus"; and we, at any rate, should certainly ask ourselves how the vocative differs from the nominative in such situations and whether it is a case at all.

Currently accepted opinion seems to be that it is indeed a case, but none the less a separate something, independent of the rest of the sentence. Hofmann-Szantyr deserve some credit for their observation, "Aus dem Kreise der Kasus scheidet der Vokativ als blosser Stammform, die als Anruf dient und einen Satz für sich bildet, aus"³; and Kuryłowicz says, "The vocative differs from the remaining cases by its function of appeal, thus

³ J. B. Hofmann and A. G. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stylistik* (Iwan Müller, *Handbuch d. Altertumswissenschaft*, II. Abteilung, Teil 2, Band II [Munich, 1965]), p. 22. Cf. R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik d. lateinischen Sprache* (4th ed. by Andreas Thierfelder [Darmstadt, 1955]), I, p. 255: "Der Vocativ ist die Kasusform des Anrufes oder der Anrede. Es ist eigentlich nichts anderes als der Nominativ, aber ohne Beziehung auf das Prädikat und ausser allem organischen Verbande des Satzes." J. Svennung, *Anredeformen: Vergleichende Forschungen z. indirekten Anrede in d. dritten Person u. z. Nominativ für den Vokativ* (*Skrifter utgivna av K. humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala*, XLII [1958]), p. 188, cites with approval B. Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, 4; *Die Grundlagen d. griech. Syntax* (Halle a. S., 1879); "Der Vocativ wurde offenbar als ein Art Satz für sich . . . betrachtet," and Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriss d. vergleichenden Grammatik*, II, 2, p. 650: ". . . der Vokativ aber kein Satzglied im eigentlichen Sinn ist." Charles E. Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin* (Boston, 1914), II, p. 263, says only that the vocative is "not merely the case of address; it is also the case of vituperation, of endearment, and occasionally of exclamation." At this point it should perhaps be said openly that grammarians may be in some danger of discussing 'case' as if its nature were clearly understood, whereas in fact we do not agree at all. How, for example, can the vocative, which does have some distinctive forms, be "eigentlich

occupying a position outside the system proper.”⁴ Whatever Hofmann-Szantyr or Kuryłowicz may have had in mind, it is not hard to demonstrate that one feature in which the vocative stands apart from the system of the cases is that it is a second-person form. To begin with, it is a second-person form by definition, since it is the form used in direct address. Then, possibly a more convincing argument, it appears often as the antecedent of a relative pronoun whose verb is in the second person. Examples are common: *De Rerum Natura*, I, 1-4: *Aeneadum genetrix . . . quae mare . . . concelebras*, or *Aeneid*, IV, 625-6: *Exoriare . . . ultor qui . . . Dardanios sequare* will serve. If *concelebras* and *sequare* are second person, it is because their subjects, *quae* and *qui*, are second person; but the person of the two relatives must be derived from their antecedents, so *genetrix* and *ultor* must inevitably be used here in the second person. Finally, as Priscian observed, the vocative is used only with the second person of verbs, though most noun subjects have their verbs in the third person. Here again examples are abundant: *exoriare aliquis ultor*, just cited, *egredere ex urbe Catilina* (Cicero, *In Cat.*, I, 20), *prodeas nova nupta* (Catullus, 61, 96), *Quem das finem rex magne . . . ?* (*Aeneid*, I, 241). The use of the nominative with first and second person verbs, and of course with all verbs in the third person, should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the vocative is the appropriate form with second person verbs or, conversely, that the vocative itself is a second person form which calls for a verb in the same person. In this construction it would appear that the vocative is indubitably a case.

But this construction is not the whole story, though Priscian and the moderns cited in note 3 all ignore other uses of the vocative. We shall recur below to the use of the vocative as sub-

nichts anderes als der Nominativ”? The idea of ‘case’ which I am assuming in this paper is, disregarding special uses such as the genitive with *oblivisci*, that case in nouns and pronouns is the factor, indicated in Latin by inflectional endings, which determines whether the word is to be understood as a noun (nominative, dative, accusative), as an adjective (genitive), or as an adverb (ablative).

⁴*The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European* (Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1964), p. 179. I owe this reference to Professor Poultney.

ject; meanwhile let us look at some instances where the vocative is linked with cases other than the nominative

Accusative: 1. Ad mortem te Catilina duci . . . oportebat
(Cicero, *In Cat.*, I, 2)

1. Iuppiter hunc laetum . . . diem . . . esse velis

(*Aeneid*, I, 731-3)

2. . . . quae te genitor sententia vertit? (*Aeneid*, I, 237)

3. . . . te pater optime Teucrum (*Aeneid*, I, 555)

4. "Vos aeterni ignes et non violabile vestrum testor numen" ait, "vos arae ensesque nefandi . . ."
(*Aeneid*, II, 154-5)

5. . . . Quae mens tam dira miserrime coniunx impulit his cingi telis . . . ?

(*Aeneid*, II, 519-20)

The fifth example here is particularly noteworthy in that no pronominal subject is expressed for *cingi*; the vocative *miserrime coniunx* must serve instead, unless we extract from it a non-existent *te*.

Dative: 1. Potestne tibi haec lux Catilina aut . . . caeli spiritus esse iucundus . . . ? (Cic., *In Cat.*, I, 15)

2. Polliceor hoc vobis patres conscripti . . . (Cic., *In Cat.*, I, 32)

3. Cedo equidem nec nate tibi comes ire recuso
(*Aeneid*, II, 704)

4. Inde Lichan ferit . . . tibi Phoebe sacrum
(*Aeneid*, X, 315)

5. Nil nimium studeo Caesar tibi velle placere
(Catullus, 93, 1)

Ablative: 1. Quae tecum Catilina sic agit . . . (Cic., *In Cat.*, I, 18)

2. De te autem Catilina . . . (Cic., *In Cat.*, I, 21)

The lack of examples for the genitive is understandable in view of the fact that the genitive of personal pronouns is not employed to show possession and that other constructions with the genitive of these pronouns are comparatively rare.⁵ But

⁵ The construction which corresponds to the genitive may perhaps be represented by Catullus, 7, 1-2: *basiationes tuae Lesbica*, or 63, 9:

what is one to make of the examples presented here? On the one hand it is obvious that in every instance the person or thing denoted by the words in the vocative is identical with the person or thing represented by the pronouns *te*, *vos*, *tibi*, and *vobis*. On the other hand, these cannot be true appositional constructions because the forms of the pronouns and the vocatives are not the same. Even more important, the vocative is paired without distinction with words in the dative, accusative, and ablative. To do justice to this situation I should like to propose that the vocative be recognized as a construction in which the dominant element is not case but person. In so far as it is a case, it is an all-purpose form which combines with any of the other cases. In other terms, it can best be described as a second-person form which is indeclinable for case. A complex example which this view, as I believe, makes more easily understandable is Horace, *Odes*, I, 2, 52-3: *neu sinas Medos equitare inultos / te duce Caesar*, where *Caesar* is equally the subject of *sinas* and identical with *te*.

This interpretation of the vocative as a form expressing primarily person and number but not case will also fit the commonest uses of the vocative as Anruf, Anrede, or Ausruf; but its use with verbs needs more discussion. When the subject is expressed as a separate pronoun, as in *Tu Iuppiter . . . hunc . . . arcebis* (Cic., *In Cat.*, I, 33) or *Tunc ille Aeneas . . . ?* (*Aeneid*, I, 617), the construction of the vocative with the nominative follows the same pattern as the vocative with other cases. Often, however, the vocative is paired with a second-person verb whose subject is not otherwise expressed. The imperative is naturally very common:

1. Egredere ex urbe Catilina (Cic., *In Cat.*, I, 20)
2. Equo ne credite Teucri (*Aeneid*, II, 481)
3. I soror atque hostem supplex adfare (*Aeneid*, IV, 424)
4. . . . Crassi gaudete sepulti
signaque barbaricas non bene passa manus
(Ovid, *Ars Am.*, I, 179-80)

The jussive or optative subjunctive is also common:

tympanum, *tubam Cybelles*, *tua mater initia*, where the possessive adjective, as usual, takes the place of the possessive genitive of the personal pronoun.

1. Iuppiter hunc laetum . . . diem . . . esse velis
(*Aeneid*, I, 731-3)
2. Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor (*Aeneid*, IV, 625)
3. Miser Catulle desinas ineptire (Catullus, 8, 1)
4. Prodeas nova nupta (Catullus, 61, 96)

But the indicative is also used:

1. Quo usque tandem abutere Catilina patientia nostra?
(Cic., *In Cat.*, I, 1)
2. Catilina insidiatus es (Cic., *In Cat.*, I, 13)
3. Quem das finem rex magne laborum? (*Aeneid*, I, 241)
4. . . . quibus Hector ab oris expectate venis?
(*Aeneid*, II, 282-3)
5. Diceris male te a tuis
unguentate glabris marite
abstinere (Catullus, 61, 141-3)

In all such instances it seems simplest and most natural to regard the vocative as the subject of the verb. The objection may be raised, of course, that the vocative in such combinations merely agrees with the second-person subject implied in the form of the verb; but that approach appears needless and in fact simply a reflection of our own habits of speech. If we do not find it necessary to think of *Gallia divisa est* as "Gaul she is divided," there is no necessity for supposing that *Catulle desinas* should be thought of as "Catullus you stop. . . ." This seems especially clear in such expressions as *Hector expectate venis* or *exoriare ultor*. Certainly one need not take too seriously Bennett's solution: "In expressions like [Plautus] *Persa* 398 *tu me vende*; *Most.* 1181 *vos plausum date* . . . There seems little doubt that the nominative should be recognized in all cases of this sort. If *tu* and *vos* are taken as vocatives, another *tu* or *vos* must be supplied as subject."⁶

It is also true, of course, that the nominative is commonly found as the subject of a second-person verb; and Svennung's elaborate discussion of nominative for vocative offers many useful observations and examples which he categorizes under such headings as apposition, contamination, and perseveration;⁷ but it would seem that all instances of nominative for vocative can most readily be explained as a consequence of the vocative's being a form in which person predominates over case. On the

⁶ *Syntax of Early Latin*, II, p. 278.

⁷ *Op. cit.* in note 3.

one hand, in all third-person (and first-person) constructions the nominative is the only form permissible, and on the other hand an overwhelming majority of all vocatives in Latin are identical in form with the nominative. Consequently the nominative form competes in the speaker's or writer's mind with the vocative even in situations of direct address and with second-person verbs. Svennung's examples show a mixture of vocative and nominative forms in the same sentence as early as Plautus, e. g. *Casina*, 134-8: *mi animule, mea vita, . . . voluptas mea, . . . meus festus dies, meus pullus passer, mea columba, mi lepus*, and also show that the tendency to treat the nominative as a permissible form in circumstances where one might expect a vocative gathered strength with the passage of time.

The first person in nouns (and adjectives) presents no such problems as the vocative. To be sure, Priscian's examples are too limited because they envisage only predicate constructions: 'tuus sum filius,' 'tuus nominor pater,' 'tuus vocor socius,' 'tuus nuncupor patronus.'⁸ Here again examples drawn from actual works in Latin show a wider range. In Cicero's *nos . . . consules desumus* (*In Cat.*, I, 3) the noun is nominative in apposition with *nos* as the subject of the verb; but in *quam diu mihi consuli designato . . . insidiatus es* (*In Cat.*, I, 11) *consuli* is dative in apposition with *mihi*, while in *volens vos Turnus adoro* (*Aeneid*, X, 677) *Turnus* is surely the subject of *adoro*. But since there are no distinctive first-person forms of nouns or adjectives, there is no competition or conflict of forms and constructions as with the vocative.

If the case for the vocative as a form for person rather than case is accepted as valid, we can now dispense with the uneasy formulation that the vocative is always a "Satz für sich" "outside the system proper."⁹ Instead, we can draw up a paradigm as follows which will accommodate the double function of the vocative as a noun form having person.

⁸ Priscian, XII, 2, 10; Keil, II, p. 582.

⁹ See above; cf. Werner Winter, "Vocative and Imperative," *Substance and Structure of Language*, ed. Jaan Puhvel (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1969), p. 211: ". . . vocative, since this form by itself constituted what we would now call a clause and did not enter into any syntactic relationship with other forms, be they verbal or nominal."

AMMIANUS ON ROMAN TAXATION.

Professor Rowell has recently drawn attention to Ammianus' clear conception of the powers and obligations inherent in the official office, and to the insight Ammianus thereby gained into the problems facing the Empire.¹ That is an important contribution; prevailing opinion belittles Ammianus' analytic abilities, stressing rather his skill in characterization² and his bias as a *curialis*,³ and trusts him mainly when he speaks of military matters.⁴

This study proceeds from Rowell's conclusions, and aims to re-assess Ammianus' views on the late imperial tax system. First, however, a brief sketch of the origin and character of that system, as it is a somewhat unfamiliar subject.

I

Military policies and personnel threatened to become dominant during the struggles which marked the Republic's end, but Augustus restored civilian and aristocratic predominance; hence emphasis on the title *princeps*. Similarly in the provinces considerable autonomy and privileges were accorded urban oligarchies much like Rome's. For two centuries these oligarchies shaped the Empire.⁵ Then *ca.* 200 A. D., as the result of incessant warfare and reduced resources, a new course became necessary. Mobilization of resources and manpower became the

¹ Henry T. Rowell, "Ammianus Marcellinus, Soldier-Historian of the Late Roman Empire," *Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple*, first series (Princeton, 1967), pp. 261-313, especially pp. 308-12.

² E. Thompson, *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus* (London, 1947), pp. 121-4, followed by S. Usher, *The Historians of Greece and Rome* (London, 1969), p. 257.

³ Thompson, pp. 81, 127-30, followed by M. Grant, *The Ancient Historians* (London, 1970), p. 376.

⁴ Thompson, pp. 11-12, followed by Grant, p. 381.

⁵ Dio, LVII, 8; cf. Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, II, 2 (3rd ed., 1887), pp. 760-3, 774-6 (*princeps*), and W. Heitland, *Last Words* (Cambridge, England, 1928), pp. 11-56 (urban oligarchies).

dominant concern, hence centralization and militarization. The Principate became the Dominate.⁶

Basic changes in military finance followed. Under the Principate each command could requisition needed supplies (*annona militaris*,) but this was a special measure and fair payment was made—at least in theory—by the imperial treasury (*fiscus*). “The treasury pays in full for whatever it takes,” says Pliny.⁷ Within the treasury was a special bureau for military procurement which sent out freedmen agents to supervise and record payments and deliveries; they worked under each command’s commissary officer, styled *praepositus annonae*.⁸

In wartime, when emergency measures were necessary, a special levy (*indictio*) could be decreed, collection being left to tax farmers who supplied the troops out of their own resources and then reimbursed themselves from the levy. The levy was actually raised by municipal councils, each being assigned a quota; if a council failed to raise its quota the *fiscus* paid the balance to the tax farmer and then charged it to the municipality as a debt.⁹ Even under the Antonines, a time of prosperity, many councils failed to collect the levies. Sometimes a wealthy citizen intervened; but often emperors had to remit debts owed the *fiscus*.¹⁰

⁶ L. Homo, *Roman Political Institutions* (tr. Dobie, London, 1929), pp. 277-290, 371 (“magistrates gave way to officials”); for a comparative treatment see S. Eisenstadt, “The Causes of Disintegration and Fall of Empires,” *Diogenes*, no. 34 (1961), pp. 82-107.

⁷ Pliny, *Pan.*, 29, 3-4: *Quippe non ut ex hostico raptae perituraeque in horreis messes nequiquam quiritantibus sociis auferuntur . . . emit fiscus quidquid videtur emere*. The point of the last four words seems to be obscured by the recent Loeb translation of B. Radice, *Pliny*, II, (London, 1969), p. 387: “. . . the imperial exchequer pays openly (!) for its purchases.” M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1957), pp. 357-8, shows that theory and practice did not always coincide.

⁸ D. van Berchem, “L’annone militaire dans l’empire Romain au IIIe siècle,” *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, ser. 8, X (1937), pp. 117-202, at pp. 138-46.

⁹ *indictio* is first mentioned by Pliny, *Pan.*, 29, 4. On its operation see J. Guey, “Inscription du second siècle relative à l’annone militaire,” *M. E. F. R.*, LV (1938), pp. 56-77, especially pp. 69-75.

¹⁰ Rostovtzeff (above, n. 7), pp. 355-65 and pp. 694-6 (notes 4, 6). Cf. L. Harmand, *Le Patronat sur les collectivités publiques* (Paris,

Under the Dominate a new system appears. In 193 Septimius Severus rewarded his legionaries with a privilege hitherto enjoyed only by praetorians: free rations. As a result the military supply service was greatly increased, its chief at headquarters received a new title (*procurator annonae*), and the imperial post—now responsible for supply transport—was reorganized and enlarged.¹¹ Special levies of the *annona* could now be made by each command at all times, and what had once been a war-time measure now became regular and recurrent. Partly this was necessitated by a new strategy which relied on mobile armies carrying a minimum of provisions,¹² but the basic factor was the supremacy of military men and military needs.

Two novel aspects of this new tax system require emphasis. (1) Responsibility for collecting the *annona* was assigned to municipal councils, as was customary; but in addition the councils were bound by a policy entirely new: no arrears were allowed. If a council's tax delegate failed to raise the quota, he was held liable for the balance; if he went bankrupt, his nominators were liable; and if they went bankrupt, then the whole council was assessed.¹³ This was a crushing burden on the

1957), pp. 354-96, on similar "largesses" and "administrative interventions" under the Later Empire.

¹¹ A. B., 1914, no. 248, records the new title in the *cursus* of Roscius Vitulus; it is noteworthy that the titles *praepositus annonae* and *procurator annonae* are clearly distinguished, the former being listed with his military posts, the latter with administrative; cf. H. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes* (3 vols., Paris, 1960-61), pp. 593-8, and van Berchem (above, n. 8), pp. 144-6 (which corrects and supersedes A. von Domaszewski, "Die Annona des Heeres im Kriege," *Epitymbion Heinrich Swoboda* [Reichenberg, 1927], pp. 17-18). On Severus' expansion of the bureaucracy see H. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres* (Paris, 1950), pp. 90-8.

¹² M. Amit, "Les moyens de communication et de la défense de l'empire Romain," *P.P.*, no. 102 (1965), pp. 207-25.

¹³ Rostovtzeff (above, n. 7), pp. 410-24. The basic documents are collected in U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I, 2 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912): no. 278 (p. 329 = *P. Oxy.*, I, 62) describes the arrest of a *decaprotos* assigned collection of domain rents; no. 279 (pp. 329-30 = *B.G.U.*, II, 579) is a receipt issued by municipal councillors for delivery of grain; no. 280 (pp. 330-1 = *P. Oxy.*, VI, 890) shows the report of a president of a municipal council to a district administrator giving the names of councillors who have

gentry. Soon it was necessary to use soldiers to threaten, arrest, and beat defaulting councillors. Then, since many took to flight, governors were instructed to keep all councillors in their native towns to fulfill their duties, thus extending to the gentry the principle of *origo* which formerly had applied only to servile classes.¹⁴ (2) To administer the new system a new bureaucracy developed within the praetorian prefecture, which by 241 administered the military budget and had its own treasury (*arca*) independent of the *fiscus*. Each command, however, continued to have the power of requisition, leading to much inequity. Thus during the third century the new military élite recruited from the ranks gained control of the major tax system as well as the officers corps and high administrative posts. This represented an extraordinary shift of power.¹⁵

During the Tetrarchy (284-325) two fundamental reforms affected the tax system. Diocletian centralized control and based taxation on a uniform census, both changes aiming at equal distribution of burdens. Constantine divested the prefecture of its military functions and then divided it into regional prefectures, each charged with supervision of provincial government as well as the military budget within its area. One major effect of Constantine's reform was to end military predominance in the prefectures; many chief posts began to be given to professional administrators, especially *advocati* of the legal branch, a group generally recruited from the lesser gentry.¹⁶

Finally, a word on the system's operation. It was based on a careful census of the Empire's population, land, and domestic

been chosen to collect taxes for the imperial treasury; no. 402 (pp. 479-81 = *C. P. R.*, 20) shows that the rules governing responsibility had been fully developed by A. D. 250.

¹⁴ *Dig.*, I, 2, 1: *decuriones . . . praeses provinciae in patrium solum revocare et muneribus congruentibus fungi curet.*

¹⁵ van Berchem (above, n. 8), pp. 188-9, and S. De Laet, "Les pouvoirs militaires des préfets du prétoire," *R. B. Ph.*, XXV (1947), pp. 509-54, especially pp. 545-50 (praetorian prefecture); G. Lopuszanski, "La transformation du corps des officiers supérieurs dans l'armée Romaine," *M. E. F. R.*, LV (1938), pp. 131-83 (new recruitment).

¹⁶ C. Lécivain, "Note sur le recrutement des avocats," *M. E. F. R.*, V (1885), pp. 276-83; P. Petit, *Les étudiants de Libanius* (Paris, 1957), pp. 179-88.

animals. This was made by municipal officials on the basis of sworn statements by landowners, entered on a local cadaster, and then copied for the office of the provincial governor where a provincial cadaster was drawn up. Copies of the provincial cadaster were then sent to the prefect and his vicar, and were then summarized for use in assigning quotas. Levies of the *annona* were authorized by each prefect for his own prefecture, regular ones at direction of the emperor and extraordinary ones at his own discretion. Then the vicar of each diocese, the governor of each province, and the council of each municipality was in turn assigned a quota. Payments in kind were deposited in imperial granaries, money was forwarded to the prefectural treasury; from the granaries and treasury came the pay of all soldiers and officials in the region. Thus each prefecture had an extraordinarily important and autonomous role.¹⁷

The *annona* was a heavy burden, and was rendered more burdensome by oppression and corruption. Municipal tax collectors (*susceptores*), for example, had military police at their disposal and used them freely. It is noteworthy that the Theadelphia archive has two documents concerning contested tax liability, and in both the use of violence is mentioned.¹⁸ Simple extortion was therefore easily arranged. Aurelius Isidorus complained to the governor that collectors had levied 300 talents without authorization, and had also appropriated donkeys and sheep, concluding with the words "They terrorize us. . . ." Similar acts are recorded for Theadelphia.¹⁹ Rural collectors (*praepositi*) were able to extort money from peasants easily; hence laws strictly forbidding them to acquire property in their districts, one recording a complicated bit of chicanery.²⁰

But a more fundamental problem centered on the role of the

¹⁷ J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates* (Munich, 1958), pp. 43-54, 80-92; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602* (3 vols., Oxford, 1964), I, pp. 456-60.

¹⁸ P. Jouguet, *Papyrus de Théadelphie* (Paris, 1911), nos. 13 (pp. 88-91) and 19 (pp. 120-3).

¹⁹ A. Boak and H. Youtie, *The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus* (Ann Arbor, 1960), no. 73 (A. D. 314; pp. 284-8, quote from p. 288); Jouguet (above, n. 18), no. 15 (A. D. 280/1; pp. 98-102).

²⁰ *C. Th.*, VIII, 15, I (A. D. 334).

municipal registrar (*tabularius civitatis*), for he had the crucial task of drawing up the official list of taxpayers and their assessments. As early as 313 Constantine charged that registrars "through collusion with the more powerful (*potentiores*) are transferring their burden of taxes to persons of inferior status," thus pointing to the origins of a fundamental feature of late imperial society.²¹

Aggrieved taxpayers could appeal to the provincial governors, but in effect this meant going first to the governor's staff (*cohortales*), a group of depressed status largely dependent on "gifts" (*sportulae*) from the wealthy, and so very open to bribery. Nor were governors immune either, as Ammianus indicates.²²

Finally, supreme direction lay in the hands of the praetorian prefects and their deputies (vicars). At this level there was less illegality and connivance; policy decisions and interpretations, however, were sufficiently lucrative to allow ample "honest graft," to use George Washington Plunkitt's useful term.²³

II

Let us now turn to the main elements of what Ammianus reports concerning late imperial taxation.

First, and most basic: the system is corrupt. Lawyers and judges act in collusion, selling decisions "to officers in the Army and important men in the Palace"; hence an *intestina perniciēs* which was destroying the state.²⁴

This judgment is connected in Ammianus' analysis with an indictment of the greed and unscrupulousness of high officials. Thus, he says that courtiers fostered fears of disloyalty "so they could lay claim to the property of condemned persons." Corrup-

²¹ *C. Th.*, XIII, 10, 1 (A. D. 313: *conclusio potentiorum*); cf. J. Gagé, *Les classes sociales dans l'empire Romain* (Paris, 1964), pp. 417-24.

²² A. H. M. Jones, *Studies in Roman Government and Law* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 168-9 (*cohortales*), 171-2 (*sportulae*).

²³ Ammianus, XXX, 5, 6 (pretexts); W. Riordan, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* (N. Y., 1963), pp. 3-6 ("honest graft").

²⁴ Ammianus, XXX, 4, 2 (lawyers and judges *qui tenuiorum negotia militaris rei rectoribus vel intra palatium validis venditantes*); XXX, 4, 1 (*intestina perniciēs*).

tion among palace dignitaries had begun under Constantine, "but it was Constantius [II] who fattened them with the marrow of the provinces," and Ammianus then gives a list including both civil and military leaders.²⁵

Indeed, Ammianus' focus on high officials, both civilian and military, is noteworthy. It is confirmed by other evidence. During the third century fiscal abuses seem to have been mainly on the local level; the chief malefactors were supply officers and clerks on the company level, sometimes too a municipal tax collector.²⁶ By 325, however, we hear of whole provinces being mulcted by warehouse officers acting in collusion with commanders, and in 364 illegal taxes are being levied on provinces by commanders. In 450 the emperor describes how a tax investigator from the prefecture's staff could terrorize the landowners of a whole province by the use of "terrible orders about various and very numerous tax accounts. . . ." ²⁷ What this indicates is that the effect of centralization was to concentrate not only power but also the profits of power.

A second significant feature of Ammianus' account is the evidence it gives of growing cooperation between civil and military dignitaries. Separated in the third century by sharp differences, civilians and soldiers remained apart in the fourth,²⁸ but at the same time the civil and military élites were being drawn together by mutual interest. We can see this clearly in the story of Romanus, who used his military position to extort great sums from the provincials he was able to defend and was protected by

²⁵ Ammianus, XXX, 4, 1 (*potentium tumor*); XVI, 8, 11 (courtiers) and 12-13 (Constantius II); cf. R. Anderson, *The Rise and Fall of Middle-Class Loyalty to the Roman Empire* (diss. Berkeley, 1962), pp. 202-8.

²⁶ Aurelius Victor, *de Oes.*, 33, 13 (*actuarii*); cf. Rostovtzeff (above, n. 7), pp. 648-9 (n. 94), pp. 738-9 (notes 17-18). On municipalities see A. Boak, "A Fourth Century Petition for Relief from Extortion," *J. J. P.*, I (1946), pp. 7-12.

²⁷ *C. Th.*, VII, 4, 1 (325: warehouses), 4, 12 (364: illegal taxes); *N. Val.*, I, 3 (450: investigators), translation from C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code* (Princeton, 1952), p. 516; cf. Jones, (above, n. 17), p. 457.

²⁸ Ammianus, XIV, 10, 4: *soldiery coalito more in ordinarias dignitates asperum semper et saevum*; cf. R. Frank, *Scholae Palatinae* (Rome, 1969), pp. 170-4.

relatives and allies in the civilian services.²⁹ Ammianus' phrase linking civilian and military leaders in a general indictment has already been quoted, and another corroboration is provided by the story of how the general Petronius gained wealth from taxes and then helped raise his ally Nebridius to a praetorian prefecture.³⁰ These instances explain why Valentinian I, anxious to check corruption, turned to men outside the élites such as Maximinus and fell back on methods of terrorism.³¹

More important, understanding the growing ties between civil and military élites illuminates the crucial events of 375. When Valentinian died suddenly at Brigetio on November 17 a conference of marshals and ministers was held to consider the succession—quite independently, be it noted, of the legitimate authority, the emperors Valens and Gratian. It was unanimously decided to proclaim Valentinian's four-year-old son emperor, and this was quickly accepted by all. Gratian immediately announced to the Senate a change of policy in a formal message (*oratio*) which was received and applauded in Rome on January 1. The speed of these arrangements, considering the distances involved, "reveals the threads of a plot that must have been spun before," a plot carried out by military and civil dignitaries acting in close accord.³²

The sequel is revealing. Gratian reversed Valentinian's anti-senatorial policies, beginning with repeal of a law allowing police detention of senators. Then followed a fundamental concession: a special procedure was established for trying cases involving senators, providing that they should be tried at Rome and by a special panel chosen by the Senate itself. Senators were thus removed entirely from the jurisdiction of regular courts, and regained the privileged position they had lost a century before.³³ Then in 387 the character of the office of *defensor*, instituted by

²⁹ Ammianus, XXVII, 9, 1-4; cf. Frank (above, n. 28), pp. 186-7, and B. Warmington, "The Career of Romanus," *B. Z.*, XLIX (1956), pp. 55-64.

³⁰ Ammianus, XXVI, 7, 4.

³¹ A. Alföldy, *A Conflict of Ideas in the Late Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 13-23 (humble men), 28-47 (terror).

³² Ammianus, XXX, 10 (death, conference); Symmachus, *Ep.*, I, 13 (*oratio*); Alföldy (above, n. 31), p. 85 (quotation).

³³ *C. Th.*, IX, 1, 13 (376); cf. C. Coster, *The Iudicium Quinquievirale* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), pp. 20-33.

Valentinian to protect the masses, was fundamentally changed by giving the right of nomination to municipal councils; thus these officers were now made dependent on the gentry, the very group they were supposed to check. Thereafter the *defensores* became no more than municipal executives, and fiscal abuses continued unchecked.³⁴

A third significant feature of Ammianus' work is the evidence he gives of a revival of senatorial power. This represented an extraordinary reversal of the trend to military dominance which had set in under the Severi and continued through the Tetrarchy. For a time Constantine continued and even strengthened this trend; thus during 323-326 the post of urban prefect, traditionally reserved for senatorials, was held by two military men from the ranks. But then in 326 a shift occurred; the post went to an aristocrat of the great *gens Anicia*, and members of the senatorial élite held the post throughout the rest of the reign. This seems to indicate a rapprochement between Constantine and the high aristocracy, an aspect of Constantine's general favor towards the senatorial order.³⁵

Now it was just at this time too that senatorial control was extended over the tax system, for it was around 326 that the praetorian prefecture was reorganized and the new office of regional prefect was raised to senatorial status.³⁶ The first prefects under the new system were men of diverse origin such as Caelius Saturninus, who had entered the service as an *advocatus*, and Valerius Maximus, of an old aristocratic house.³⁷ Our fragmentary information precludes precision, but it is clear that gradually the prefectures came into senatorial hands. A land-

³⁴ *C. Th.*, I, 29, 1-5 (368-373) and 6 (387: councils); cf. A. Hoepffner, "La création du 'defensor pacis'," *R. H.*, CLXXXII (1938), pp. 225-37, and B. Rees, "The Defensor Civitatis in Egypt," *J. J. P.*, VI (1952), pp. 73-102.

³⁵ A. Chastagnol, *Les Fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas Empire* (Paris, 1962), pp. 74-8 (nos. 30-1: military men appointed, on p. 78 called "a revolutionary policy"); pp. 78-102 (nos. 32-40: aristocrats during the rest of Constantine's reign); cf. Jones (above, n. 17), I, p. 107 (senatorials).

³⁶ A. Chastagnol, *Recherches sur l'Histoire Auguste* (Bonn, 1970), pp. 57-9.

³⁷ *C. I. L.*, VI, 1704, 1705 (Saturninus); Chastagnol, *Les Fastes* (above, n. 35), pp. 72-4 (Maximus).

mark in this development was the appointment of Vulcacius Rufinus in 346 to be prefect of Italy; he was of the high aristocracy, held various prefectures during the next twenty years, and on his death in 368 was succeeded by another aristocrat, Petronius Probus.³⁸

Ammianus gives the impression that Rufinus and Probus were only the most prominent of their type, and that aristocrats dominated the prefectures in general. Detailed prosopographic work is required to check this. Ammianus is, however, explicit about the way these men used their power to enrich themselves and their families.³⁹ And he stresses the point by a dramatic presentation of Valentinian's discovery of Probus' extortions and the great hardship they caused.⁴⁰ This is a significant passage, for its length and rhetorical finish indicate the importance Ammianus attached to it, and indeed taken along with the earlier description of Probus it gives a detailed and revealing picture of the power a single prefect could exercise. Ammianus is indicting the imperial regime in general and the administration of its tax system in particular; it is part of his indictment that the whole description of Valentinian's discovery and anger is prefaced with the remark that "usually he was severe in punishing people of humble status but lenient towards persons of higher rank."⁴¹

Finally, Ammianus indicates how officials managed the tax system. On three important topics he is particularly illuminating: (a) special levies; (b) tax remissions; (c) crown lands.

(a) Julian was once informed by the prefect of Gaul that a special levy (*superindictio*) was necessary because current tax receipts were insufficient for military expenses. When Julian expressed opposition the prefect took it as a reflection on his integrity; nevertheless Julian persisted and showed him "by an

³⁸ O. Seeck, "Rufinus, no. 15," *R.-E.*, IA, 1 (1914), cols. 1187-8 (Vulcacius Rufinus); O. Seeck, "Anicius, no. 45," *R.-E.*, I, 2 (1894), cols. 2205-7, and (supplementary) W. Ensslin, "Probus, no. 6," *R.-E.*, XXIII, 1 (1957), cols. 56-7 (Petronius Probus).

³⁹ Ammianus, XXVII, 7, 2 (*Rufinus... lucrandi opportunas occasiones occultationis spe numquam praetermittens*); XXVII, 11 (Probus).

⁴⁰ Ammianus, XXX, 5, 4-10.

⁴¹ Ammianus, XXX, 5, 3.

exact and accurate computation" that the *annona* was bringing in quite enough for expenses.

The story is significant because it illustrates the autonomy normally enjoyed by prefects. Imperial assent was clearly regarded as a mere formality and was expected; in this case the prefect continued to feel aggrieved and complained to Constantius II. Evidently even the formality of gaining assent was not always observed; Julian subsequently issued an edict ordering that "no tax levy shall be made upon the provincials without Our knowledge. . . ." In any case, very rarely did a ruler have the persistence, interest, and knowledge displayed by Julian in fiscal matters. After his death high officials quickly regained full freedom of action and pursued policies leading to serious inequities; an outstanding ruler such as Julian could only curb temporarily a fundamental weakness in the imperial system. Ammianus indicates this weakness brilliantly in his dramatic account of the revelations made by Iphicles and their devastating effect on Valentinian.⁴²

(b) The law cited above also orders that "from tax levies which have been made no remissions shall be granted." Julian's reasons for this are given by Ammianus: while governing Gaul he refused to grant remissions of tax arrears (*indulgentiae*) because they "would enrich the wealthy, since it is clear that it is the poor who are forced to pay levies quickly and without delay." This is important testimony, the only such for the period (so far as I know). And it corroborates a later account, as we shall see.⁴³

(c) Crown lands had been increased enormously under Constantine and Constantius II by confiscation of temple and municipal properties. Julian issued an edict in 362 ordering the return of these properties. Ammianus, however, informs us that only part could be returned, "the rest having been alienated semi-legally by high officials."⁴⁴ This casts light upon a fourth-century development of profound importance.

⁴² Ammianus, XVII, 3, 2-4 (Julian), 5 (complaint); *C. Th.*, XI, 16, 10 (362: tax levy); Ammianus, XXX, 5, 9-10 (Iphicles and Valentinian); cf. Karayannopoulos (above, n. 17), pp. 138-41.

⁴³ *C. Th.*, XI, 16, 10 (362: remission); Ammianus, XVI, 5, 15 (Julian); cf. Karayannopoulos (above, n. 17), pp. 191-3.

⁴⁴ *C. Th.* X, 3, 1 (362: return); cf. Jones (above, n. 17), I, pp. 415-19

Ammianus is certainly referring here to crown lands leased at a fixed rent for an indefinite period. This institution (*ius perpetuum*) was very advantageous, since the lessee had a permanent and heritable right to the land and was exempt from many imperial taxes. Furthermore, since the lessee had possession (*possessio*) but not ownership (*dominium*), his land remained legally an imperial domain, and as such was entirely independent of municipal authorities and exempt from municipal taxes. Properties held on this basis were really feudal manors, and the privileges of their owners (*possessores*) were so great that all wealthy landowners tried to gain their status, and in fact succeeded by the end of the fourth century. A law of 384 speaks of "the powerful men, that is the *possessores*"; by 409 *possessores* are the large landowners as opposed to the *curiales*.⁴⁵

Now this development had taken place in opposition to imperial policy and legislation. Only poorer lands were supposed to be leased in *ius perpetuum*, as a reward for improvement; the best lands were to be leased for short periods at negotiated rents, for maximum returns.⁴⁶ But, as a law stated in 393, "it has come about through the arrogance of wicked men that all the best lands are serving their greed for gain and profits."⁴⁷

Who were these "powerful, wicked" *possessores*? Ammianus points to the great bureaucrats: Vulcacius Rufinus, "who never let slip an opportunity for gain if there was hope of concealment"; Petronius Probus, rich in estates scattered over the empire, "whether legally or illegally acquired is not for me to judge," ready to help his friends and indeed "compelled" to

and III, p. 231, n. 44. On high officials see Ammianus, XXV, 4, 15: . . . *vectigalia civitatibus restituta cum fundis, absque his quos velut iure vendidere praeteritae potestates, . . .*

⁴⁵ Jones (above, n. 17), I, pp. 417-18 (*ius perpetuum*); *C. Th.*, XI, 16, 1, 12, 20 (318, 380, 389: imperial exemptions); *C. Th.*, XI, 7, 12 (383: *potentiores, decuriones, minores*); XI, 15, 2 (384: *potiorum tantum, id est possessorum*); cf. *C. J.*, I, 55, 8 (409): *episcoporum nec non clericorum et honoratorum ac possessorum et curialium . . .*).

⁴⁶ A. Schulten, "Zwei Erlasse des Kaisers Valens über die Provinz Asia," *J. O. e. A. I.*, IX (1906), pp. 40-70, especially pp. 48-9. Edict itself reprinted in C. Bruns, *F. I. R. A.* (7th ed., 1909, pp. 270 ff., translated in A. Johnson, et al., *Ancient Roman Statutes* (Austin, 1961), pp. 251-2.

⁴⁷ *C. Th.*, V, 14, 33 (393), trans. C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code* (Princeton, 1952), p. 113.

seek prefectures "because of the presumption of his close friends." Below them were governors who bought their posts and then used their power "to snatch booty." Thus corruption permeated the system.⁴⁸

This development was probably inevitable. Bureaucracies can be controlled only when they are decentralized and are checked by centers of autonomous power.⁴⁹ The character of the senatorial élite was a factor too; its members formed an "elect," combining eminence in wealth, status, and power, and they complacently assumed that the purpose of holding office was to help friends. Thus Symmachus: "The honor of your government service is displayed by the favors you can grant."⁵⁰

As the senatorial class gradually gained for themselves the name and—we must presume—the privileges of *possessores*, the result was to withdraw vast areas of land from municipal control and municipal tax rolls. *Curiales* were forced to raise their taxes on a much reduced tax base. And this completed the ruin of the *curiales* and the municipal system in general, a development of profound importance.⁵¹

III

Ammianus' account is corroborated by Salvian. Writing about 440, he described a society beset by poverty, rebellion, and bandits. He traces these ills to the rapacity of the ruling class, and his specific charges recapitulate the abuses Ammianus described.⁵²

⁴⁸ Ammianus, XXVII, 7, 2 (Rufinus), 11, 1 (Probus' estates), 11, 2 (friends), 11, 3 (. . . *familiarium licentia capessere cogebatur*); XXX, 4, 21 (*iudices . . . excutiunt praedas*); cf. Anderson (above, n. 25), pp. 203-8.

⁴⁹ F. Riggs, *The Ecology of Public Administration* (New Delhi, 1961), pp. 50-7.

⁵⁰ Symmachus, *Ep.*, VII, 94; cf. Riggs (above, n. 49), pp. 27-31 (elect), and J. McGeachy, *Quintus Aurelius Symmachus* (Chicago, 1942), pp. 27-52.

⁵¹ M. Weber, *Römische Agrargeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1891; rpt. Amsterdam, 1962), pp. 250-67.

⁵² A. Schaefer, *Römer und Germanen bei Salvian* (Breslau, 1930), pp. 38-40 (date, conditions), 72-8 (criticism of *possessores*); cf. R. Thouvenot, "Salvien et la ruine de l'empire Romain," *M. E. F. R.*, XXXVIII (1920), pp. 145-63.

Salvian charges: (a) Members of the upper classes use power to steal; the prefectures are no more than sources of booty, and in general the collection of taxes benefits the few at the expense of the many.⁵³ (b) Taxes are especially galling because the rich do not pay, thus shifting the burden to the poor: "the weaker carry the load of the stronger."⁵⁴ (c) Worst of all, the rich often arrange for extra levies, which are then paid entirely by the poor.⁵⁵ (d) When a remission of arrears is granted, the benefit goes entirely to the rich: "the poor are the first to be burdened and the last to be relieved."⁵⁶ Finally a new aspect, not noted by Ammianus: when the poor turn to the rich for protection they must sign away their land; "in order that the fathers may have protection, the sons lose their heritage."⁵⁷

And so, concludes Salvian, this is the reason why Roman power declines and the barbarians are victorious. "We have been preparing the way for this for a long time by oppression of the masses, and now we who subjected others are ourselves being subjected."⁵⁸

IV

There is a striking similarity between what we find in Ammianus and in Salvian regarding the empire's fiscal system; they describe the same development, though at different stages, and give each other reciprocal corroboration. They focus on political and fiscal inequities as the fundamental causes of the empire's

⁵³ Salvian, *De gubernatione Dei* (ed. F. Pauly, *C. S. E. L.*, VIII, 1883), IV, 4, 21: *quid est enim aliud dignitas sublimium quam proscriptio civitatum? aut quid aliud quorundam, quos taceo, praefectura quam praeda?* and V, 4, 17: *plurimi proscribuntur a paucis, quibus exactio publica peculiaris est praeda.* . . .

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 7, 28: *infirmitates ferunt sarcinas fortiorum.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 7, 30: *decernunt potentes quod solvunt pauperes . . . ipsi enim in nullo sentirent quod decernunt.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 8, 34: *nam sicut sunt in adgravatione pauperes primi, ita in relevatione postremi.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 8, 39: *ut patres habeant defensionem, perdunt filii hereditatem.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, V, 9, 46: *diu id plurimorum oppressione elaboravimus, ut captivando alios etiam ipsi inciperemus esse captivi.*

weakness and decline.⁵⁹ This is an important point, since in recent years their testimony has not been given due weight.

For example, A. H. M. Jones in his authoritative study of the Later Empire dismisses Salvian as "rhetorical and obscure," "biased and unreliable." His general explanation for the empire's decline is that there were "too many idle mouths," and ascribes this to a number of causes including "the new religion." Elsewhere he stresses the importance of "compulsion and . . . personal ambition in its cruder forms."⁶⁰ His refusal to focus on any particular cause or aspect has become canonical. Glanville Downey explicitly follows him in speaking of "a variety of interrelated factors"; F. W. Walbank echoes with "a closely-knit texture of interacting factors."⁶¹

These formulations justify evasions of the historian's ultimate task, to give a clear and coherent interpretation of a period or

⁵⁹ F. Paschoud, *Roma Aeterna* (Rome, 1967), pp. 50-6 (Ammianus); Thouvenot (above, n. 52), p. 153.

⁶⁰ Jones (above, n. 17), II, pp. 777, 1060 (Salvian; but on p. 774 he accepts his testimony on important points), 1045 (decline), 1058 (public spirit). His shortened version of the work, *The Decline of the Ancient World* (N. Y., 1966), adds mention of aristocratic control of the administration (p. 364) and heavy taxation (p. 366) as causes of decline, but without emphasis. He had stressed these factors much more in an article "On Over-Taxation and the Decline of the Roman Empire," *Antiquity*, XXXII (1959), pp. 39-43.

⁶¹ G. Downey, *The Late Roman Empire* (N. Y., 1969), p. 97; F. W. Walbank, *The Awful Revolution* (Toronto, 1969), p. 108: "It is not always easy to distinguish cause from effect, when confronted with a closely-knit texture of interacting factors. But briefly it may be said that the Greeks of the City-State, burdened by poverty and subjected to the constant frictions of a frontier large in proportion to the city's area, were by tradition and necessity aggressive and predatory; their strong feeling for autonomy tended, on every opportunity, to slide over insensibly into a claim to dominate others." It is instructive to compare with this the parallel passage in Walbank's earlier version of the study, *The Decline of the Roman Empire in the West* (London, 1946), p. 68: "As so often, we find ourselves discussing as cause and effect factors which were constantly interacting, so that in reality the distinction between the effective agent and the result it brought about is quite arbitrary. But roughly speaking, the City-State, *precisely because it was a minority culture*, tended to be aggressive and predatory, *its claim to autonomy sliding over insensibly, at every opportunity, into a claim to dominate others*" (italics added).

development. To show the interaction of factors is important, but interpretation requires a final step: focus on a particular set of factors as primary and determinative.⁶²

There have, of course, been such interpretations in recent years, but all ignore the evidence of Ammianus and Salvian. To review some notable examples: in 1954 Max Cary suggested as the "chief proximate cause" of decline "the preoccupation of the Roman garrisons in the third century with the game of emperor-making."⁶³ In 1947 André Piganiol denied that decline was a factor: "it is false to say that Rome was in decline . . . Roman civilization did not die a natural death. It was assassinated."⁶⁴ In 1926 Michael Rostovtzeff concluded that "the main phenomenon which underlines the process of decline is the gradual absorption of the educated classes by the masses and the consequent simplification of all the functions of political, social, economic, and intellectual life, which we call the barbarization of the ancient world."⁶⁵

Even more striking is the scant attention paid fiscal inequities by recent legal and economic historians. Here are three examples: in 1967 Jean Gaudemet ascribed imperial collapse to "insufficiency of means and a series of perils and crises."⁶⁶ In 1961 Amintore Fanfani felt that the basic cause was "perhaps" the ineffectiveness of the state, and stressed the role of "an extremely individualistic mentality among the aristocracy along with a spirit of passivity and subordination among the free lower classes."⁶⁷ And in 1938 F. Heichelheim argued that a basic equality of people and classes existed under the Later Empire, that the towns were "particularly well looked after," that heavy taxes were necessary to pay for "the higher forms of

⁶² E. H. Carr, *What Is History?* (N. Y., 1962), p. 117: "Every historical argument revolves around the question of the priority of causes."

⁶³ M. Cary, *A History of Rome* (2nd ed., London, 1954), p. 779: ". . . preoccupation of the Roman garrisons in the third century with the game of emperor-making."

⁶⁴ A. Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien (325-395)* (Paris, 1947), pp. 421-2.

⁶⁵ M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1957: first published in 1926), p. 541.

⁶⁶ J. Gaudemet, *Institutions de l'antiquité* (Paris, 1967), p. 684.

⁶⁷ A. Fanfani, *Storia Economica*, I (3rd ed., Turin, 1968: first published 1961), pp. 128-9.

culture" and defence, and that the fundamental cause of decline was failure to unite the empire economically early enough.⁶⁸

It is remarkable that the authors cited have rejected without argument an interpretation developed in the nineteenth century on the basis of thorough research and dominant down to 1927. In that year Ferdinand Lot summed it up forcefully in a chapter entitled "The Large Estate versus the State and the Weak."⁶⁹ A few years earlier Ernst Stein related his analysis of the praetorian prefecture to the general premise that "The West Roman Empire fell because it came under the domination of a feudal aristocracy. . . ."⁷⁰ But the major works of analysis and synthesis were published in 1898 by Samuel Dill⁷¹ and in 1891 by N. Fustel de Coulanges.⁷² Their conclusions are succinctly summarized by Dill:

The governing class of the municipalities, called *curiales*, on whom the burdens of the Empire had been accumulated, were diminishing in number, and in the ability to bear an ever-increasing load of obligations. At the same time, the upper class were increasing in wealth and power, partly from economic causes, partly from a determined effort to evade their proper share of the imperial imposts, and to absorb and reduce to dependence their unfortunate neighbors. In this selfish policy they were aided by the tyranny

⁶⁸ F. Heichelheim, *An Ancient Economic History*, III (tr. J. Stevens, Leyden, 1970: first published in 1938 as *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums*), pp. 276 (equality), 336 (towns), 337 (culture), 339 (failure to unite economically).

⁶⁹ F. Lot, *The End of the Ancient World* (tr. P. and M. Leon, N. Y., 1931: first published in 1927 as *La fin du Monde Antique*), pp. 128-34.

⁷⁰ E. Stein, *Untersuchungen über das Officium der Prätorianerpräfektur seit Diokletian* (Vienna, 1922), p. 71; but Stein refers to this only in passing in his major work, *Geschichte des spätromischen Reiches*, I (Vienna, 1928), pp. 504-5. Similarly A. H. M. Jones follows Stein in emphasizing the central importance of aristocratic control in his article on the bureaucracy, "The Roman Civil Service," *J.R.S.*, XXXIX (1949), pp. 38-55, at p. 53, but neglects the subject in his large work (above, n. 17).

⁷¹ S. Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (1898; rpt. N. Y., 1958).

⁷² N. Fustel de Coulanges, *Les origines du système féodal* (Paris, 1891), pp. 95-110 (Salvian, *precarium*), 235-47 (*patrocinium*), and *L'invasion germanique* (Paris, 1891), pp. 153-206 (landed aristocracy).

and venality of the officials of the treasury, whose exactions, chicanery, and corrupt favoritism seem to have become more shameless and cruel in proportion to the weakness of their victims and the difficulties of the times. And while the aristocratic class was becoming more selfish, and the civil service more oppressive and corrupt, the central government was growing feebler.⁷³

It is true, of course, that the general conclusions of Fustel and Dill are still being used as the basis for further analysis, as in the recent splendid monograph by Paul Petit on Libanius.⁷⁴ But in works of general history their conclusions tend to be ignored or de-emphasized, and this without indication of disproof or correction. We have here an example of a general trend in recent historical studies, the shift of attention to a host of non-political factors under the influence of economic historians. Charles Wilson, himself an economic historian, has recently suggested that the result has been an unwise tendency "to pigeon-hole the problem of taxation and public finance, because it is thought to be irrelevant, difficult or perhaps just dismal."⁷⁵

To conclude: the current views of the empire's decline seem superficial and unsatisfactory because they do not square with the focus and information given us by our most intelligent and penetrating source, the history of Ammianus. And if today we are beginning to appreciate properly Ammianus' intelligence and penetration, it is due primarily not to historians but to philologists, among them the distinguished scholar to whom this essay is dedicated.

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⁷³ Dill (above, n. 71), pp. 245-6.

⁷⁴ P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale* (Paris, 1955), especially pp. 335-45.

⁷⁵ C. Wilson, "Taxation and the Decline of Empires, an Unfashionable Theme," pp. 114-27 of *Economic History and the Historian* (London, 1969); the quotation is from p. 127.

A LATE BYZANTINE ACCOUNT OF OSTRACISM.¹

For Henry T. Rowell

I

Vaticanus Graecus 1144, a parchment codex of *saec.* XV,² contains on foll. 215^v-225^v a curious collection of *gnomai*, *apophthegmata*, and historical material. The collection has been published,³ but publication was in an obscure Academy journal and the material has almost totally escaped notice. In particular, the item which I print here has played no part in the lengthy bibliography on ostracism.⁴ The republication is intended to initiate discussion and my own remarks will be limited to a brief commentary.

fol. 222^{rv} (1) Κλεισθένης τὸν ἐξοστρακισμοῦ νόμον ἐς Ἀθήνας εἰσήνεγκεν.

(2) ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος·

(3) τὴν βουλὴν τινῶν ἡμερῶν σκεψαμένων (σκεψαμένην Sternbach)

(4) ἐπιγράφειν ἔθος <ἦν suppl. Sternbach> εἰς ὄστρακα

(5) ὅντινα δέοι τῶν πολιτῶν φυγαδευθῆναι

¹ The two parts of this article discuss the text from different approaches: the first part is by J. J. K., the second by A. E. R.

² On the MS see now P. Canart and V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana* = *Studi e Testi*, 261 (Città del Vaticano, 1970), pp. 543-4.

³ By Leo Sternbach, "Gnomologium Parisinum ineditum, Appendix Vaticana," *Rozprawy Umiejetnosci Wydzial Filologiczny*, Serya II, Tom. V. (Krakowie, 1894), pp. 135-218 (App. Vat. on pp. 171-218). The edition is not very reliable. The portions of the historical material which deal with Alexander were republished by Sternbach in *Wiener Studien*, XVI (1894), pp. 8-37.

⁴ Cf. A. E. Raubitschek, "Theophrastos on Ostracism," *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XIX (1958), pp. 73-109; W. R. Connor and J. J. Keaney, "Theophrastus on the End of Ostracism," *A. J. P.*, XC (1969), pp. 313-19; J. J. Keaney, "The Text of Androtion F 6 and the Origin of Ostracism," *Historia*, XIX (1970), pp. 1-11; G. R. Stanton, "The Introduction of Ostracism and Alemeonid Propaganda," *J. H. S.*, XC (1970), pp. 180-3; and R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 40-7.

- (6) καὶ ταῦτα ῥίπτειν εἰς τὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου περί-
φραγμα.
 (7) ὅτῳ δὲ ἂν ὑπὲρ διακόσια γένηται τὰ ὄστρακα
 (8) φεύγειν ἔτη δέκα,
 (9) τὰ ἐκείνου καρπούμενον.
 (10) ὕστερον δὲ τὸν δῆμον (τῷ δήμῳ Sternbach)
ἔδοξε νομοθετῆσαι
 (11) ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλια γίνεσθαι τὰ ὄστρακα τοῦ φνυγα-
δευθῆναι μέλλοντος.⁵

(1) The specific attribution of the institution of ostracism to Cleisthenes is found only thrice elsewhere: in Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 22, 1 and 3, in Aelian, *V. H.*, XIII, 24, and in two lexical passages (cf. Philochorus, 328 F 30) which, I have argued,⁶ are to be attributed to Philochorus, whose source was Androtion.

(2) Cf. Sch. Ar., *Eq.*, 855: τοιοῦτος ὁ τρόπος τοῦ ὀστρακισμοῦ and Diod., XI, 55, 1: ὁ δὲ νόμος ἐγένετο τοιοῦτος.

(3) Cf. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, p. 248, 7: 'Ἐκφυλλοφορῆσαι' . . . ἐσκόπει ἡ βουλὴ περὶ αὐτοῦ.

(6) Cf. Tzetzes, *Chil.*, XIII, 449: ἐρρίπτουν εἰς Κυνόσαργες. The only other source to locate the procedure at the βουλευτήριον is Theodorus Metochites, *Miscellanea*, p. 609, Müller-Kießling: ὡς ἡθροιστο μὲν ὁ δῆμος παντόθεν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον. Other sources say either that the agora was enclosed (e.g. Philochorus, F 30) or (correctly) that part of the agora was enclosed (e.g. Pollux, VIII, 18). Close to the language of the MS is Plutarch, *Vit. Aristid.*, 7, 4: ἓνα τόπον τῆς ἀγορᾶς περιφραγμένον ἐν κύκλῳ δρυ-φάκτοις.

(7) W. R. Connor points out that σ' (200) could readily be confused with ς (6,000).

(9) Cf. Phil., F 30: καρπούμενον τὰ ἑαυτοῦ.

(11) Cf. Pollux, VIII, 18: τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐξοστρακίζεσθαι. Unless the statement is overly compressed, the author holds the (mistaken) view that 6,000 votes against a person were required for ostracism. Cf. the language of Timaeus, *Lex. Plat.*, s. v. Ἐξοστρακισμός: . . . τούτων (sc. ὀστράκων) ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλια γενομένων. Timaeus supports the view that a quorum of 6,000 was required.

⁵ Sternbach's corrections are easy and—it would seem—necessary.

⁶ *Historia*, XIX (1970), pp. 7-8. Cf. also Sch. Ar., *Eq.*, 855.

The account is drawn from no extant account of ostracism, but the parallels (a list of which could be extended) show affinities with several other accounts.⁷ On the other hand, there are some details which are not found elsewhere. These are:

(3) that initially ostracism was conducted entirely by the *βουλή*;⁸

(6) that ostraka were thrown into an enclosure at the *bouleutêrion*;⁹

(7) that more than 200 votes were initially required for ostracism;

(10-11) that later the *dêmos* increased the number of votes required.

The accuracy of these details depends, of course, upon the quality of their ultimate source: this source can be identified neither by content nor by context. The account (no. 213 Sternbach) does not occur within the chronologically organized historical material (nos. 153-194: from Homer to Alexander; for Athenian history, the major but not the sole source is Herodotus), but as one of a group of *kulturgeschichtliche* items which have no organization. Apart from the historical material just mentioned, the account is the only one which has to do with Athenian history and the only one in this whole section of the MS which has to do with constitutional history.

It is a ready assumption that the author has conflated and distorted two or more sources.¹⁰ One could, *exempli gratia*,

⁷ For these accounts, see Raubitschek and A. Calderini, *L'Ostracismo* (Como, 1945), pp. 99-130.

⁸ In extant descriptions, the *boulê* and the archons preside over the procedure.

⁹ It is uncertain whether this detail refers to both stages in the development or only to the earlier stage.

¹⁰ That he used two sources for a single item is clear. E.g. no. 170 is a combination of Herod., VI, 96 and 120 and Diog. Laert., III, 33. He is also capable of distorting his sources and perhaps even of invention. For curiosity's sake, I subjoin two items the sources of which cannot be identified: no. 212: *Ξάνθος ὁ Λυδὸς τὰς Σάρδεις φησὶ καλεῖσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν Πάριον λόφον διὰ δὲ τὸ κάλλος ὀνομασθῆναι Σάρδεις· τὰ γὰρ διαφέροντα κατὰ τὸ εἶδος Σάρδεις καλοῦσιν* and no. 229: *Ἐν τῷ Λυδίῳ Πакτωλῷ ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ καταφέρεται δαψιλῶς· γίνεται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ λίθος θησαυροφύλαξ καλούμενος· δύναμιν δὲ ἔχειν φυλάττειν χρήματα, δσάκις ἀν φῶρες εἰσέλθωσι, σάλπινγος ἥχον ἀποτελῶν.*

hypothesize that the author took (1) from Aelian, confused (3-6) ostracism with *ekphyllophoria* (the process by which the *boulê* voted out one of its own members¹¹), and took (8, 9, 11) from one of various possible sources. But this kind of hypothesis appears desperate, especially when it comes to details. Although the author could have known of *ekphyllophoria* (from, e. g., the Suda, E 722 Adler) no extant description of that institution mentions a number of votes, and Tzetzes' account¹² does not even link *ekphyllophoria* with the *boulê*.

Whatever difficulties of text and interpretation subsist, the account has an internal consistency and has the appearance of being drawn from a single source.

II

This comprehensive though very compressed account of the early history of ostracism resolves at once the questions whether the law was instituted after the expulsion of Hippias or after the victory of Marathon, and whether or not Cleisthenes was its author. Evidently, the law was introduced (in the *boulê*?) by Cleisthenes in the short period between the end of tyranny and his own exile, and it was administered by the *boulê* of Four Hundred. Its provisions were the same as those of the later law, except that a simple majority of the four hundred councillors determined the victim. After Cleisthenes returned and had his constitution enacted, nothing was said or done about the law of ostracism till the treason of Marathon raised the specter of tyranny again, and all of our more detailed accounts of ostracism describe the working of the law as it was renewed immediately after Marathon.¹³ Thus, Aristotle's two statements (*Ath. Pol.*, 22, 1 and 3) refer not only to two different periods in the history of ostracism but also to two different versions of the law.

It is also clear that the *boulê* of the Four Hundred existed until it was replaced by that of the Five Hundred, and that Herodotus (V, 72, 2) speaks of its activities at that very time.¹⁴

¹¹ The institutions of *ekphyllophoria* and ostracism are occasionally compared (see Raubitschek, p. 84, n. 5) but never confused.

¹² *Chil.*, XIII, 471-3. This work was available to the author.

¹³ *Historia*, IX (1959), pp. 127-8.

¹⁴ Thus the "grave doubts" expressed by J. Day and M. Chambers, *Aristotle's History of Athenian Democracy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962), pp. 200-1, are unjustified.

Now that the law of ostracism is more firmly attributed to Cleisthenes and more securely dated in or shortly after 510 B.C., two other passages demand our attention.

(1) Ptolemaios Chennos, VI, 10 (ed. Chatzis [Paderborn, 1914]) from Photius, *Bibl.*, no. 190, p. 152a, lines 39-40 Henry: ὁ τὸν ὀστρακισμὸν ἐπινοήσας Ἀθήνησιν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐκαλεῖτο, υἱὸς Ἀύωνος. One may remember that Themistocles had such an advisor in Mnesiphilos of Phrearrioi (Herod., VIII, 57-8; Plutarch, *Vit. Them.*, II, 6, from a different source) and Pericles in Damonides of Oa (*Ath. Pol.*, 17, 4).

(2) Aelian, *V. H.*, XIII, 24: Κλεισθένης δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τὸ δεῖν ἐξοστρακισθῆναι πρῶτος εἰσηγησάμενος, αὐτὸς ἔτυχε τῆς καταδίκης πρῶτος. F. Jacoby (on *F. Gr. H.*, 324F6): "if anybody can determine the source of Aelian, he may be able to solve the riddle." Aelian himself gives a clue (XIII, 23): λέγεται δὲ ὁ λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλα μὲν θελήσαντας, ἄλλων δὲ τυχόντας and the Suda (A 4101 Adler) the key: ὀστρακισθῆναι δὲ πρῶτον Ἀθήνησιν Θησέα ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις καιροῖς, supplemented by Eusebius, *Chron.*, p. 50 Schoene: πρῶτος ἐξοστρακίσθη, αὐτὸς πρῶτος θεὸς τὸν νόμον.¹⁵ It was Theophrastus who wrote in his *Πολιτικά* τὰ πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς of the "ostracisms" of Theseus and Cleisthenes, referring to the exiles of these two democratic legislators as "ostracisms."

Theophrastus may in fact be the source of the new account of ostracism. His statement on ostracism in the *Νόμοι* has been recently reconstructed (see note 4), and the new information about the first law of ostracism would belong at the beginning of the systematic account of ostracism which is given by Philochorus, F 30.

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¹⁵ Raubitschek, p. 78, n. 3.

THUCYDIDES' JUDGMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FIVE THOUSAND (VIII, 97, 2).

From Chapter 47 on, Book VIII is largely devoted to a description of the plots and hostilities of the opposing Athenian factions, the oligarchical and the democratic, with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes watching and maneuvering in the background, and the subject states of Athens in revolt or in readiness for revolt. After a period of intense suspicion and occasional terror in the city, during which everybody knew that a conspiracy against the democracy was afoot, the arrival of Pisander and others who had gained a temporary oligarchical ascendancy in the Athenian camp in Samos precipitated the dissolution of the democratic constitution and instituted the narrow oligarchy of the Four Hundred (Ch. 67). Its history was brief (about four months), violent (*ἐνεμον κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν*, Ch. 70), and dishonest (the army at Samos was kept ignorant of the true state of things, the fiction of a more democratic constitution was maintained, and covert negotiations with the enemy were carried on by the oligarchs, Ch. 70). The Four Hundred were torn internally by dissension between the hard oligarchs who hoped to keep the *status quo* as a permanent polity and the more moderate (the majority) who considered it only a transitional phase toward a more inclusive constitution in which five thousand citizens would share governmental powers. From Ch. 89 it is clear that Thucydides doubts the purity of the moderates' motives (as indeed of everyone's motives) and thinks that their desire for reform sprang from thwarted ambitions which engendered restlessness. Envoys of the Four Hundred were sent to the camp at Samos and met with a solidly entrenched democratic power. Eetionia, a fortification erected at that time in the Piraeus allegedly as a protection against the entrance of a fleet from Samos, was feared by many to be really designed to protect the entry of a Peloponnesian fleet that was then supposedly on its way to Euboea; Thucydides considers this fear well grounded (91, 3). Unrest grew into violence as the fortification of Eetionia continued; Phrynichus was murdered (92); the Peloponnesian fleet moored off Epidaurus and invaded Aegina. Panic ensued, dismantlement of the fortification was begun by the same

soldiery that had under different leaders just been erecting it. A degree of order was briefly restored when the Four Hundred proposed as a compromise, at an assembly held in the theater of Dionysus in the Piraeus, that the identity of the alleged Five Thousand would be made known and that another assembly would be held to restore harmony. On the very day of the assembly the Peloponnesian ships made their way out of the Saronic gulf and to Euboea. The Athenians, horrified at the prospective loss of Euboea, followed in hot but ill-organized pursuit and were badly beaten. Virtually the whole of Euboea was at once lost. This disaster caused even greater panic at Athens. The terror was greater, Thucydides states (96, 1), than that which had followed the report of the Sicilian disaster two years earlier. If the Spartans had possessed Athenian-like initiative they could have taken Athens then and there (96, 4).

In this crisis an assembly was called in the Pnyx (a return to tradition), the Four Hundred were voted out of power, and the Five Thousand were to have charge of the state. The name and number Five Thousand were nominal only; all who could furnish their own hoplite weaponry qualified for inclusion. Non-payment for public office was continued from the rule of the Four Hundred. Further measures were passed at later assemblies. Whether it should be said that a return to a modified democracy had been effected or that the oligarchy had been moderated is a moot question. In any case, a new polity had been arrived at, and Thucydides pronounces judgment on it in the following words (97, 2):

*καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα δὴ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον ἐπὶ γε ἐμοῦ
Ἀθηναῖοι φαίνοντες εὖ πολιτεύσαντες.*

In the well-known Crawley translation the sentence is rendered, "It was during the first period of this constitution that the Athenians appear to have enjoyed the best government that they ever did, at least in my time." The interpretation is questionable, and to discuss the most perplexing of these questions is the point of this paper. But beyond doubt the Crawley translation represents the standard interpretation of Thucydides' words. We shall examine the interpretation presently; first let us notice some of its implications.

If Thucydides regards the constitution of the Five Thousand as the best the Athenians had during his life, what becomes of the attitude of apparent approval and even profound admiration of the Periclean democracy expressed in the Funeral Oration? The words are spoken by Pericles, to be sure, but they are generally taken to imply Thucydides' endorsement if they are not in fact an expression of his own political outlook and judgment.¹ Moreover, the same approval of the democracy under Pericles, in contrast to the later, demagogue-led democracy, appears in II, 65, and is implied in the statement of Alcibiades to the Spartans in VI, 89, 6. It can be argued that there is no direct discrepancy, since the historian never asserts that the Periclean democracy was the best government the Athenians ever had. A slightly different position is taken by Malcolm MacGregor,² who thinks that when Thucydides praises Pericles he does not mean to be praising democracy, since he does not regard Athens under Pericles as a democracy and has contempt for democracy, which to him means Cleon and "the mob." MacGregor's view is of particular concern because he is convinced that VIII, 97, 2, which he interprets as Crawley does, is a key passage in revealing Thucydides' political stance, an oligarchical one in MacGregor's opinion: "(Thucydides) ended his life as he had begun it, a confirmed oligarch who had never renounced the creed of his fathers."³ Since the only hard evidence adduced for this uncompromising judgment is VIII, 97, 2, if it can be shown that that passage is not in fact hard evidence at all, we shall be justified in doubting this picture of Thucydides the oligarch.

MacGregor's argument has the merits of clarity and consistency. Some critics have been less uniform in their judgments. John Finley, in his *Thucydides*, holds that the historian (p. 237) "was incapable of conceiving a great progressive city except as a democracy," and (p. 247) that "the moderate constitution of the Five Thousand must have seemed to him a

¹ Cf. Jacqueline de Romilly, *Thucydide et l'impérialisme Athénien* (2nd ed., Paris, 1951), pp. 121, 125, 129, 136, and John H. Finley, *Thucydides* (Ann Arbor Paperback edition, 1963), pp. 20, 29-30.

² "The Politics of the Historian Thucydides," *Phoenix*, X (1956), pp. 93-102.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

second best." But he says also, as writers on Thucydides generally do, that Thucydides (pp. 247-8) "calls it (the Five Thousand) the best government that Athens had known in his time." The inconsistency is symptomatic of the supposed discrepancy in the words of Thucydides which critics have felt, whether or not they have explicitly stated it.

Perhaps the dilemma can be partially solved by the supposition that no direct comparison is intended between the government of the Five Thousand and the excellence of Athens under Periclean leadership: in VIII, 97, 2 Thucydides is thinking only of the new constitution, which he regards as a particularly fortunate blend of democratic inclusiveness and oligarchical control and orderliness, whereas in the Funeral Oration and in II, 65 his attention is on the controlling personality of Pericles.⁴ But while this supposition is true for II, 65, where Thucydides bitterly criticizes the later democracy without suggesting that as a form of government it is different from what it followed, it does not satisfactorily answer the difficulty that it is Athens and its democracy, not just the figure of Pericles, which are held up for admiration in the Funeral Oration; and it is democracy, not Periclean control, that Alcibiades describes so attractively in VI, 89, in spite of his obvious hostility to the democracy of 415 and its leaders. Nor is it really satisfactory to say that Thucydides became more conservative as he grew older,⁵ for this raises the problem of the comparative date of writing of the various parts of the history. II, 65 is obviously "late," though not necessarily later than most parts, and it is reasonable to assume that the Funeral Oration is also "late."⁶

We cannot really escape severe problems of interpretation so long as we are forced to accept a confrontation of Thucydidean views. Nevertheless, if Thucydides tells us that the government of the Five Thousand was the best that the Athenians had in his lifetime we have to accept the statement and, while it can be reasonably maintained that the government can as well be called a limited democracy as a moderate oligarchy, it cannot be denied

⁴ This is the view taken, with some modifications, in the most recent study of the problem, Guido Donini's *La Posizione di Tucidide verso il governo dei cinquemila* (Turin, 1969). See especially pp. 103-4.

⁵ This is suggested by Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁶ Cf. de Romilly, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-36.

that it is substantially different, as a constitution, from the democracy in the time of Pericles. The dilemma remains.

Let us look again at Thucydides' sentence.⁷ Τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον has been taken to mean either "for the first time," or "during the first period" (of the polity of the Five Thousand). "For the first time" has a *prima facie* attractiveness because it makes the sequence of the next phrase, ἐπὶ γε ἐμοῦ, smoother. But for two reasons it will not do. Leaving aside the question as to whether Thucydides thought better of the Periclean government or that of the Five Thousand, it is absurd to think that he can here be saying that only with this new polity does Athens seem to have had, in his lifetime, good government. We cannot dismiss the Funeral Oration so completely. Moreover, the phrase τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον does not mean "for the first time," which is expressed by πρῶτον or πρῶτα with or without τότε (cf. VII, 4, 6); the accusative of χρόνον is not so used, whereas it is used, by Herodotus (VI, 127, ἡ δὲ Συβάρις ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα; cf. I, 75), and by Thucydides elsewhere (VII, 87, 1), in phrases closely analogous to "during the first period" here.⁸

We must, then, take τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον to mean "during the first period," even though the next phrase follows awkwardly. That this awkwardness has a reason will be argued presently. We are left with the problem of how to understand οὐχ ἥκιστα and what to take it with. Does Thucydides mean "especially during the first period"? The position of ἐπὶ γε ἐμοῦ is then still more awkward. If, on the other hand, we take it (as most do) with φαίνονται εὖ πολιτεύσαντες, there is an unusually long separation, but no other problem except that of precisely what the phrase itself means. Perhaps we need not determine explicitly which part of the sentence the phrase is to be taken with. If we suppose, as is reasonable, that its force is felt with both τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον and φαίνονται εὖ πολιτεύσαντες we partially alleviate the difficulty of the sentence. In any case, there is good reason for the awkwardness: what starts out to be a strong judgment is modified by two inserted reservations before we reach the verbal element that completes the statement begun

⁷ The first chapter of Donini's study, *op. cit.*, gives a thorough analysis, with full bibliography of previous interpretations.

⁸ Cf. also Demosthenes, 9, 23 and Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, II, pp. 69-70.

with οὐχ ἥκιστα. "To not at all the least degree—during the first period of it—so far as my experience, at least, goes—the Athenians seem to have been well governed."

But there still remains the crucial problem of what οὐχ ἥκιστα implies. It is a common phrase in Thucydides, one of many forms which he uses of the rhetorical figure known as litotes (literally "plainness" and hence "understatement") or as *antenantiosis*, emphasis by the denial of an opposite. Thucydides uses the figure repeatedly in such phrases as ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ (I, 18, 2) and other similar expressions of time, in a variety of other phrases using the positive degree (e. g., I, 35, 5, οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς . . . ἀλλ' ἱκανοί, I, 37, 1, μὴ ἀλογίστως), the comparative degree (I, 83, 2, οὐκ ἐλάσσους . . . ξύμμαχοι, "allies as numerous as ours"), and the superlative degree (I, 80, 2, εὗροιτε τόνδε [πόλεμον] . . . οὐκ ἂν ἐλάχιστον γερόμενον). The commonest example of the figure in the superlative is οὐχ ἥκιστα.

The question which I shall examine and to which I shall propose an answer is this: granted that ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ means "soon" and thus expresses an opposite to what it denies, must οὐχ ἥκιστα, literally "not least," mean "most"? Is Thucydides' use of this phrase and of similar phrases such that it is reasonable for us to assume the same implication in all instances, or are we right to insist that context and probability must be observed as a guide to the exact meaning of the phrase in any given passage? In short, does the evidence of usage justify our taking οὐχ ἥκιστα here to mean "most" or is it probable that it can as well imply simply "very"? So far as the syntax of the passage is concerned the choice is equal. If it means "most" then it combines with εὔ to mean ἄριστα. If it means "very," then with the phrase φαίνονται εὔ πολιτεύσαντες it means something like "seem to have had (or "manifestly had") a particularly good government," and no comparison with Periclean democracy is implied.

The overwhelmingly prevalent but unargued assumption that οὐχ ἥκιστα here means μάλιστα is puzzling. In all well-known late nineteenth and twentieth century translations this is how it is taken, even though all translators, so far as I know, elsewhere translate οὐχ ἥκιστα by a variety of other less unpromising phrases. In this passage it is unanimously agreed: οὐχ ἥκιστα means "best," whether one consults Crawley, Jowett,

Dale, C. Forster Smith's Loeb translation, or Rex Warner's Penguin. There was an older interpretation in which οὐχ ἥκιστα cannot mean "best." This interpretation appears in Thomas Hobbes' translation: "And now first (at least in my time) the Athenians seem to have ordered their state aright." It is mirrored in Bloomfield's translation and in Classen's note, "Ganz besonders gut," with the explanation, "Thukydides sagt damit aus, dass die Athener zum ersten Mal während seines Leben ihren Staat vorzüglich gut eingerichtet haben." Since this interpretation assumes that there had been no very good government before that of the Five Thousand the basic dilemma of Thucydides' apparent rejection of Periclean democracy remains.

The unacceptability of the interpretation of τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον implied by Hobbes' translation has been demonstrated above. It can also be shown, I think, that οὐχ ἥκιστα does not "mean" μάλιστα and need not imply it. My argument rests on evidence concerning the function of litotes, both in general and specifically in Thucydidean usage.

Litotes is a common rhetorical device (the author of *Ad Herennium* classifies it as a *sententiarum exornatio*, a Figure of Thought) in Greek and Latin, as no doubt in most literature. There are not, however, many substantial discussions of it by ancient critics. They too, like Thucydides' modern interpreters, seem often willing to make an automatic equation between negative and positive superlative. One of the most celebrated early instances of litotes is *Iliad*, XV, 11:

οὐ μὲν ἀφαιρότατος βάλ' Ἀχαιῶν.

There is a note on this by Tryphon, in his section περὶ Ἀντιφράσεως, in *Περὶ Τρόπων* (Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, III, 204): ἀλλ' ὁ ἄριστος δηλονότι. Tryphon is wrong. Ajax is never, in Homer, ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν; that rank is reserved for Achilles as, e. g., *Iliad*, II, 768-9 shows. Hector at one point calls Ajax Ἀχαιῶν φέρτατος (VII, 289), but the poet himself never does so. Tryphon is being rigid and he is over-simplifying. He overlooks an extremely important feature of this Homeric phrase, a feature that is often important in litotes, the element of irony in calling the towering Ajax "not the feeblest."⁹ The point is

⁹ The importance of irony in litotes is stressed by Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Munich, 1960), I, p. 304. I am

not to compare, to call Ajax best or strongest, but to emphasize his strength by an ironical understatement of it.

The author of *Ad Herennium* gives us the most precise and cogent ancient account of the figure, which he calls *deminutio*. His comments are aimed at describing the use of the figure in forensic oratory. It is used, he says (at IV, 50, in Harry Caplan's Loeb translation), "when we say that by nature, fortune, or diligence, we or our clients possess some exceptional advantage, and, in order to avoid the impression of arrogant display, we moderate and soften the statement of it." One of his examples is directly instructive for our problem. A client has been left a substantial inheritance, and his possession of it is being used as an argument against his having committed the crime that he is accused of. The imagined orator makes his point by *deminutio*: "Huic quidem pater—nolo nimium dicere—non tenuissimum patrimonium reliquit." The critic then comments, "Hic quoque vitatum est, ne 'magnum' aut 'maximum' diceretur." We could hardly ask for clearer evidence that in the view of an ancient critic, carefully examining the use of the figure, the litotes *non tenuissimum* does not necessarily imply its opposite *maximum*. It can, but it need not. Although the critic does not mention the element of irony, it is clearly present in the example, and its value is implicit in the analysis.

Thucydidean usage apart from οὐχ ἤκιστα has the same variability. When Thucydides uses a litotes in the positive degree such as "not long afterward" he of course means "shortly afterward," but there is no reason to suppose that he means any shorter lapse of time than when he says "shortly afterward" (δὲ ὀλίγον). Similarly, in the comparative degree there is often no reason to suppose that when he says "not less" he means "more." Usually, of course, precise distinction cannot be made between "as much" and "more." But sometimes the rhetoric of the sentence indicates that "not less" implies "more." When, for example, he tells us that after Amphipolis an agreement seemed right to both sides and goes on to say (V, 15), οὐχ ἥσσον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, it is implied that the Lacedaemoni-

indebted to my colleague, Professor Harry Caplan, for reference to this book and to several other of the rhetorical sources which I have used.

ans were, probably, the more eager, not because οὐχ ἥσσον means "more," but because of the rhetoric of the passage as a whole. Why else, having already mentioned both sides, would he emphasize the readiness of the Lacedaemonians?¹⁰ It is just as clear that in some other places οὐχ ἥσσον does not—cannot reasonably—imply "more." At I, 120, 2, for example, Thucydides reports the Corinthians as warning inland cities against believing themselves safe from economic hardship through the actions of the Athenians. They tell these states that they must realize that καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οὐχ ἥσσον νῦν βουλευέσθαι, "the present deliberations are no less their concern." It is obvious that "no less" cannot here imply "more,"—the coastal states are certainly not less vulnerable—and of course no translator so takes it. The point of the litotes is its ironic emphasis. At I, 144, 4, Pericles urges the Athenians to undertake to hand on to posterity their heritage from the preceding generation undiminished; his words are: αὐτὰ μὴ ἐλάσσω παραδοῦναι. To suppose that the litotes here means "more" would be absurd. In Pericles' statement (I, 140, 1) that "events can proceed no less unreasonably (οὐχ ἥσσον ἀμαθῶς) than the plans of man," his words do not mean or imply "more unreasonably." Other examples could be adduced, but this is enough to demonstrate the variability of implication of the comparative litotes.

Can we find the same openness of implication in Thucydides' use of the superlative, οὐχ ἥκιστα? Again, in the great majority of examples we cannot distinguish between "most" and "very."¹¹ But there are some clear cases. Sometimes Thucydides uses οὐχ ἥκιστα in combination with other rhetorical devices which strengthen its emphasis. Thus when at I, 95, 1, in describing the bad effects of Pausanias' conduct on the morale of the Greek allies, Thucydides says οἱ τε ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες . . . καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ Ἴωνες, the polarity implies "the Ionians above

¹⁰ II, 52, 1 is a similar case. In I, 82, 5 the following ἀμεινον makes it natural to take οὐχ ἥσσον as "more."

¹¹ At VIII, 65, 2, Androcles is responsible οὐχ ἥκιστα for sending Alcibiades into exile. We cannot tell whether this means "most responsible of all," or "among the most responsible." At IV, 30, 1, Demosthenes' experience in Aetolia οὐχ ἥκιστα makes him cautious about fighting in the woods in Sphaacteria. There is no way of determining whether this implies that it is his chief reason or one important reason.

all." Though all that can be argued beyond doubt is that our attention is especially drawn to the disaffection of the Ionians, there is probably an implication also that their disaffection was the greatest.¹² Again, when Thucydides at I, 68, 2 has the Corinthians say *προσέκει ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἥκιστα εἰπεῖν ὅσῳ καὶ μέγιστα ἐγκλήματα ἔχομεν*, the combination of negative and positive superlatives implies that the Corinthians have the best right to speak. Herodotus repeatedly uses a similar polar expression, *οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα*. In such cases the combination is an emphatic superlative, but there is no evidence that *οὐχ ἥκιστα* alone implies this; if there is any implication in these phrases it is the reverse. Sometimes a superlative implication is clear from the context. When Hermocrates of Syracuse is said *οὐχ ἥκιστα* to have joined Gylippus in urging a sea fight against the Athenians (VII, 21, 3), we can reasonably suppose that he was the chief supporter of Gylippus, because he is elsewhere shown to be the most energetic of the Syracusan leaders in urging action against the Athenians.

Οὐχ ἥκιστα can, then, imply a superlative. But need it? At the beginning of Chapter 3, Book I, Thucydides refers to the lack of common Greek enterprises before the Trojan War as additional evidence of the slightness of the early Greek states. His words are *δηλοῖ . . . καὶ τόδε οὐχ ἥκιστα*. The point is quite clearly an additional consideration, to be added to the evidence already given in Chapter 2; it is plainly unreasonable to take it as the chief consideration, and so far as I know nobody has proposed that we should. At I, 35, 3, the Corcyreans point out the iniquity of their being prevented from making whatever alliance they choose, while the Corinthians can get recruits for their navy from the rest of Greece, *οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων* (the Athenians') *ὑπηκόων*. There is no reason to think of this in mathematical terms, to suppose that most of Corinth's recruits are from states in the Athenian empire. The effect of the statement is to emphasize, by an ironical understatement, the enormity of the fact that many are actually recruited from Athenian subject states. Crawley's translation gives the right tone: "No small number furnished by your own allies." In III, 93, 3, in describing the failure of Heraclea, a Spartan colony in Trachis,

¹² IV, 96, 3 provides a similar example.

Thucydides first gives the reason for its weakness after a promising start, namely the persistent hostility of the neighboring Thessalians, and then he adds that the Spartan governors did their share of damage by their harshness: οὐ μέντοι ἥκιστα οἱ ἄρχοντες. The rhetoric of the passage clearly indicates that this is an additional reason; we cannot logically take it to be the principal reason. The effect of litotes is to place ironic emphasis on the self-defeating behavior of the Spartans.

We must not, therefore, say that οὐχ ἥκιστα "means" or necessarily implies the opposite superlative, any more than οὐχ ἥσσον necessarily implies "more." These implications fall within the scope of litotes, but interpretation must depend on context, and it is wrong to confuse the ironic emphasis that is often conveyed by the figure with a superlative implication.

When Thucydides wants to say that something is, in very fact, "the most," he is likely to do so quite directly. He characterizes the Peloponnesian War as the most noteworthy of all wars so far by calling it ἀξιολογώτατος; the Persian War is called the greatest (μέγιστον, I, 23, 1) up to its time; at I, 23, 6 there is a famous assessment of the most fundamental cause of the war, the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις; the naval battle of Corcyra is described as the greatest ever yet between Greek states (ναυμαχία . . . μεγίστη, I, 50, 2); the Sicilian expedition proved to be (VII, 87, 5), ἔργον τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον . . . μέγιστον, for the victors λαμπρότατον, for the conquered δυστυχέστατον. When Thucydides expresses great admiration for Antiphon, he calls him (VIII, 68, 2) κράτιστος ἐνθυμηθῆναι. . . . These passages and the many like them that could be adduced do not prove anything about the use of οὐχ ἥκιστα, but they show that Thucydides was quite capable of saying "most" and "best" when that was what he meant to say. Consequently they suggest that when Thucydides uses litotes, he may well have a special purpose, not unlikely the ironical emphasis that is often associated with this rhetorical figure.

We need, therefore, to consider the context of VIII, 97, 2, and this brings us back to the description of the situation at Athens with which this study began. Book VIII contains a long and sorry record of maneuverings, dishonesty, and violence, as the democratic and oligarchical extremists contend for power. There is little expression of admiration, apart from Thucydides'

personal tributes to the ability of Antiphon (68) and Alcibiades (86). When out of this disreputable mess there emerges—for a while—a period in which the Athenians seem actually to have governed themselves not at all badly, it is not surprising that Thucydides registers his approval of the government in the ironical terms of *litotes*.

The οὐχ ἥκιστα implies no definite comparison, except to the extent that the phrase ἐπὶ γε ἐμοῦ shows that Thucydides is implicitly comparing it with his experience of other governments. There are no grounds, in the context or in the rhetorical figure, for thinking that Thucydides is implying that it is the best government that he has known. It merely registers his opinion that during the first period of the Five Thousand the government was an especially good one. If there is any further implication, it is simply a suggestion of surprise that so good a period of government could have arisen from such a dismal background. The traditional assumption that Thucydides is stating a preference for it over the Periclean government is wrong; the comparative excellence of the Periclean democracy is irrelevant to what Thucydides is saying here, and we must look elsewhere to discover, if we can, his choice between them.

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AESCHYLUS AND THE THIRD ACTOR.

"Three and scene-painting Sophocles." So runs a typically crabbed sentence of Aristotle's *Poetics* (1449a). Exactly what he meant by "scene-painting" is still a subject for debate, but the "three" refers to actors. Sophocles introduced into the tragic performance a third speaking actor; before him there had been only two.

We know almost nothing about this important aspect of the tragic theater of the fifth century B. C.: we have no ancient explanation of the fact that Aeschylus increased the number of actors to two, no reason given for the Sophoclean addition of a third, no comment on what seems, on the evidence, to be the fact that nobody added a fourth.¹

Aristotle's evolutionary account of the growth of tragedy makes it seem inevitable that tragedy should develop until, as he says, "it found its nature"—one aspect of its "nature" being, presumably, three actors. But this does not really explain why Aeschylus did not invent a third actor as he had earlier in his career added a second.² Why was it Sophocles who introduced a third?³ Why did Euripides not introduce a fourth?

¹ The "Rule of Three Actors" has been questioned by some scholars (the distribution of the parts in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, for example, can be made for three speaking actors but only if the part of Theseus is taken first by one and then by another). But the weight of the ancient evidence is heavily in favor of three speaking actors for tragedy (comedy is a different matter). Aristotle clearly had never heard of a fourth actor. For the most recent and thorough discussion see Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (2nd ed., revised by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, Oxford, 1968), pp. 135 ff.

² On the function of Aeschylus' second actor see the perceptive remarks of G. F. Else, *The Origin and Form of Early Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 86 ff.

³ G. F. Else (*T. A. P. A.*, LXXVI [1945], pp. 1-10, *Wiener Studien*, LXXII (1959), pp. 75 ff.) has made out a case for Aeschylus as the first to use a third actor; undeterred by much adverse criticism, he still maintains this position in his latest book: "it was his development as a dramatist that made the third actor necessary" (*Origin and Form*, p. 96). For a detailed discussion of this theory see *Dramatic Festivals*², pp. 130-2.

And for that matter, being Euripides, a fifth? Tragedy was, of course, always a religious ceremony; it might be argued that like everything associated with cult and ritual, it was tradition-bound and stubbornly resistant to change. But democratic Athens was a place in which experiment and innovation set a breathless pace in the development of politics, literature, philosophy, education, the plastic arts, and the theater: the creation of what we know as tragedy at Athens, and at Athens alone, out of a Dionysiac cult which was celebrated in a variety of forms all over the Greek world is in fact one of the most revolutionary advances in the history of human endeavor.

The reason why the step from two actors to three came comparatively late, and why no further addition was made, may possibly have been economic. The actors, unlike the members of the chorus, were professionals, paid, as far as we can tell, by the state,⁴ and they must have been expensive. The theater of Dionysus made almost impossible demands; the performance took place in the open air before an audience which might reach the figure of fourteen thousand. As any visitor to Epidaurus knows, the acoustics of the Greek theaters are astonishing, but the actor still needs great skill and long training before he can speak and—without shouting—make every word tell⁵ in a theater one half the size of an American football stadium. There cannot have been too many well-trained actors available, for tragedy in the early part of the fifth century was a purely Athenian affair, and even in Athens there seems to have been, in the first half of the fifth century, only one yearly festival at which they could find employment.⁶ At that time they were

⁴ There is practically no ancient evidence on this point; payment by the state seems the most likely procedure and is generally accepted.

⁵ For a discussion of this point see B. Hunningher, "Acoustics and Acting in the Theatre of *Dionysus Eleuthereus*" (*Med. Kon. Nederl. Akad. v. Wet., Afd. Lett., N. R., XIX, 9*).

⁶ "The evidence of inscriptions makes it practically certain that the organization of contests at the Lenaia in tragedy and comedy (parallel to those at the city Dionysia) goes back no farther than the middle of the fifth century B. C. . . . probably about 440 B. C. . . ." (*Dramatic Festivals*², p. 40). The earliest evidence for tragic performances at the rural Dionysia is for the end of the fifth century at Piraeus and Eleusis and an earlier (but unspecified) date in the same century for Ikarion.

indispensable and could demand high wages. Though the burden of expense for the costumes and training of the chorus was assigned to prominent and wealthy citizens—an enlightened method of taxation—the city magistrates were responsible for payments to actors (as well as for the prizes awarded to the dramatists whose plays were selected for production).⁷ Since these magistrates were elected officials who had to present their accounts to the scrutiny of the citizen-assembly at the end of their year of office they were not likely to look with favor on the additional expense of three more actors for the tragic festival (for obviously, if one dramatist was granted a third actor, his competitors had to be given the same privilege). Two actors had been enough for Aeschylus to produce masterpieces: he had in fact, as great artists always do, made what seems like a limitation into a source of strength. Two actors did not, of course, mean that his *dramatis personae* were restricted to two characters; the mask meant that one man could play several parts. The *Persians*, with its cast of Atossa, the messenger, the ghost of Darius, and Xerxes used only two actors. The *Seven Against Thebes* with its long central scene in which the six champions are sent to their respective gates, is all done with two actors; the champions (if indeed they appear on stage at all)⁸ do not speak and can be played by extras. The magistrates must have been hard to convince another actor was needed; only a dramatist who knew he *had* to have a third actor, who thought and talked of nothing else, and brought pressure to bear, would in the end get one.

It was Sophocles who did, and his plays show us why. He wanted that third actor to produce a completely new effect: a scene with three speaking actors on stage, a dramatic triangle, like the prologue of the *Ajax*, with its hero exposed in his mad-

⁷ Once again the evidence is almost non-existent. Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 367 speaks of an orator "eating up the payments made to the poets" (cf. Sch. Ar., *Ec.*, 102) and if the comic poets were given a money-prize, it is to be presumed that the tragic poets were also rewarded for their pains.

⁸ Strong arguments against their appearance in E. Fraenkel, *Die sieben Redepaare im Thebaner drama des Aeschylus*. (*Bayrische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1957, 3), pp. 6-7; cf. also p. 13, n. 33 and p. 32.

ness by Athena to Odysseus, whom Ajax cannot see; like the great scene of the *Oedipus* in which the king, the Corinthian messenger, and the herdsman lock in an intricate three-cornered pattern to produce the dreadful revelation, or that even more terrifying scene just before, in which Jocasta, listening to Oedipus and the Corinthian messenger, suddenly realizes the truth.

We do not know when Sophocles got his third actor. His first production, with which he won the first prize against Aeschylus, was in 468 B. C.; it does not seem possible that his plays for that year employed three actors—he must have won his spurs as a dramatist before he could start changing the rules of the game. The *Suppliants* of Aeschylus, it now seems proved, was produced in the late sixties; it calls for two actors only—if Aeschylus had three actors, he was not making much use of them.⁹ But we do know that Sophocles must have obtained his third actor in the next few years, in fact before 458, for in that year Aeschylus produced his trilogy, the *Oresteia*, which employs a third actor in all three of the plays. Once the magistrates authorized a third actor, he had to be used: the theater of Dionysus, like all Athenian institutions, was fiercely competitive, and once the breakthrough had been made, it was no use to carry on with the old formula. Aeschylus, almost at the end of a great career, was presented, willy-nilly, with a new instrument—an old dog obliged to learn new tricks.

In the final play of the trilogy, the *Eumenides*, he brings

⁹ He did not make brilliant use even of the two he had. Before the publication of the papyrus fragment which redates the play, "the insignificance of the second actor" (A. E. Haigh, *Tragic Drama of the Greeks* [Oxford, 1896], p. 101, n. 2) was one of the reasons regularly cited for dating the play in the first decade of the century. With the new date, the ineffectiveness of the figure of Danaus is puzzling: "it remains an awkward fact that the actors were used in a way which suggested that the dramatist had not long had the use of two actors" (D. W. Lucas, *The Greek Tragic Poets*² [London, 1959], p. 83). Lucas suggests that "features of the play which could plausibly be interpreted as primitive might in fact be due to the use of one of the few myths in which it was possible to give the chorus this unusual predominance" (*ibid.*, p. 83). For a different explanation see G. F. Else, *Origin and Form*, p. 94.

three speaking actors together for one scene only, the trial scene. Athena is on stage, presiding over the trial; so is Orestes, the defendant; the chorus of Furies acts as prosecutor. As the trial begins, Apollo enters; he comes, he says, as a witness for Orestes. And when Orestes breaks down under the stern, logical questions of the Furies, he turns to Apollo, who takes his place and carries on the defence. How would Aeschylus have managed this scene without the third actor? He would have had to get Orestes off stage and bring back the same actor with the mask of Apollo. It would have been awkward, perhaps, but the scene is a little awkward as it is: one actor relieves another who remains silent and waits his turn—they do not lock in the revealing three-way dialogue of the Sophoclean stage.

In the *Eumenides* Aeschylus uses the third actor, if not with Sophoclean brilliance, at least along Sophoclean lines. But in the other two plays of the trilogy he does something quite different with him—something Aeschylean, something huge, strange, and magnificent.

In the *Libation Bearers*, the second play, Orestes is accompanied throughout by Pylades, who is carefully identified for the audience in the opening scene (v. 20), but remains silent as the play develops toward its climax. He stands silent, unaddressed, unmentioned, all through the recognition scene and the long lament in which brother and sister draw strength from their hideous invocations of the corpse of Agamemnon in the grave; he is mentioned again (561) when Orestes describes his plan for vengeance, but says nothing either here or during Orestes' scene with Clytemnestra; still silent he goes with Orestes into the palace. If the audience ever expected him to speak, it must have renounced that hope by now and indeed may well have forgotten him as the nurse comes out of the house to play her scene with the chorus, and as Aegisthus, boastful and exultant, walks into the trap. A slave rushes on stage with news for Clytemnestra: Aegisthus is dead. This small part must be played by the third actor, for in a few moments Orestes, bloodstained sword in hand, will appear at the door to confront his mother. She is still the magnificent, if deadly, creature of the first play, and as the slave makes his exit, she calls for "a man-killing axe." But too late; Orestes appears at

once. There is no hope of rescue, and after an agonized cry of farewell to Aegisthus, Clytemnestra turns to face her son. Always a gambler, she risks everything on one throw; she bares her breast and dares him to kill his mother. And Orestes breaks. The command of the god Apollo, the unavenged blood of Agamemnon murdered in his bath, Orestes' own exile and poverty, all the forces behind him, gods, family, and his own ambition, fail him at this supreme moment. He turns to the silent figure who has followed him step for step throughout the play. Πυλάδῃ, τί δράσω; "Pylades, what shall I do? Show mercy—spare my mother?" And Pylades is there behind him. It is the third actor who went off as a slave, resumed the mask and costume of Pylades,¹⁰ and followed Orestes on stage. And now, at last, Pylades speaks. Three lines, no more; but they are enough. "Then what becomes in future of Apollo's oracles, what meaning in the sworn pledge of faith? Better offend the whole human race than the gods."

It is the voice of Apollo himself; these three lines seal Clytemnestra's death-warrant. Orestes proceeds with his task, his duty, his destiny. Aeschylus has saved up his third actor for this dramatic explosion; further speech from Pylades would be anticlimax, and he says no more. The third actor in the *Libation-Bearers* is used to dominate the stage for one tremendous moment in which mother and son hang on his words for life or death.

But in the *Agamemnon*, the first play of the trilogy, Aeschylus' use of this new theatrical resource is stranger still. The third actor is employed to portray a character who remains silent throughout a long tense scene, like Pylades, who is begged to speak, like Pylades, but unlike him, does not answer, and who then, when the other actors have quit the stage, leaving the chorus alone with this obstinately mute figure, bursts out in a torrent of speech and song which races on its frenzied course,

¹⁰ So the scholium, v. 899, μετεσκεύασται ὁ ἐξάγγελος εἰς Πυλάδην, ἵνα μὴ δ' λέγωσιν. This has been questioned, but see *Dramatic Festivals*², p. 140. There is ample time for a change of costume: the slave can go into the house at 887 (889 ff. are addressed to one of Clytemnestra's attendants, but there is no time to execute the order) and Pylades need not appear until 899.

checked only by the questions of the chorus, for two hundred and fifty lines, one of the longest scenes in the play. This strange part, which Aeschylus wrote for his third actor, is the part of the Trojan princess Cassandra.¹¹

She comes on stage with Agamemnon in the chariot when Clytemnestra and the chorus welcome the victorious king. Her name is not pronounced, her presence not explained, not even mentioned, as she sits there silent through the long dramatic confrontation, through Agamemnon's haughty and insensitive speech of greeting, through Clytemnestra's baleful speech of welcome, overloaded with flattering superlatives and laced with threatening ambiguities, through the tussle of wills between husband and wife which ends in the wife's victory and Agamemnon's consent to enter the palace treading on the blood-red carpet she has spread for him. Cassandra sits silent as she hears Agamemnon explain at last to his wife that she is his concubine: "Gift of the army, chosen flower of all my many possessions, she comes home with me." She gives no sign, makes no sound as she hears Clytemnestra's final prayer before going into the palace to murder her husband: "Zeus, Zeus accomplisher, accomplish my prayers. . . ." And then, still sitting motionless in the chariot from which Agamemnon descended to walk the blood-red carpet to his death, she is all but forgotten as the chorus sings, and the audience watches the palace door waiting for a messenger to announce the death of Agamemnon, or Clytemnestra herself, fresh from that sacrifice she spoke of, or perhaps simply a scream of agony as Agamemnon is cut down. The choral ode ends with words that seem expressly designed to announce the catastrophe—"My heart . . . frets in the dark, anguished and without hope . . ." and out of the stage door comes Clytemnestra.

But she surprises us. "Cassandra," she says, identifying the silent figure in the chariot for the first time in the play,¹² "get

¹¹ There is no scene in *Agamemnon* which has three actors speaking (as in the Pylades and trial scenes). But without a third speaking actor Cassandra could not come on stage with Agamemnon (and there was no other time to bring her on) and it is only for this entrance that a third actor is required.

¹² E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus, Agamemnon* (Oxford, 1950) suggests (on

inside the house, you too." Agamemnon is still alive then, and this girl is important. The whole play has been moving with the slow sureness of some natural force towards the moment of Agamemnon's death, and now, when that moment seems at hand, the rhythm of the action is brusquely interrupted. This silent Cassandra must have something to say. She does indeed, but not yet. Clytemnestra orders her into the palace, threatens, storms, blusters, the chorus urges and pleads, but Cassandra makes no reply, no movement, no sign of understanding. Perhaps she is deaf and dumb, perhaps, as Clytemnestra suggests, she does not know Greek—perhaps she is not a speaking actor. Whatever the reason, the queen cannot afford to waste more time. "The sheep are standing, ready for the sacrifice. . . ." Agamemnon too is waiting, and if she leaves him alone too long he may hear something; one word, "Aegisthus," would be enough. She goes back in, leaving the chorus the task of sending Cassandra into the palace to share her master's fate.

It does not seem likely that they will succeed. If Clytemnestra cannot make her speak or obey, who can? The chorus repeats its plea, with words of sympathy: "Step down, poor girl, leave the chariot empty. . . ." And suddenly, just as we begin to think that she will never speak, she does. Or rather, she screams. "*Otototoi popoi da.*" It is a formulaic cry of grief and terror, one of those cries ancient Greek is so rich in, not words at all but merely syllables,¹³ which express emotion no words could adequately convey. But her next utterance is clearer. She addresses the god whose statue stands before the stage door, the god Apollo, who will impose on Orestes the dreadful duty of killing his mother and who will appear in person in the last play to defend his action.

v. 950 *τὴν ξένην δὲ κτλ.*) that Aeschylus did not wish "to make her identity clear to the audience before the beginning of the Cassandra scene" [i.e. 1035]—if he had "he would presumably have written 950 in a different form." "And even now" he says earlier, "the words *τὴν ξένην* serve up to a point to conceal her identity." Up to what point? There was no need to mention her at all if the audience was not meant to wonder who she was; knowing their *Odyssey* (λ 422) they would not have wondered long.

¹³ E. Fraenkel's thorough discussion (*ad* v. 1072) should lay to rest forever the persistent ghost of the scholiast's suggestion that *δᾶ* is a Doric form of *γα*.

To the chorus, the invocation of the name of Apollo accompanied by a cry of agony makes no sense; for them, in their innocence, Apollo is a god "whose presence is not appropriate at scenes of mourning." They pity Cassandra's ignorance: this foreign captive "needs some interpreter who speaks clear." And when she asks the god, "Where have you brought me? To what house?" they answer for him: "To the house of Atreus' sons. If you don't know that. . . ." As if she did not know that, and all it means. She needs no interpreter, she *is* the interpreter, and now she tells them what the house of Atreus is—"a house that hates gods, with many guilty secrets, murder of next of kin. . . ." She knows the hideous story of its past . . . "the small children wailing over their slaughter, the roasted flesh eaten by the father . . ." and its future, too, for in a vivid cryptic phrase, she foreshadows Agamemnon struck down in his bath . . . "slaughter-house of a husband, the sprinkled floor. . . ." ¹⁴ The chorus which looked on her with pity now feels only fear and revulsion; she has brought out into the open everything they have been trying to forget. They reject the prophet. "We seek no prophets in this place at all." But a prophet they have, one who sees the immediate future happening before her inward eye, who in the frantic rhythm of her song shows them fragments from the pictures that race before her possessed mind, her vision of Agamemnon's death as it will take place when this scene is over. "The sprinkled floor . . . the hands groping forward . . . take him in a black-horned trap of robes and strike. And he falls in the water of the bath."

¹⁴ Whether one reads *ἀνδρὸς σφαγεῖον* or *ἀνδροσφαγεῖον* Cassandra's words cannot fail to suggest the death of Agamemnon (cf. Eduard Fraenkel, *Aeschylus Agamemnon* [Oxford, 1950], *ad loc.*). D. L. Page (*Aeschylus, Agamemnon* [edited by J. D. Denniston and D. L. Page, Oxford, 1957]) takes *πέδον ῥαντῆριον* to mean 'ground sprinkled (with blood)' and the whole line to refer exclusively to the mutilation of Thyestes' children. This is in accordance with his view that "Cassandra's visions . . . form a continuous series of events. Cause and effect, the crime of Atreus and the murder of Agamemnon are revealed to her stage by stage in a stream of visions, past and future in orderly sequence" (p. 164). Consequently, any reference to Agamemnon's death in Cassandra's first vision "would be wholly premature, for we are at this time farther back in the past, about to witness a vision of the mutilation of Thyestes' children."

Her inward eye can see the immediate future, the details of Agamemnon's murder which is now only a matter of minutes; but her knowledge ranges far into the past, too, into the causes of the event. Agamemnon's death is no accident. It takes its due place in a long chain of causes and effects, and Cassandra can follow that chain far back, all the way back to the seduction of Atreus' wife by his brother, which led to the murder of the children, to "the original sin . . . that man who trampled his brother's marriage-bed. Did I miss," she asks the chorus, "or hit the mark, like a real archer?" She hit the mark. The causes of Agamemnon's death reach back over generations. But this does not mean that he himself bears no responsibility. There are other causes too, and one, she suggests by her presence (though she never actually states it), is all the Trojan blood on Agamemnon's hands. "The gods," the chorus sang earlier in the play, "do not ignore those who have done much killing . . . Not for me the sack of cities, nor capture and slavery, eating the bread of a master." In the chariot which came on stage we saw them both, the man who had done much killing and sacked the city, and the captive, whose life is in the power of another.

Agamemnon's death is some measure of payment for what he has done to Troy; Cassandra's silent figure in the chariot all through his exultant victory speech reminded us of what he had done. She takes comfort from the knowledge of his imminent death to face her own. "Since I have seen the fate of the city of Ilion, and the outcome for those who took it, the judgement of the gods . . . I will go and face my own fate." But her vision sees not only far back into causes and forward to immediate effect. It ranges far into the future, seven years ahead. She foresees the day when Orestes will come back to avenge his father. Agamemnon's death, and her own, will be paid for. "We shall lie dead, but not unavenged; the gods will see to that. There will come one to avenge us in our turn, a man born to kill his mother and to punish his father's murderer."

There was a reason for this strange and entirely unexpected scene. It delays, unaccountably at first, the catastrophe for which every line of the play has been preparing us—the death of Agamemnon. But that death is precisely the burden of Cassandra's song; before we hear his death-cry off-stage she weaves into

the texture of her mysterious vision cause, effect, and result—the children murdered long ago, the husband who will be struck down by his wife as soon as Cassandra leaves the stage, and far off in time and still to come, the murder of a mother by her son. We do not see Agamemnon's death; we see much more. This strange scene which interrupts the dramatic action blurs and almost suspends dramatic time; in Cassandra's possessed song the past, present, and future of Clytemnestra's action and Agamemnon's suffering are fused in a timeless unity which is shattered only when Agamemnon in the real world of time and space (which is also the false world of mask and stage) screams aloud in mortal agony.

Aeschylus has taken the third actor Sophocles introduced to make the dialogue more flexible, complicated, and realistic, and used him to make the drama transcend the limits of space and time. This tremendous scene depends of course on the fact that Cassandra is a prophet. She knows the future, the present, the past, sees them clearly as actual and present; she is close to reality, has a concrete vision of what happens and what will happen. It is a terrible burden she bears. "Human beings," says Eliot, "cannot bear very much reality," and Cassandra is no exception. The weight of her knowledge is too much for her. She is either totally absorbed in her vision, inaccessible to other human beings—"in the passion of her own wild thoughts," as Clytemnestra truly says—or else so overcome by the terror of her vision that she pours it out in a stream of disconnected images which pass the comprehension of her hearers, or, if they do strike home, inspire only fear and revulsion. When she is silent, she is an object for pity—"come down poor girl . . ."—but when she speaks only two reactions are possible: bewilderment—"I can make nothing of these prophecies"—or rejection—"We seek no prophets in this place at all."

She tells the chorus later how she came to be a prophet. The god Apollo gave her the gift of true prophecy but she refused him the love which he desired. He did not take back his gift but he added to it the proviso that though she would always see the truth, she would never be believed. It is a simple story,¹⁵

¹⁵ It sounds like a folk tale motif, but Stith Thomson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* (Bloomington, 1955), lists only one parallel, from

but like all simple Greek stories it presents in symbolic form a great truth. Those people who from time to time in the world's history do have this vision, this knowledge, are always rejected. The prophets of the Old Testament, who told Israel what was coming, were not believed either. "I was a derision to all my people," says Jeremiah, "and their song all the day—I am in derision daily, every one mocketh me."¹⁶ So Cassandra speaks of her lot among the Trojans: "mocked by my dearest ones,—they hated me with all their hearts." And the prophets of Israel poured out their horrifying visions of destruction in the same incoherent, vivid language that Cassandra uses; Nahum's vision of the fall of Niniveh, like Cassandra's vision of the death of Agamemnon, is a swift flow of detailed images which convey the shock of things present and seen: "The noise of a whip and the rattling wheels and of the prancing horses and of the jumping chariots. The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear . . . a multitude of slain and a great number of carcasses, no end of the corpses, they stumble on their corpses. . . ." ¹⁷

The language and figure of the prophet are the same from age to age and nation to nation. The clarity of his vision and the burden of his knowledge are too great a load for human

India (M301.0.1). Similar in form (the transformation of a gift or curse rather than its cancellation) is the story that Poseidon, angered at his defeat in the contest for Athens, laid on the city the curse that it would always make the wrong decision; Athena added the proviso (*προσθεῖναι*) that even so the result would always be success. This story seems to be attested only by the scholium to Ar., *Ec.*, 473, but it does not sound like a Byzantine invention (though it may well be an Athenian invention of the fifth century B. C.).

For an argument that Cassandra's refusal to yield to Apollo is a crucial decision which makes her a "transgressor" and one whom we are to regard "as being in the wrong" see D. M. Leahy, "The Role of Cassandra in the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, LII (1969) pp. 145-77. "She chose wrongly and thereby ensured her murder . . ." (p. 175). Leahy's article is valuable (especially for its examination of Aeschylus' treatment of the loves of gods for mortal women, pp. 161 ff.), but Cassandra's "responsibility" does not seem to me as important a theme in the play as he makes out.

¹⁶ Jeremiah, 20, 7.

¹⁷ Nahum, 3, 2-3.

senses, and the disbelief and mockery of his hearers tip the balance so that what might have been merely a strange urgency comes close to madness; the apocalyptic vision is expressed in magnificent but unconnected images which to the workaday mind of the hearer seem only to confirm the suspicion that the prophet is deranged. "I am like a drunken man, and like a man whom wine has overcome" says Jeremiah "because of the Lord and because of the words of his holiness."¹⁸ So with Cassandra. "Your wits are crazed, you are god-possessed," the chorus sings to her, "some evil-intentioned spirit falls heavily on you." But when they can understand the burden of her song their mood hardens. "What good has ever come to men from prophecy?" "We seek no prophets in this place at all." So Israel too turned from its prophets—"Prophecy not in the name of the Lord, that thou die not by our hand"¹⁹—and so do all peoples in their time and place.

But there is one striking difference between the Old Testament prophets and Cassandra. She has the same concrete vision of reality past, present, and future, the same charged and clotted imagery, the same desperate urgency, like them she is the tortured mouthpiece of a higher knowledge, but, unlike them, she has no purpose: she has no advice to give, no call to action or repentance, no moral judgment, nothing except the vision of reality, of what has been, is, and will be. She has no wish to speak at all; she remains silent as Clytemnestra taunts and scolds her and when she does at last open her mouth it is to utter a scream of agony and address a series of questions to the god whose spirit rides her and whose image stands on stage. Only when the chorus answers the question she addresses to the god—"What house is this?"—does she turn to speak to them, and a few lines later she is again oblivious of their presence as she shrieks at the phantom figures in her vision of Agamemnon's death. "So hard-hearted—can you do this thing? Keep him away—the bull from his mate!"

Cassandra is not intent on forcing her knowledge on others. She has had enough of that at Troy among her own people:

¹⁸ Jeremiah, 23, 9.

¹⁹ Jeremiah, 11, 21.

"like a vagrant witch, I had to endure the names they called me—beggar-woman, starveling. . . ." She has no moral compulsion to prophesy to the Greeks, her conquerers. She has her spells of prophetic fury when "the dread pain of true prophecy scatters my wits in chaotic preludes . . .," but also her sober moments of indifference—"What does it matter if I am believed or not? What will be, will be." Her knowledge is not a message she forces on unwilling ears, a ministry, a gospel to be preached. The speech that unlocks the secret of the future is not offered to Agamemnon; it is refused to Clytemnestra; it is reserved for the chorus alone, for the feeble old men who, as they say themselves, have no strength, no power for action, nothing but "the power of song." The great scene which has been made possible by the Sophoclean third actor is so far from being a complex three-cornered confrontation of the type Sophocles invented that it is in fact the oldest and simplest dramatic form of all, a dialogue between one actor and the chorus.

But this is not a missed opportunity, not the failure of an older technique to take full advantage of a new dramatic resource. This meeting of the third actor and the chorus is a crucial point in the *Agamemnon*. For the chorus, right from the beginning, when it invokes Zeus as the only being who can "cast the dead weight of ignorance off at last from my thought," has needed precisely the knowledge of reality which Cassandra alone can give them. This chorus, which consists of men who were too old to fight even ten years ago, men incapable of action, is yet one of the most important characters of the play. For in the splendor and scope of the long odes the chorus sings there is a dramatic development, a development of ideas, which parallels the development of the action on stage.

On the stage we see acted out the fulfillment of a purpose, Clytemnestra's purpose. Concealed from the chorus, the herald, and her victim by the resolution of that 'male-thinking' brain, dangerously close to the ironic surface of her speech of welcome, triumphantly fulfilled when she stands with blood-stained sword over Agamemnon's corpse—this inflexible purpose, openly confessed only when it is finally achieved, is the straight line along which the whole action moves. But on the dancing-floor, when the actors have retired, and in the chorus there surges that

"power of song" which is all that age has left them, a different purpose is revealed. The object of the chorus is not to act, but to understand, to understand what is happening, and what will happen and why, to pierce through uncertainty to the moral law. They struggle to find some light in the darkness which throughout the play shrouds the will not only of Clytemnestra but also of Zeus.

The blaze of the sacrificial fire kindled at Clytemnestra's order to hail the fall of Troy and Agamemnon's imminent return fills them with puzzled misgivings. In their first effort to understand the present they probe back into the past: ten years back, to the army's departure, the portent of the eagles interpreted by Calchas, which brings them to the sacrifice of Iphigenia. And here their agony of soul begins. They know that something menacing is afoot; they fear Clytemnestra and hope that Agamemnon's return will restore order to the house. But they cannot completely blind themselves to the fact that Agamemnon, their hope of rescue and order, has much to answer for, not least the sacrifice of his own daughter Iphigenia to speed the ships to Troy. This is the "merciless pondering of sorrow" that eats their heart. And that is why at this point in their recreation of the past they break off abruptly and call on the name of Zeus, who is their only resource if they are to cast the dead weight of ignorance off at last from their thought. Their trust is that all the bloodshed and confusion they have seen and fear they yet may see is Zeus' will and therefore somehow good. "Zeus has established this law, that wisdom comes only through suffering." The suffering has a meaning, then, the violence and disorder are the expression of a divine purpose; they can, they must be understood. That purpose is the will of Zeus, "who set men on the road to understanding." It is characteristic of Greek fifth century religious feeling that in one of its most profound formulations the god to whom men turn for comfort demands that they use their minds.²⁰

²⁰ *φρονεῖν*, in Attic, as E. Fraenkel (*ad* v. 176) says, "comes very close to the meaning of *σωφρονεῖν* and of *ὕψις φρονεῖν*." But in this passage it refers also to mental activity, as Fraenkel himself implies in his eloquent explanation of *χάρις* (*ad* 182 f.): "There might have been a world—so far the poet's thinking seems to have progressed—in

And this is what the chorus does for the rest of the play: it ranges over the past, surveys the present, broods on the future, trying to understand. It returns after its invocation of Zeus to the subject it dared not face before, Iphigenia's death. Every dreadful detail is rehearsed, until the actual moment when the knife was drawn across her throat; there the chorus' nerve fails. "What happened after that I did not see: I will not speak of it." For the moment, they give up the attempt to understand the past, for it seems to demand that they resign their hope for the present, Agamemnon. They end their song with an almost incoherent patter of generalities as they turn to hear Clytemnestra announce the fall of Troy.

The sudden shock of such good news—Agamemnon's return will not be long delayed—lulls their anxieties, and they launch into a hymn of thanksgiving to Zeus. In the exaltation of victory and the prospect of Agamemnon's immediate return all doubts vanish. The war was just, the Trojans deserve what they got. It was the fault of Paris who robbed Menelaus of his bride. . . . But Menelaus' loss reminds them that for that one woman, stolen or seduced, all Hellas is full now of wives robbed of husbands and mothers robbed of sons. Their joyful note turns to one of apprehension—Argos is "a people cursing its rulers . . ."; they are back again with their doubts and fears. "The gods do not ignore those who have done much killing . . ."; Agamemnon is such a man. "Great reputation is a dangerous thing . . . the thunderbolt of Zeus is hurled . . ."; Agamemnon, sacker of the greatest city of the East, is now at the pinnacle of human fame and greatness. The ode which began as a thanksgiving for victory ends with a repudiation of the war ("not for me the sack of cities . . .") and a prophetic vision of Cassandra, the conquered victim ("nor capture and slavery, eating the bread of another").

Two attempts to face the reality of the past and yet clear Agamemnon of guilt have failed; the old men cannot absolve him of responsibility for the death of Iphigenia and for the

which man had only to suffer, struck down by obscure powers *without ever understanding why, without ever recognizing any connexion between doing and suffering* [italics mine]. As things are, this is not so . . . the god . . . has opened a way to *φρονεῖν* . . ."

Greek blood shed at Troy. After the herald's announcement that Agamemnon has landed and is on his way, they try again. This time they place the blame for the war and all the suffering it has caused on the shoulders of Helen, and they pursue this theme obstinately through some of the most beautiful and complex poetry of the play. But they can hardly believe that this is the real explanation.²¹ As the ode proceeds the language becomes ambiguous; the parable of the lion cub, though it is applicable to Helen, is also a symbol of the recurrent violence in the line of Atreus—each generation in its turn tears at the vitals of the house like the full-grown lion.²² Soon their language grows more ominous still. They talk in generalities, but the relevance to Agamemnon is all too plain. "When a man's wealth is built up to greatness, it bears children . . . from good fortune there blossoms for his race sorrow insatiable." It is a fresh expression of the idea which occurred to them in the previous ode: "Great reputation is a dangerous thing . . . the thunderbolt of Zeus is hurled. . . ." Even if Agamemnon is free of moral responsibility for all the blood shed at home and at Troy, perhaps he is doomed merely because he is now a man so wealthy, so exalted, so high, that he must fall. They state this archaic doctrine only to reject it: "I stand apart from others, hold my own mind. For it is the *act* of impiety which breeds others to follow. . . ." Not the state of great prosperity, but the act of evil is what brings disaster. They are expecting Agamemnon's return in triumph and magnificence from moment to moment—that is why they reject the old idea; they forget that by the other standard too, the *act* of evil, Agamemnon still stands condemned. The plain fact is that Agamemnon is doomed by both standards; he is responsible for the death of his daughter and all the dead at Troy, and also in his chariot and later as he walks on the precious tapestry he is the classic figure of the man whose lofty eminence and overwhelming success invite destruction.

The chorus cannot pursue its search for understanding to the end because it cannot face the possibility of Agamemnon's death.

²¹ Later (1455 ff.), when they revert to this false comfort, Clytemnestra calmly dismisses it as irrelevant, and they do not protest.

²² Cf. "The Lion in the House," *C.P.*, XLVII (1952), pp. 17-25.

Its lofty vision of Zeus and the working of his will, its formulation of the moral law—"wisdom comes alone through suffering"—, all this remains abstract. Zeus has set them on the road to understanding but they still have far to go. The chorus cannot apply the law to its own situation because it does not dare contemplate the possibilities of the future. The will of Zeus may include Agamemnon's death, and more besides, and all of it deserved; unless the old men of the chorus can face that dreadful prospect, they will never cast the dead weight of ignorance off at last from their thought.

And this is what Cassandra does for them. She brings them brutally face to face with the future, set in its pattern of the past which gives it meaning; she offers them the concrete vision of things to come which could join with their intuition of the moral law to bring light into the darkness in which they grope for understanding. The meeting of the chorus and the third actor brings together the two elements, the moral understanding and the knowledge of reality, which must combine to produce true wisdom.

But they cannot combine. The prophet is rejected, as always. When she talks of the past, they understand. But her vision of the future leaves them bewildered: "These prophecies . . . I understand nothing . . . I am at a loss. . . ." When she mourns for Troy and prophesies her own death, they have no difficulty: "a word too clear . . . a child could hear and understand." It is only the one thing they *must* understand which eludes them. And in the end she speaks clearly to them—no longer in song and visionary language, "no more from behind veils . . . or from riddles." First, the past.²³ They are amazed at her exact knowledge of things she could not be expected to know: "raised from childhood beyond the sea you speak unerringly of a foreign city, as though you had been there." And when she tells them no one believes her prophecies, they protest: "But to us, you

²³ As Fraenkel points out (p. 625 of his commentary) Cassandra "discloses her knowledge of the past to prove the trustworthiness of her prophecies . . . Thus the customary ideas about the nature of true seership provided the dramatic poet with an excellent means of widening his story beyond the time of the actual plot and strengthening the links between the past and the future."

seem to utter oracles worthy of trust." She goes on, from past to future: "The woman will cut down the man." And they are lost again. "I heard it but I am a runner off the track." She tells them now in words that cannot be misunderstood. "I tell you you shall see Agamemnon's death." And their answer this time is to reject her utterly, with pity and reproof: "Silence, wretched woman! Put those ill-omened lips to sleep." As she launches now on her last, long, prophetic outpouring, she throws off the ornaments that mark her as Apollo's priestess; she is preparing herself for death. Her vision of the future leaps to its outmost limit; she sees seven years ahead to the homecoming of Orestes and the murder of Clytemnestra. And then, as the chorus, which understands only that she is prophesying her own death, speaks to her with respectful pity she goes in through the door of the palace to join the sheep who are ready, waiting for the sacrifice.

The old men of the chorus have been offered the knowledge that would convert their moral formula into true, if bitter, understanding. "Wisdom comes alone through suffering . . ."—more suffering than they were prepared to face. They did not recognize what they were offered, and when finally it was made unmistakably clear, they rejected it. But now, at the very last moment, after Cassandra has gone into the house, they bring themselves to face the prospect which, before this, they have not dared to think of. Is Agamemnon, who has returned in victory and honor, doomed to die? "Now if he shall pay for the blood of those who went before, die, and bring the dead retribution for their deaths, what man alive could boast that his birth was free of misfortune?" It has taken them the whole length of the play to phrase that question and the answer comes at once. The answer is Yes. It is Agamemnon's death cry from inside the house. "Ah, I am struck, a deep and mortal blow." We know too that Cassandra has died with him. Time has caught up with her vision. Her task is done.

Her body is laid on the steps next to Agamemnon's and Clytemnestra pronounces her epitaph. "This captive woman, who saw strange visions, and shared his bed . . . sang like a swan her last dying song and now lies here, his lover; she has added a keen relish to the wanton luxury of my bed." This fierce,

exultant dismissal is the last mention of Cassandra in the play. And we are left to wonder: is that all? Was there no meaning to her suffering? Is she only, as she said herself, "a slave-girl dead, killed lightly and with ease"? Was her vision, her prophecy, pointless and was she right when she said: "one wipe of a sponge blots the whole picture out"? Not quite. Her prophecy does have its effect, too late, as is her destiny, but we in the audience see it. It has its effect on the chorus.

"That man by suffering shall learn. . . ." It has often been pointed out that this idea, the only hint of comfort in the murk and terror of the action, has no relevance for the principal characters. Agamemnon is given no time to learn, Clytemnestra learns nothing, and Aegisthus is incapable of learning. The phrase has been taken to apply only in a larger sense—to the whole human race, which learns from the example of these great dramatic prototypes of human action and suffering. But it is true also of the chorus. They do learn, in the end, and from Cassandra, to face reality, bitter though it may be, to see things as they actually are and must and will be.

In the altercation with Clytemnestra which follows her triumphant speech over the corpses of Agamemnon and Cassandra, the old men of the chorus, broken in spirit and incoherent at first, struggle painfully to see things clear, and in the end they do. Though they mourn for Agamemnon, they can at last admit his responsibility. "The case is hard to judge," they say after Clytemnestra's arraignment of her husband, "force suffers force; the killer pays." But they know also that payment does not end with Agamemnon. "The law stands fast . . . the doer shall suffer." They are telling Clytemnestra that her turn will come. They have learned from Cassandra to look reality in the face. And before the play is over, stung to furious disgust by the cowardly boasting of Aegisthus, they look forward to the farthest edge of Cassandra's vision of the future. "Oh, does Orestes somewhere see the light of day, to return here . . . and kill them both . . . ?"

It is their only hope now, for Clytemnestra and Aegisthus rule Argos as tyrants. They have the power. "You and I," says Clytemnestra to her lover, "will bring order to the house at last." But more disorder is to come, the worst yet, the avenging

son, commissioned by a god to cut his own mother down. "From the gods who sit in majesty on the helmsman's deck" the chorus sang early in the play, "there comes a grace which is somehow violent." We have seen some of the violence, and shall see more; the grace, which is to be the replacement of individual vengeance by community justice, lies far in the future, beyond the range of Cassandra's vision, beyond the vision even of the god Apollo, who, like his priestess, is an instrument of the mysterious will of Zeus, "universal cause and mover."

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SUPERBUS IN THE *AENEID*.

In recent Vergilian scholarship there has been a strong tendency to regard the end of the *Aeneid* as somehow unsatisfactory. The most extreme statement is that of Putnam:¹

It is Aeneas who loses at the end of Book XII, leaving Turnus victorious in his tragedy. Aeneas fails to incorporate the ideal standards, proper for the achievement and maintenance of empire . . . Aeneas fails, initially, because he kills the suppliant craving pardon at his feet at the very instant when reconciliation would not only be possible, but would prove that the triumph of empire was not at the cost of personal rights and liberty.

Quinn speaks in similar terms:²

We must condemn the sudden rage that causes Aeneas to kill Turnus when he is on the point of sparing him—and when his death no longer makes sense, for Turnus has acknowledged defeat (936-7); the war is over and the peace terms already agreed to (187-94). The killing of Turnus cannot be justified. . . .

More recently still Anderson phrases it as follows:³

Killing Turnus is a victory for the cause, but not for Aeneas. In this final struggle between aspects of *pietas*, Aeneas can only be the loser.

Anderson, however, as Putnam and Quinn do not, at least considers the impossible alternatives to the killing of Turnus:⁴

We can hardly believe that Turnus will go back to Ardea, if spared, and serenely find himself another wife with whom he can live happily ever after. Nor does it seem credible that the war can conclude without his death.

Anderson is certainly right in this. When Putnam asserts that reconciliation is possible, and Quinn maintains that Turnus'

¹ *The Poetry of the Aeneid* (Cambridge, 1965), p. 193.

² *Virgil's Aeneid* (Ann Arbor, 1968), p. 273.

³ *The Art of the Aeneid* (Englewood Cliffs, 1969), p. 100.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

"death no longer makes sense . . . the war is over and the peace terms already agreed to" they must forget that these are terms which Turnus, as presented here in Book XII, is demonstrably unable to keep.⁵

To return, however, to the view of the killing of Turnus as somehow a denial of Aeneas' *pietas*, it seems to me that the aforementioned critics are defining *pietas* by a modern pacifist ethic which, however praiseworthy, would probably be startling to the author of the *Aeneid*. They have, moreover, left unheeded the proper warning of Otis, uttered but shortly before them:⁶ "The end of the *Aeneid* is certainly not Christian. There is no reconciliation or forgiveness in the Christian sense."

But, ethic apart, Putnam uses internal evidence in support of his interpretation. He sees Aeneas in the end falling short of his own purpose and the task which he has been specifically assigned:⁷

He loses sight of what his father defined as Rome's grand mission (VI, 851-53):

tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacisque imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

On the face of it, it would appear that Turnus at the end of the epic is certainly *subiectus* and ought therefore to be spared. But Anchises' enjoinder also includes the equally specific *debellare superbos*—"to war down the haughty."⁸ In which camp does Turnus belong? Who are the *superbi* of Vergil's poem? The object of the present paper is to explore these questions.

The famous passage in Book VI is the only use of *superbus* as a substantive in the poem. The appearance of the adjective, however, is common enough (at least 37 instances)⁹ and it is this that we will examine.

⁵ See below.

⁶ *Virgil, A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford, 1963), p. 381.

⁷ *Loc. cit.* (note 1, above). Cf. also his recent article in *A. J. P.*, XCI (1970), pp. 426 ff.

⁸ *Debellare* is a rather strong verb, used only one other time in the *Aeneid* and in precisely the same connection—the ghost of Anchises near the end of Book V directs his son: *gens dura atque aspera cultu / debellanda tibi Latium est* (730 f.).

⁹ *Aen.*, I, 21, 523, 639, 697; II, 504, 556, 785; III, 2, 326, 475; IV,

Superbus, literally "that which is above," ought to carry with it two senses—either the pejorative one: *haughty*, *proud*, *arrogant*, or the better sense of *superior*, *excellent*, the meaning of the English cognate, *superb*. As it is applied to persons, or objects close to persons, in the *Aeneid*, however, it is rarely entirely devoid of the bad sense. It is connected with the *hauteur* of kings with apparent strong reminiscence of the last of the Tarquins. This impression is reinforced by the fact that the word *rex* or a related word is to be found in immediate juxtaposition with it in at least 10 of the 37 appearances.¹⁰ In almost every instance of its use some aspect of royalty is envisaged or implied.¹¹

Its most frequent use in the poem, accounting for at least half of the occurrences, is as a word with which to describe or taunt an enemy.¹² So, in its first use in the poem, Juno views the Romans to come as a people haughty in war (I, 21); so, Ilioneus congratulates Dido for having restrained the haughty nations of Africa (I, 523);¹³ so, Creusa's ghost congratulates herself for not having to face the haughty homes of the Greeks (II, 785), words which are seconded in Book III (326) by Andromache, who was not so lucky as to escape the haughty youth, Neoptolemus; so, Aeneas refers to the insolent warfare of the Latins (VIII, 118) and the king Mezentius (XI, 15); so Evander views Cacus (VIII, 196) and Mezentius (VIII,

424, 540; V, 268, 473; VI, 817; VII, 12, 544, 630; VIII, 118, 196, 202, 481, 613, 683, 721; IX, 324, 634, 695; X, 445, 514; XI, 15, 340, 539, 715; XII, 236, 326, 877. I omit XII, 126 where all principal manuscripts have *decori*; only M has *superbi*; see Conington *ad loc.* and cf. V, 133 and I, 639.

¹⁰ *Aen.*, I, 21 (*rex*); 523 (*regina*); 639 (*regali*); 697 (*regina*); II, 556 (*regnator*); VI, 817 (*rex*); VIII, 481 (*rex*); IX, 324 (*rex*); XI, 15 (*rex*); 539 (*regnum*).

¹¹ R. J. Murray, "The Attitude of the Augustan Poets Toward *Rex* and Related Words," *C. J.*, LX (1964-65), pp. 241-6, however, finds no opprobrium in the term taken by itself in Vergil and Horace.

¹² 20 instances: *Aen.*, I, 21, 523; II, 785; III, 326; IV, 424, 540; VIII, 118, 196, 481, 613; IX, 324, 634, 695; X, 445, 514; XI, 15, 715; XII, 236, 326, 877.

¹³ In the same passage (529) occurs the only use of the abstract noun *superbia* in the poem. Ilioneus denies that there is any of this quality in the defeated Trojans.

481); so Pallas characterizes the words of Turnus.¹⁴ Most frequently, be it noted, the adjective thus used is on the lips of Trojan or pro-Trojan characters. The exceptions to this are, interestingly enough, "ladies": Juno, as already noted, at the beginning of the poem; Juturna, at the end (XII, 236), in whipping up the Italians forbodes haughty domination by the Trojans (and still later refers to the haughty edicts of Jove—877); and Dido who, facing desertion, twice refers to Aeneas and company as the haughty enemy.¹⁵

The most striking examples of this use of the adjective as reproachful of the enemy are perhaps those uttered face to face in battle. Significantly these seem to forecast immediate doom: so, Ascanius berates the haughtiness of Remulus (IX, 634); and Camilla answers the insolent Ligurian (XI, 715): both are speedily dispatched.

This doom-spelling application of the adjective is prominent enough to merit further consideration. It is apparent not only in these enemy-taunting scenes but in its other uses in the poem as well: in fact it can be demonstrated that, where its application seems to be conceded by the poet as correct, the adjective regularly is the harbinger of destruction. This is true even as applied to sympathetic (i. e. pro-Trojan) elements: so, Pandarus and Bitias are described as *fratres superbi* (by the poet, although perhaps from Turnus' point of view) just prior to their fall (IX, 695).

As applied to the most sympathetic of characters the adjective is almost invariably used with hindsight from the point of view of a disastrous outcome—the sense, although here for once carrying the better meaning of *noble* or *proud*, becomes virtually "once proud, but proud no more." Thus Aeneas himself applies it to the doorposts of Priam's palace at the moment of its destruction (II, 504); to Priam himself, once proud ruler of Asia, as he reflects upon his gruesome death (II, 556); and

¹⁴ *Aen.*, X, 445. This and other references to Turnus and company as being haughty are discussed below.

¹⁵ IV, 424: she directs Anna in her hopes for a reprieve:
i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum
 and when all hope is lost she rebukes herself for even the thought of boarding their haughty ships, for who has asked her (IV, 540)?

to Ilium as he contemplates its fall at the beginning of Book III (2). So, Helenus, in referring to Anchises' proud union with Venus (III, 475) views it from the destruction of Troy twice fallen and we must be reminded of the marriage's disastrous outcome—the crippling lightning stroke mentioned by Anchises himself in Book II.¹⁶ Furthermore the characterization of Dido's palace and private chambers twice in Book I (639, 697) as "superb" in their royal purple and gold can be seen as foreshadowing not only Dido's end but that of Carthage itself. So, also, we find Camilla's father Metabus in flight from a proud rule he once possessed (XI, 539).

This aspect of the adjective—as foreshadowing doom—is so compelling that few to whom it is applied (in either sense of *haughty* or *proud*) escape with impunity. Who are they?

Principally they are the superhuman: so, the divine Hercules, haughty in the spoils of Geryon, comes to overpower Cacus in Book VIII (202); so, Allecto in haughty terms reports her successes to Juno in Book VII (544); so, Circe, daughter of the sun, inhabits her haughty palace (VII, 12); and so, to Juturna at least, the commands of Jupiter are haughty (XII, 877). In such distinguished company is Agrippa, appearing—*dis secundis*—on the shield of Aeneas wearing a beaked crown, haughty device of war; and so, in the same passage Augustus is pictured hanging the tributes of nations on the proud doorposts of Apollo's temple.

Momentary elevation to semi-divine status is also accorded, by a tradition as old as Pindar, to the victors in the games. so, the boat-race winners are proud of the new wealth (V, 268) and so, Entellus is haughty in his prize of the bull (V, 473).

Brutus, the tyrannicide, is likewise immune to disaster. In an interesting word-play switch Anchises describes the soul of Brutus rather than that of his adversary Tarquin as *superbus* (VI, 817)! He is proud as an avenger and his prize is the *fascēs*.¹⁷

¹⁶ II, 647-9. Vergil, following the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* (V, 285 ff.), is surely alluding to Anchises' haughtiness in having boasted of the affair.

¹⁷ vis et Tarquinius reges, animamque superbam
ultoris Bruti fascisque videre receptos?

But, to return to those who do not escape with immunity, it is to Turnus and company that the adjective in its predominant and pejorative sense of *haughty* is most often and most pointedly applied. There are at least six direct uses of the epithet *superbus* in connection with the name of Turnus and those close to him.¹⁸ They occur at most crucial junctures in the last third of the poem.

The first appears when the goddess Venus presents the armor to her son in Book VIII (613). Her opening words are:

en perfecta mei promissa coniugis arte
munera, ne mox aut Laurentis, nate, superbos
aut acrem dubites in proelia poscere Turnum.

The whole purpose of her presentation, then, is that Aeneas not hesitate to demand the proud Laurentines and Turnus in battle. Her choice of words (cf. *dubites* with *dubitamus* in VI, 806) seems deliberately to recall Anchises' words in Book VI and what is more clearly identifies the *superbi* with the Laurentines and Turnus. Although *aut . . . aut* is used, it is clearly not so much the haughty Laurentines *or* brave Turnus as it is the haughty Laurentines and *especially* brave Turnus. Turnus is in fact called *Laurentine Turnus* in Book VII (650). Furthermore the placing of *superbos* at the end of one line and *Turnum* at the end of the next is scarcely unintentional.

In Book IX occur the deaths of two Italians to whom the adjective is applied. The poet is at some pains to associate them both closely with Turnus. Both appear in important and highly dramatic scenes. Nisus (IX, 324) begins his slaughter in the Greek camp with the slaying of haughty Rhamnes who, we are told, was the most pleasing of augurs to Turnus. And again Remulus, who as previously mentioned is killed by Ascanius in his debut on the field of battle, is carefully identified as the

¹⁸ *Aen.*, VIII, 613; IX, 324, 634; X, 445, 514; XII, 326. See also VII, 630 where Ardea, Turnus' home town, and haughty Tibur are juxtaposed. Sister Mary Columba, "Vergilian Epithets in the Development of Plot," *C. J.*, LVIII (1962-63), pp. 22-4 concludes from the epithets applied to Turnus that they indicate he "fell through pride in his own powers." She curiously omits *superbus*, however, which would have strengthened her argument. Cf. N. Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (New Haven, 1926), who mentions *superbus* as epithetical of only Mezentius, Pyrrhus, and Rhamnes.

brother-in-law of Turnus and taunted for his haughtiness (IX, 634).

It is in Book X, however, that the adjective becomes most directly applied to Turnus in two striking scenes immediately before and immediately after the death of Pallas. It is used first from the point of view of Pallas himself as he stands (445) dumbstruck at the haughty commands (*iussa superba*) of Turnus bidding his comrades to retire, for Pallas is due to him alone:

solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas
debetur.

The full significance of the responsibility he accepts with these haughty words apparently eludes him.

Then again, following the death of Pallas, in a rare interjection ¹⁹ of his own feelings the poet, after finding Turnus' arrogance blameworthy and foreshadowing his fate, proceeds to a report of Aeneas' reaction to the news. Still keeping himself in it Vergil indulges in an equally rare ²⁰ address of his character in what must be the most striking use of the adjective *superbus* in the entire poem. Aeneas is described as cutting a broad path with his sword (X, 514):

te, Turne, superbum
caede nova quaerens.

"seeking you, Turnus, haughty from your recent slaughter."

When we consider such bold uses of the adjective as virtually epithetical of Turnus can we really feel any doubt as to whom Anchises means, whom Venus means, and whom the poet means by the *superbi*? Is Aeneas doing anything other than fulfilling his mission when he wars them down?

There is, of course, the other half of the enjoinder: *parcere subiectis* which carries equal weight with *debellare superbos* and it is especially upon these words that those who see the end of the *Aeneid* as unsatisfactory and Aeneas as failing his good promise most squarely base their assumption. But can Turnus at the least minute lay claim to being *subiectus* ²¹ in any of

¹⁹ The other striking example of this device is with Dido (IV, 65 ff.).

²⁰ Again the chief other example is Dido (IV, 408). The parallel between Turnus and Dido is patent.

²¹ An adjective, or participle, seldom used in the *Aeneid*. Its only

its senses as *subject*, *submissive*, or *humble*? True subjection which would at once comply with the words of Anchises regarding Roman imperium and at the same time achieve a satisfactory conclusion of the poem without the death of Turnus would certainly involve a willingness to come to terms, to put an end to hostility, and to abide by the specific arrangements of a truce.

Turnus by the events of Book XII prior to his death shows himself clearly unable to do this. The pointed scene in which Vergil contrives to show this, significantly enough for this paper, involves the final use of the adjective *superbus* as epithetical of Turnus. The scene is that of the breaking of the truce, a truce it must be remembered Turnus himself called for in line 12 of the book.²² At the first bloodshed the reactions of Aeneas and Turnus are deliberately contrasted: Aeneas rushes out unarmed, bare-headed, and shouting in disbelief (313-15):

quo ruitis? quaeve ista repens discordia surgit?
o cohibete iras! ictum iam foedus et omnes
compositae leges. . . .

Turnus, on the other hand, rushes joyfully and haughtily into arms, especially after he sees Aeneas, wounded, withdrawing (325-7):

subita spe fervidus ardet;
poscit equos atque arma simul, saltuque superbus
emicat in currum. . . .

In this climactic use of the term *superbus*, it seems to me, Turnus' death becomes inevitable. He shows how incompatible his existence is with the terms of any truce upon which the future of the Trojans and Latins depends. Whatever Aeneas' immediate reason for killing Turnus and however impulsive his desire to avenge the death of his friend Pallas, the act itself cannot be regarded as inconsistent with the higher mission enjoined by Anchises: *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*.

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other use connected with a person is as applied to the shoulders of Aeneas as he stoops to pick up his father in the departure from Troy (II, 721).

²² According to Froma I. Zeitlin, "An Analysis of *Aeneid* XII, 176-211," *A. J. P.*, LXXXVI (1965), pp. 337-62, the very language of the oath-taking scene foreshadows the doom of Turnus.

ON PETRONIUS' *BELLUM CIVILE*.*

Why did Petronius insert the epic fragment dealing with the war between Caesar and Pompey into his novel? Did he want to parody Lucan? Did he merely want to imitate him? Or was it his intention to show how such a subject should have been treated?

All these views have been held, from J. G. Mössler (1842, to H. Stubbe (1933), as we see from J. P. Sullivan's recent book, *The Satyricon of Petronius* (London, 1968), pp. 165-86. It is hardly necessary to summarize the various approaches once more.

In my view, the epic fragment represents Petronius' personal and highly original reaction to the posthumous publication by a brilliant young writer of a probably unfinished epic poem which enjoyed immediate acclaim in Rome. If we take it together with Petronius' remarks on epic style (ch. 118) which serve as an introduction, we might call it a piece of literary criticism in verse. Petronius as a literary critic not only tells us what he dislikes (as in ch. 118): he also shows us (in his *Bellum Civile*) how he would have dealt with the subject. In other words: he supplements his objections with a piece of truly constructive criticism. Of course he does not rewrite the whole poem; a specimen to indicate his own way of handling the material was enough.

This procedure may seem strange to us. A modern critic might parody the style of a novel—and parody can be a very effective form of criticism—but to compete with it by a special creative effort would be very unusual today. And yet this is exactly what Petronius has done, or part of what he has done, for there is an element of parody or *pastiche* which is necessary to identify his target.

Hellenistic and Roman poets often pass critical judgments by picking up a theme or motif and giving it a new turn. They may rewrite a whole passage in another poet, because they feel that the same idea could be expressed more effectively in a

*I am grateful to Gareth Schmeling for his help.

different way. The poet as critic is one of the themes of Rudolf Pfeiffer's *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1968); he shows, for instance, how Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes interpreted earlier poetry in their own verse (pp. 140; 146 ff.). The *poeta doctus* expresses his criticism, but also his approval, by imitating, in his own style, a few lines or a whole poem. This explains, I think, the relationship between Theocritus' Hylas (*Id.* 22) and Apollonius' *Argonautica*, II, 1 ff., or Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue* and Horace's Sixteenth *Epode*. This challenge or competition does not have to be hostile or negative; it can be done in a friendly spirit, as a sort of game.

What does this mean for Petronius? First of all, I think, it means that Lucan's *Pharsalia* had been published shortly before Petronius wrote the part of his novel that we are discussing here. Second, it means that Petronius had read the *Pharsalia* but did not share the admiration of many readers. And yet he must have felt that he could not ignore the literary sensation of the day. We can trace the controversy whether Lucan was an epic poet or not back to antiquity. Petronius makes his position clear: in his view an epic poem should be constructed differently. This, I think, is the significance of his own epic fragment, combined with his critical remarks in prose.

There can be little doubt that all ten books of the *Pharsalia* were available to Petronius, though I do not believe that the last lines of his *Bellum Civile* reflect the last lines of the *Pharsalia*. The resemblance pointed out by Kenneth Rose in one of his important articles¹ does not convince me, though I agree with him that Petronius wrote this part of his work soon after Lucan's death, which took place on the 30th of April 65 A. D. Actually, there is no need to prove that Petronius had read the

¹ Kenneth Rose, *C. Q.*, LXI (1962), p. 167. I am well aware of the consequences for the dating of the *Satyricon*, but I feel that any theory which does not take into account the relationship between the *Bellum Civile* and the *Pharsalia* should be discarded. A very interesting relationship of a different kind has been established by Henry T. Rowell, "The Gladiator Pertraites and the Date of the *Satyricon*," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXXIX (1958), pp. 14-24; the evidence presented there is so clear that I feel fully confident about the chronology I have assumed. Incidentally, Petronius must have been at work for a fairly long period of time; in its original form the novel had vast dimensions.

Pharsalia from beginning to end. If it can be shown that he knew, for example, Book VII (the account of the battle) or Book VI (the Erichtho episode), it becomes very likely that he had read through the whole work. It is almost certain that Petronius knew at least these two books and Book I; hence he probably knew the work, as it stood then and now, for Books IV-VII were published posthumously. In other words, Petronius must have written his *Bellum Civile* shortly after Lucan's death.

If this is true, he was not motivated by jealousy or rivalry in the ordinary sense of the word. He did not have to compete with Lucan for the favour of the court or the Roman public. What mattered now was simply the question whether Lucan deserved this posthumous recognition, and whether he really was as great as Virgil or even greater. His work invites comparison with Virgil, and there can be little doubt that Lucan, in the eyes of his more enthusiastic admirers, had surpassed the *Aeneid*,—a view shared by Shelley.

Petronius' *Bellum Civile* makes excellent sense if we assume that this question was debated in Rome at the very time when he was at work on his novel. He justifies his unfavourable opinion in three different ways: First, in the more theoretical remarks of ch. 118; second, by a clever parody of some of Lucan's mannerisms; third, by demonstrating how an epic poem devoted to this subject should have been conceived. The final decision rests, of course, with the reader, but Petronius, like a good advocate, has argued his case as skilfully as possible.

Let us look briefly at each point. First, the introductory remarks of ch. 118.² Eumolpus, the speaker, has definite views on the requisites of the epic poem: the gods should play an active rôle; there should be not too many glittering epigrams; the poet himself should be well-read; the poem should not proceed like a *controversia*, etc. All this is aimed straight at

² The last sentence is difficult. What can *per ambages deorumque ministeria et fabulosum sententiarum tormentum praecipitandus est liber spiritus* mean? Konrad Müller puts *tormentum* between daggers and lists various suggestions in his apparatus, none of them convincing. I feel that *tormentum* in the sense of "catapult" would be satisfactory; the imagination is shot through space like a missile. But *fabulosum* remains puzzling, and the first part of the sentence hardly yields sense.

Lucan, even though his name is not mentioned. Lucan dispenses with the traditional divine machinery; he loves epigrams; he was too young, too one-sided, too much in a hurry to succeed to be *plenus litteris* and to have acquired the *severa lectio* which Petronius recommends in a different context (ch. 4, 3).

Second, the element of parody. As I said before, it is unmistakably there, but not quite in the sense that Oscar Wilde had in mind when he wrote: "Parody, which is the Muse with the tongue in her cheek, has always amused me; but it requires a bright touch . . . , and, oddly enough, a love of the poet whom it caricatures. One's disciples can parody one—nobody else." Petronius could hardly be called a disciple of Lucan. On the other hand, it is not necessary to hate someone to become aware of his failings; one may find him merely disappointing or boring. Petronius is simply stating his opinion. Parody of this kind can provide quick relief for a critical hangover.

It is also a convenient way of describing, by means of caricature, what you consider the main features of an author. Ovid's *Amores*, III, 12 seems to me a striking example.³ In this poem which belongs to the second edition of the *Amores* Ovid seems to parody the lofty elegiac style as cultivated by Propertius. There is hardly a line in this poem which does not sparkle with an allusion to the older poet whose *sodalis* Ovid was. Mannerisms dear to Propertius are ingeniously exploited, and procedures typical of him are cleverly combined. If I am right, this elegy is an important testimony, for it presents implicitly the earliest known criticism of Propertius. In the same sense Petronius' remarks in ch. 118 and his *Bellum Civile* may be the earliest criticism of Lucan. I wonder whether some passages of Virgil's *Eclogues* might be good-natured parodies of Cornelius Gallus.

To return to Petronius: It has been shown by Baldwin, Stubbe, Rose, and Sullivan that the *Bellum Civile* is, from beginning to end, woven out of material taken from Lucan. Not all so-called parallels or allusions are equally convincing; some are only superficially related, and there are obvious cases where both Lucan and Petronius echo an older poet, mostly Virgil, but perhaps occasionally Ennius.

³ Georg Luck, *Die römische Liebeselegie* (Heidelberg, 1961), pp. 185 ff.

I should like to add a few observations concerning the structure of the *Bellum Civile* and its relationship to the *Pharsalia*. It is not enough to compare them line by line; we have to isolate the larger unities in order to grasp the manner in which Petronius uses them as material to build his own short epic. Rereading Petronius with this purpose I noticed a few interesting correspondences that seem to have escaped critics so far.

Petronius' *Bellum Civile* can be divided into seven parts, five of which clearly correspond to a context in Lucan:

I (1-60): Rome has become too powerful; the Romans are corrupt and greedy. This corresponds to Lucan I, 158-82. Petronius stresses the fact that an honest man like Cato was defeated in the consular elections of 52 B. C.; to him this is a symptom. (I would not begin a new part with v. 45; Petronius actually pursues the same theme in vv. 51 ff.) The line *pellitur a populo victus Cato; tristior ille est / qui vicit* seems to be inspired by Lucan's famous *victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni* (I, 128). Curiously enough, Lucan never even mentions Cato's unsuccessful candidacy three years before the civil war broke out, though he emerges as protagonist early in Book II.

II (61-6): The three former triumvirs are introduced. The whole section corresponds roughly to Lucan I, 84-157, though Crassus gets far less space in Lucan than Caesar and Pompey. Petronius' vv. 63 f. are particularly neat: they include the deaths of all three men in different years (53, 48, and 44 B. C.) in different parts of the world (Crassus in Parthia, Pompey in Egypt, Caesar in Rome); all died a violent death:

Crassum Parthus habet, Libyco iacet aequore Magnus,
Iulius ingratham perfudit sanguine Romam.

This idea, too, did not occur to Lucan, though he is fond of foreshadowing future events. I think these two lines of Petronius very effective, for they sum up a whole era.

III (67-121): The dialogue between Dis and Fortuna, a sort of prologue in hell, or rather in a zone between earth and hell. This episode has no direct correspondence in Lucan. The description of the grim scenery reminds one of the place chosen by Erichtho to perform her magic (Lucan, VI, 642-53), but

vv. 67-75 seem borrowed from Virgil, VI, 237-40, and the encounter Dis-Fortuna (vv. 76-99) is probably modelled on the encounter Juno-Allecto (*Aeneid*, VII, 286-340). Dis proposes to drive Rome into a terrible war; Fortuna agrees to this and gives a preview of the main campaigns and battles: Philippi, Pharsalus, Spain, Libya, Egypt, Actium. This is mainly based on the vision of the Roman matron who runs in ecstasy through the streets of Rome at the end of Lucan's First Book (674-95). The reasons why Rome must be destroyed by her own strength are partly taken from Lucan I, 67-97 (after Livy, no doubt), partly from the section I, 158-82 which Petronius had used before. There is a curious duplication of a motif which we have encountered before: the attack on luxury (vv. 85-93) echoes vv. 4-39. This might be a sign of hasty composition and would seem to confirm our impression that Petronius improvised the whole piece more or less on the spur of the moment. Hell's thirst for blood and its pressing need for more spacious accommodations in view of the impending slaughter are reminiscent of the dead soldier's speech in Lucan, VI, 778 ff.

IV (122-40): Zeus' thunderbolt confirms that he, too, agrees. A series of *omina* and *portenta* indicates the horrors about to come. Here Petronius clearly depends on Lucan, I, 522-83.⁴

V (141-208): Caesar crosses the Maritime Alps—not the Rubicon! This can hardly be an error on the part of Petronius; nor is it probable that he wanted to correct Lucan after another historical source. He must have chosen this version because it allowed him to combine Caesar's hesitation at the Rubicon (Lucan, I, 183-227) with the motif of his looking down on Rome in the distance, as he stands on a peak of the Alban Hills (Lucan, III, 84-97). The effect Petronius achieves owes a good deal to a famous passage in Livy—Hannibal looking down on Rome (Livy, XXI, 35, 4 ff.). The themes of his address (one could hardly call it a prayer) to Jupiter are taken from various speeches of Lucan's First Book, notably from Caesar's first speech on Italian soil (I, 299-351). Encouraged by favourable *omina* Caesar then crosses the frozen, snowy mountain tops

⁴ A new context clearly begins with v. 141, not v. 144, as Konrad Müller proposes in his editions.

during a terrible storm, using a spear as an ice-pick. The whole episode (almost 70 lines) has no direct counterpart in Lucan, though it is composed of familiar elements, as we have seen. From a historical point of view it is even less accurate than Lucan's account; it aims at *hypsos* and *ekplexis*: the awe-inspiring Alps, Rome way down in the distance, Caesar's bold speech, as he is about to conquer Italy, the various *omina*, the snow-storm, etc. Here, Petronius goes even further than Lucan in sacrificing historical truth to literary effect.

VI (209-44): Wild rumours circulating in Rome create a panic, and many prominent men, including Pompey, flee. Here we have a close parallel to Lucan, I, 469-522, though Virgil's Fama (*Aeneid*, IV, 184-7) may also be compared. The simile vv. 233-7 imitates Lucan, I, 498-504, and Plutarch's agreement shows that Lucan himself borrowed it from Livy. Here, Petronius seems to miss the most striking features and is not quite equal to Lucan.

VII (245-95): This part might be called a mythological epilogue. The heavenly gods abandon the earth, just as they left it at the close of the Golden Age,⁵ and the powers of hell begin to invade it. This catalogue owes much to Virgil, as Froma Zeitlin⁶ has pointed out. The Erinys seems to be patterned on *Aeneid*, VII, 570, Bellona on VII, 319; the bursting forth of Furor reverses the closing of the gates of war, I, 294-6, and the list as a whole resembles VI, 273-81. Discord whips mankind into the frenzy of war; she is essentially Virgil's Discord (VI, 280 f.), but reminds one also of his Allecto (VII, 511-18) and Lucan's Erichtho (VI, 515-18 and 654-8). Various events told at length in Lucan's Books I-III are hinted at: The fall of Corfinium (vv. 290 f., cf. Lucan, II, 478-525); Caesar's robbing of the treasury (v. 292; cf. Lucan, III, 112-68); Pompey's passage to Dyrrhachium (vv. 293 f.; cf. Lucan, III, 1-45).

This survey establishes, I think, that Petronius has largely drawn on the first three books of the *Pharsalia*, the books which the poet revised for publication shortly before his death, while Books IV-X appeared posthumously, perhaps after having been

⁵ Cf. Ovid, *Met.*, I, 149 f.; *Fast.*, I, 249 f.

⁶ Froma I. Zeitlin, "Romanus Petronius: A Study of the *Troiae Halosis* and the *Bellum Civile*," *Latomus*, XXX (1971), pp. 77 ff.

revised by someone else. But it is almost certain that Petronius knew Books IV-X, because he uses familiar motifs, especially from Books VI and VII. Still, it would appear that he read Book I more carefully than the others, because he makes the most extensive use of it.

Let us now reverse the procedure we have followed so far and ask this question: What parts of the *Bellum Civile* can be related to the main sections of the First Book of the *Pharsalia*? We have seen that this book plays a more significant rôle than all the others. It will become clear that only three sections of that book have left little or no trace in the *Bellum Civile*; almost every major theme or episode has an echo in Petronius.

Petronius is not too much interested in the prologue (Lucan, I, 1-83) with its encomium of Nero and its elaboration of what might be called the metaphysical causes of the war. Some of this, however, he uses in Part III, the dialogue between Dis and Fortuna (see above).

The next portion of Book I (84-157) corresponds to Petronius' Part II. The following vv. 158-82 correspond to Part I. The next portion (183-227) corresponds to Part V (where the material is combined with motifs taken from I, 299-351 and III, 84-97).

The following portion (228-468) is largely ignored by Petronius. He makes Caesar cross the Maritime Alps rather than the Rubicon. This eliminates the Ariminum episode and the arrival of Curio. Petronius also leaves out the long geographic excursus (392 ff.), but uses Caesar's first speech on Italian soil (299 ff.), as we have seen above, transposing it, for more effect, to the top of the Alps.

Then we have again two neat correspondences: Lucan, I, 469-521 and Petronius, Part VI; Lucan, I, 522-83 and Petronius, Part IV. The long account of the Etruscan rites of expiation (I, 584-673) has no counterpart in Petronius (his two mythological episodes are totally different in mood), but the very last part of Book I, the vision of the Roman lady, furnishes a secondary theme to the dialogue Dis-Fortuna.

While Petronius ignored three main portions of Book I he added two mythological scenes of his own. From ch. 118 we know that he considered them essential, because the *ingens opus*

must be put in the proper cosmic framework right at the beginning. It is not surprising that a sophisticated man like Petronius should care about such things as the proper ingredients of an epic. After all, the epic is one of the most traditional forms of literature, and any deviation from the well-worn path might cause uneasiness. When Lucan rewrote history in terms of Stoic philosophy, some people must have been shocked or upset.

It seems ironical that Petronius should castigate Lucan by paying him an elaborate tribute. But this is just what he does. He accepts, with certain reservations, the "modern style" and shows that he can handle it himself. And why should he not be fascinated by Lucan's genius for conjuring up the pageantry of appalling dreams, fantastic, brightly illuminated scenes, apocalyptic in their impact one moment, and gone the next?

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THE *TRACHINIAE*: STRUCTURE, FOCUS, AND HERACLES.

Among the unusual, even unique, features of the *Trachiniae* is the distribution of roles. Sophocles so constructed the drama that his protagonist played both Deianeira and Heracles. This must have been a tremendous role, demanding the utmost range and endurance. First the actor must project the gentle and submissive woman, then the massive and tortured hero. The role includes lyrics as well as trimeters and gives to the actor almost 600 lines, more than 40% of the whole play, more than 50% if only the verses for the three actors are considered. There is no ambiguity about the central nature of the persons of Deianeira and Heracles in the play, but the significance of allocating both parts to the same actor is much less clear. Extant fifth-century tragedy provides no parallel. In the *Antigone* the roles of Antigone and Haimon (but not of course Creon) may have fallen to the same actor. In the *Alcestis* the roles of Alcestis and Heracles (but not Admetus), in the *Hippolytus* the roles of Aphrodite, Phaedra, and Theseus (but not Hippolytus), and in the *Bacchae* the roles of Pentheus and Agave (but not Dionysus) may have gone to one actor.¹ But these are in no sense real parallels to the situation in the *Trachiniae*, and the remainder of extant tragedy does not furnish even partial parallels. Is this element of structure in the *Trachiniae* to be noticed and no more, or is it part of Sophocles' broader purpose in the play? Let us for the moment merely notice the fact and proceed to a careful reading of the play, returning only then to the distribution of roles.

The Athenian audience entered the theater, it is reasonable to believe, knowing that they were to witness Sophocles' version of the death of Heracles, the greatest and most storied of Greek heroes. Their anticipation would center on the ways in which Sophocles might elaborate his theme. Heracles' presence in a

¹ A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*², rev. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford, 1968), pp. 141 ff. For the *Antigone*, Jebb gives a quite different role distribution and assigns to the protagonist the parts of Antigone, Teiresias, and Eurydice.

play would evoke in advance a range of associations in the audience: his services to Greece and to all mankind, his stature and strength, his unbridled appetites.² Deianeira's presence would be more equivocal. Her actions toward Heracles were known; Bacchylides had written recently of them;³ perhaps also, in drama, Ion of Chios. In any case, the story's outlines went back to epic.⁴ But what of Deianeira's character? Was her name truly to indicate a Sophoclean Clytemnestra?⁵ In fact, the suggestiveness of her name proves illusory.

The prologue establishes a personality for Deianeira which Sophocles develops with consistency throughout her role. It is a personality that becomes fully meaningful only by comparison with the absent Heracles. The λόγος ἀρχαῖος with which she begins the play and which she then applies to herself (1-5) in despairing fashion introduces to the audience a figure who is passive and pessimistic. The tale of Achelous' courtship that follows portrays her in her earlier life as unable to control her surroundings, caught up in a situation that is beyond her range and comprehension. And when, further on, it is determined to dispatch Hyllus for news of his father, it is the Nurse who suggests the action. Deianeira merely acquiesces willingly in it.

The picture of Deianeira that starts to emerge is not the composed, resolute heroine whom many scholars have thought to see.⁶ There is nothing whatsoever unattractive or repreh-

² C. M. Bowra, *Sophoclean Tragedy* (Oxford, 1944), pp. 131 f., summarizes Heracles' background, as it would be known to Sophocles and his audience.

³ This statement indicates my position on the vexed problem of the relative dates of Bacchylides, XVI and the *Trachiniae* (see J. C. Kamerbeek's introduction to his commentary [Leiden, 1959], pp. 5 ff.), and thus suggests something about my view on the absolute date of the *Trachiniae*, a matter which the conclusion of this paper will treat briefly.

⁴ For a concise outline of Sophocles' possible sources, see Kamerbeek, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 ff.

⁵ See T. B. L. Webster, "Sophocles' *Trachiniae*," in *Greek Poetry and Life: Essays Presented to Gilbert Murray* (Oxford, 1936), p. 164.

⁶ One thinks of Jebb, Whitman, Kirkwood, and Kamerbeek, among others. See also I. M. Linforth, "The Pyre on Mount Oeta in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*," *U. Cal. Stud. Cl. Ph.*, XIV (1952), pp. 255-67; A. Beck, "Der Empfang Ioles, Zur Technik und Menschengestaltung im ersten Teile der *Trachinierinnen*," *Hermes*, LXXXI (1953), pp. 10-21. Chap.

sible in the picture; it simply is passive rather than resolute. The picture gains additional impact from the contrast to Heracles that is already firm in the audience's mind. They have come to witness a play dealing with Heracles' death, an affair that at the least will be tumultuous. But the play opens not in tumult but with a meek and lovely wife, resigned to her lot. The audience's thoughts of the expected but absent Heracles heighten their reaction to the initial presentation of Deianeira. And Sophocles carefully furthers this inherent comparison between the absent Heracles and the present Deianeira by means of the ways that Heracles is referred to in the prologue. For almost twenty verses Deianeira makes no mention of her lord. Then, when she has reached the critical point of Achelous' ardent wooing and the audience has received its opening impression of her passivity, Heracles enters the text (18-21):

χρόνῳ δ' ἐν ὑστέρω μὲν, ἀσμένῃ δέ μοι,
ὁ κλεινὸς ἦλθε Ζητὸς Ἀλκμήνης τε παῖς.
ὅς ἐς αἰς ἀγῶνα τῷδε συμπεσὼν μάχης
ἐκλύεταί με.⁷

All is action, decisive and admirable. Deianeira is the wondering beneficiary. The description of her ensuing married life with Heracles maintains the contrast, in more bewildered tones. Heracles rescued her, but life with him is beyond her control, indeed simply beyond her altogether. It is a succession of his comings and goings, of distant toils and feats dimly heard of and dimly understood. Deianeira is stationary and can do no more than react, anxiously but submissively, to her lord's wanderings.

By the end of the prologue tensions and ironies have been formed which will control much of the rest of the play. The audience, anticipating a stormy Heracles, views instead a quiet Deianeira. Expecting action, they are shown reaction. Sophocles has engaged his audience in a taut game: waiting for Heracles.⁸ The game is played while the character of deepest

VI of C. H. Whitman's *Sophocles* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951) presents the case for Deianeira as eloquently as can be done.

⁷ Jebb's text throughout.

⁸ H. Musurillo, *The Light and the Darkness: Studies in the Dramatic Poetry of Sophocles* (Leiden, 1967), p. 62, makes a similar point, "... the entire action is a kind of arched tension, a waiting for his final coming."

possible contrast to Heracles dominates the play, and it becomes thereby all the more effective.

In the parodos the chorus of Trachinian maidens, whom one might expect to stand even more in fearful awe of Heracles than does Deianeira, actually show themselves considerably more positive in word and mood than their lady.⁹ They sing to the Sun-god straightforward inquiries of Heracles, and their own attitude toward him even seems buoyant by comparison to that of Deianeira, whom they describe as anxious, fearful, pining, a deserted, helpless bird (103-11). The picture of weary resignation is poignant, but we are not allowed to linger sympathetically over it since the chorus move directly on to thoughts of Heracles' varied fortunes and then in the second antistrophe to open reproof of Deianeira for her pessimism (122-30). The epode summarizes their position: neither happiness nor sorrow is constant, and this suggests hope for Heracles, *ἐπεὶ τίς ὧδε/τέκνοισι Ζῆν' ἀβουλον εἶδεν*; (139-40). The chorus have posed their own *λόγος ἀρχαῖος*, so to speak, and it is one that, coming from obscure and nameless young women, increases by its relative optimism the audience's sense of the gloom in Deianeira's interpretation of *her λόγος ἀρχαῖος* at the beginning of the prologue.

Throughout the long first episode, we continue to learn Deianeira's character. All that we view is in studied contrast to Heracles, and Heracles, still absent, still—and ever more—expected, continues to contribute to the contrast through the quality of the references to him. These are, of course, often from Deianeira's own lips, as in the first speech of the episode. She presents herself to the chorus as one exposed to constant troubles because she, unlike the chorus members, is a wife and mother. Then she recounts Heracles' disposition of his goods at his departure fifteen months ago and his announcement of the Dodona oracle. All this is consonant with the Deianeira of the prologue. She does not receive or interpret the oracle herself; she only reacts to what Heracles has told her, or to the instructions he has given, and in a spirit full of foreboding.

The messenger enters to announce Heracles' impending arrival. Deianeira is unwilling to credit the truth of his message until several interchanges have passed between them. Then she

⁹ Cf. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

cries out in belated joy to Zeus of Oeta, ὦ Ζεῦ, τὸν Οἶτης ἄτρομον δὲ λειμῶν' ἔχεις (200). The audience realize from the known outlines of the saga the somber significance of Oeta for the final act in Heracles' life, and Deianeira's uncomprehending cry of joy becomes a telling piece of Sophoclean irony. Here the irony is not the kind in which Deianeira will come to see the true significance of Oeta for the "return" of Heracles.¹⁰ It is rather that the audience already know, and that Deianeira will never know. She will go uncomprehending to her own death. It is an artful bit of dramatic craft, and Sophocles uses it again, in a passage of different mood later in the episode, when Deianeira interposes in the wrangling between Lichas and the Messenger and begs for the truth (436-7):

μή, πρὸς σε τοῦ κατ' ἄκρον Οἰταῖον νότος
Διὸς καταστράπτοντος, ἐκκλέψης λόγον.

In this instance, of course, she calls upon Oetaean Zeus not in joy but in disillusionment. Her ignorance of the words' import remains the same, however, and for those in the audience who notice the repeated invocation to Zeus of Oeta the irony in the language would deepen as Deianeira first appeals to him as the bringer of joy and then as a helper in securing the truth. The truth represented by Oetaean Zeus is something Deianeira will never glimpse.

After Deianeira's first cry to Zeus of Oeta, the chorus interrupt the scene with a short *ὑπόρχημα*, in which they support her feelings of joy. Just as the parodos was more positive in tone than the prologue, so here the chorus' paean is more exultant than Deianeira's somewhat hesitant joy. Once again, Sophocles denies to Deianeira, even in comparison with the maidenly chorus, leadership of action or mood.

Lichas enters to report at length on Heracles' awesome struggle with the house of Eurytus. He concludes by stressing that Heracles will soon be present in person, to which the chorus respond excitedly but Deianeira with reservations: good fortune may turn at any moment to bad; witness the plight of these

¹⁰ That is, the irony does not fit the category of "late learning" on the part of a character, which elsewhere is a theme of basic importance to the play, as Whitman indicates by his chapter of that title on the *Trachiniae*.

captive women who appear before her (292 ff.). Deianeira's feelings are always gentle and sensitive, and indeed, as here, often instinctively correct. At the same time, the appeal of her character should not gloss over its nature, and thus far in the play it has been one of almost total if noble passivity and reaction, whether viewed in conjunction with the nurse, Hyllus, the chorus, the messenger, or, most of all, the absent Heracles. If Sophocles is to present his audience with the resolute heroine so many have seen, the tenor of her character must alter.

In fact, through much of the rest of Deianeira's time in the play, Sophocles does make more complex the presentation of her character by suggesting that she is indeed undergoing just such a transformation toward heroic control and resoluteness. But each step of the apparent transformation is undercut. This procedure does not betoken inconsistency on Sophocles' part but high art. He has created, through the first three hundred lines of the text, a character who is essentially monochromic. This has served his purpose of delineating the basic, and unbridgeable, gulf in character that separates Deianeira from Heracles, a gulf that is all the more striking because it is obvious even with Heracles still absent. Now the story must begin to move toward its crisis, and Deianeira figures centrally in the action of the crisis. Sophocles of course must grant to Deianeira the action required by the story; yet he retains intact the picture of her that he has so carefully drawn. He accomplishes this by accompanying each show of strength on her part with words or deeds, by Deianeira herself or someone else, which categorize her efforts as hesitant, fearful, undertaken in reaction, easily opposed.

The first example of this new complexity comes at the close of the first scene with Lichas and in the ensuing scene of revelation from the messenger. Deianeira questions Lichas with simple dignity about the captives and the as yet unnamed Iole. With queenly assurance she bids them all enter the palace, so that Lichas may prepare for his return to Heracles and she herself for Heracles' arrival (329-34). This is the first point of the play in which Deianeira seems to exert control over those around her, and these lines are ones on which advocates of Deianeira's strength lean. Yet hardly have they been uttered before the messenger approaches (335-8):

αὐτοῦ γε πρῶτον βαιὼν ἀμείνας, ὅπως
μάθῃς ἀνευ τῶνδ' οὐστινὰς τ' ἄγεις ἔσω,
ὦν τ' οὐδὲν εἰσήκουσας ἐκμάθῃς ἃ δέει·
τούτων ἔχω γὰρ πάντ' ἐπιστήμην ἐγώ.

Deianeira seems to know what she is about, but the messenger possesses rival knowledge (*ἐπιστήμην*) from which she may learn (*μάθῃς*, *ἐκμάθῃς*). Sophocles has no sooner put his character for the first time in a posture of authority than he issues a challenge to it. Whose is to prove the stronger? The answer is clear after the messenger has divulged his story. Deianeira cries (375):

οἷμοι τάλαίνα, ποῦ ποτ' εἰμὶ πράγματος;

and cries again (385-6):

τί χρὴ ποεῖν, γυναῖκες; ὥς ἐγὼ λόγοις
τοῖς νῦν παρούσιν ἐκπεληγμένη κυρῶ.

Within fifty lines of her calm directions Deianeira is reduced to her former helplessness. The new crisis is not inconsiderable; her hesitant joy in Heracles' return has been blasted by the revelation of Iole's menacing position, the very captive whom she had most pitied. But the fact remains that this stress does not stir Deianeira to action but reduces her to impotence. As in the first part of the play, the deeds of the absent Heracles control and cow her.

The portion of the play has now arrived in which Deianeira knows herself threatened as a wife and as a woman. Although the situation eventually will be the catalyst for her one great "external" deed, the audience have seen that her immediate reaction is bewilderment. And they have seen this shortly after hearing the report of *Heracles'* response to the challenge *he* faced from the house of Eurytus. The next scene, the second with Lichas, shows another variation in the series of stark contrasts between Deianeira and the absent Heracles. Deianeira sets out to confront Lichas by asking him for the truth. He promises, swearing by Zeus, to comply. She then asks Iole's identity, and Lichas temporizes (398-401). A vehement stichomythic exchange seems underway. Deianeira will surely confront Lichas with the messenger's revelations. But the next verse (402):

ΑΓ. οὗτος, βλέφ' ὤδε. πρὸς τίν' ἐννέπειν δοκεῖς;

comes of course from the messenger himself, and Deianeira does not speak again for thirty lines, during which the messenger and Lichas have at one another. How are we to imagine that Sophocles produced this switch of Lichas' interrogator from Deianeira to the messenger? Was it, as usually assumed,¹¹ an interruption by the messenger? If so, it forms a unique instance in which a lowly servant deliberately breaks in upon and silences the conversation of a lord or mistress. It seems preferable to suppose that the audience saw Deianeira falter when Lichas did not yield after her first line of interrogation. There would be a moment of silence; then the messenger, outraged that Lichas should brazenly evade his mistress' question, intervenes. The feeling among the audience would be that even now, when Deianeira is threatened as a woman, someone else must act, in this case prosecute, for her.

At length Deianeira reenters the dialogue, not on her own initiative but in response to a request from Lichas (434-5):

ἄνθρωπος, ὃ δέσποιν', ἀποστήτω· τὸ γὰρ
νοσοῦντι ληρεῖν ἀνδρὸς οὐχὶ σῶφρονος.

A messenger has had to intervene on behalf of his silent lady. Now she starts to speak again, but only at the rather brusque behest of another commoner. Deianeira, once she has been "allowed" to speak, makes her second appeal to Zeus of Oeta, noted above, and then delivers an impassioned address to Lichas in which she attributes to Eros all Heracles' actions and reserves for herself no right to anger against either Lichas or Heracles. Her words persuade Lichas to tell his story, and Deianeira then leads him off as she utters her ominously suggestive phrases of returning gifts for gifts (494-6).

We have seen already an instance in which apparent control and assertiveness on Deianeira's part are quickly undercut. Sophocles reaches the same effect here in another way. Deianeira's speech induces Lichas to reveal the truth. Working against this apparent show of authority, however, are the meekness which Deianeira has displayed previously in Lichas' pres-

¹¹ E.g., the comment of Jebb, *ad loc.*, ". . . the ἄγγελος roughly be-speaks attention for his own question."

ence and also the contents of her speech of persuasion. It is not a speech that demands the truth from Lichas; she begs and implores the truth and does so by disassociating herself from any position of authoritative involvement in Heracles' actions. All is to be conceded to Eros. Thus, in the earlier instance Deianeira attempted to establish control but was confronted and overcome by the messenger's warnings; here, her speech achieves results, but both the prelude to the speech and its contents show that its success really derives from a very lack of authority. And the wonderful first stasimon that follows subverts Deianeira as a figure of authority still further. She has attributed Heracles' recent actions to Eros, but has held herself outside these actions and therefore in this case outside the force of Eros.¹² Now the chorus sing of the original struggle between Heracles and Achelous, with Deianeira a helpless onlooker, and they invoke Cypris as overseeing the contest, *μόνα δ' ἔλεκτρος ἐν μέσῳ Κύπρις ραβδονόμει ξυνοῦσα* (515-16), and thus as a force in Deianeira's life from the very beginning of her years with Heracles. Deianeira has been quite mistaken, the theme of the chorus suggests, to speak of *Heracles'* subjection to Eros and not to understand that what is equally at hand is a continuation of her own long-standing control by the same force.

The following scene contains Deianeira's single action (her suicide excepted), the sending of the robe. Even here, Sophocles carefully erases any conviction the audience might harbor that Deianeira acts with strength and authority. On one level, of course, the audience is prepared in advance for such undercutting by the outlines of the story. The robe will be effective, but not as Deianeira intends. But this kind of misbegotten action is the mark of other Sophoclean figures, too—Ajax's rage, Oedipus' investigation—, and yet these other figures *do* evince strength and authority. What denies these qualities to Deianeira's action is not its failure in success but the way in which the action is announced and carried out. The language with which Deianeira opens the scene is indicative. Lichas is still

¹² Deianeira's statement at 443-4, *οὗτος [Eros] γὰρ ἄρχει καὶ θεῶν ὅπως θέλει, / κάμου γε*, means only that she includes herself, and the gods, as within the over-all force of Eros, quite aside from the present case.

within, and therefore Deianeira has made use of the chance to communicate with the chorus in stealth, *λάθρα* (533), in order to gain sympathy for her plight, *τὰ δ' οἷα πάσχω συγκατοικτιονμένη* (535). Iole's youthful bloom puts Deianeira's maturity in a shadow, and thus she must act (545-9); that is, Deianeira is determined to act only because she is certain to lose if, as she would prefer, she remains inactive. She then relates at length the story of the gift of his blood by the dying Nessus. Here Deianeira attempts to support the action she will announce at the end of the story by means of the authority implicit in the figure of Nessus. She is drawing for help upon the past, but uncomprehendingly. And the extent of her lack of understanding is shown by the contrast with what she has previously asserted. In the preceding scene she explained the actions of Heracles in terms of the force of Eros but appeared to dissociate herself from this force. The first stasimon undercut her explanation by singing of her as gripped by Cypris from the Achelous encounter onwards. Now she recounts her experience with Nessus as the means by which she can secure Heracles' love, but again she seeks to be independent, this time in her use of Nessus' gift, not realizing that she is supremely illustrating the chorus' depiction of her as long controlled by an irrational power. Sophocles caps this dual effect of Deianeira's speech marvelously. After more than fifty lines in which she has sought to convince the chorus, and herself, of the authority and validity of her proposed action but throughout which Sophocles' language has weakened her case, Deianeira concludes by caving in altogether (586-7):

*μεμηχάνηται τοῦργον, εἴ τι μὴ δοκῶ
πράσσειν μάταιον· εἰ δὲ μή, πεπαύσομαι.*

No words could better reflect Deianeira's character. She has reached a decision, proposed a course of action, and sought support for the action through the authority of the past. And yet in the end all is to be abandoned if the chorus of young women disapprove. How gentle, but how un-Heraclean, the audience would think, with the image of the absent Heracles looming in front of them.

The chorus leader reassures Deianeira of the good intentions of her gift, and she prepares to dispatch Lichas, though as he

enters she addresses the chorus in another bit of self-incrimination (596-7):

μόνον παρ' ὑμῶν εὔ στεγοίμεθ'· ὥς σκότῳ
κἄν αἰσχρὰ πρᾶσσης, οὐποτ' αἰσχύνῃ πεσεί.

Lichas receives his instructions and departs. The chorus, in a pattern that Sophocles has used already in the play, take up Deianeira's action in the second stasimon (633-62) and sing of it with far stronger hopes than their own mistress had been able to muster. Just as in the parodos the chorus fear less for Heracles than does Deianeira in the prologue, so now they are more resolute over the sending of the robe than is their lady. Once again, while Deianeira's irresoluteness carries with it a correct sense of foreboding, it also furthers the portrait that Sophocles has created so carefully since the opening lines of the play, a portrait in which even the nameless chorus do not complement so much as contrast with their hesitant mistress.

The portrait is continued unrelentingly after the chorus finish their song. Only thirty verses have elapsed since Deianeira sent Lichas off when she reenters (663-4):

γυναικες, ὥς δέδοικα μὴ περαιτέρω
πεπραγμέν' ἢ μοι πάνθ' ὅσ' ἀρτίως ἔδρων.

ὥς δέδοικα is an apt summation of Deianeira's spirit throughout the play, and coming as it does in her first line after the robe has been sent to Heracles it puts the recognizable stamp of irresolution on what had been intended as a piece of confident action. Her opening cry is followed by the horrifying description of the effect of Nessus' φάρμακον upon the tuft of wool, the sight of which has brought her to her present pass (705-6):

ὥστ' οὐκ ἔχω τάλαινα ποῖ γνώμης πέσω·
ὁρῶ δέ μ' ἔργον δεινὸν ἐξειργασμένην.

This is the low point for Deianeira as a figure of strength. In the first part of the play the audience see her as passive and pessimistic. Then there ensues the series of scenes in which she attempts to project verbal or physical authority, only in every instance to be subverted, by herself or by others. This process has now culminated in the fear and helplessness which mark her single "external" action almost as soon as it has been

undertaken. All along, Deianeira's hesitancy has been noteworthy not only in itself but, equally, in comparison with the audience's image of the absent Heracles, whose felt authority and importance have determined her every thought. Such is again his force in the final lines of her speech of self-incrimination, a dozen verses after the cry of perplexity above (719-22):

καίτοι δέδοκται, κείνος εἰ σφαλῆσεται,
ταύτῃ σὺν ὁρμῇ κάμῃ συνθανεῖν ἄμα·
ζῆν γὰρ κακῶς κλύουσιν οὐκ ἀνασχετόν,
ἥ τις προτιμᾷ μὴ κακῇ πεφυκέναι.

We all know that this statement heralds an unflinching determination on Deianeira's part to die if she has destroyed Heracles. As such, the passage is central to the "heroic Deianeira" doctrine. But is this the immediate effect of the passage, either for Sophocles' characters or for his audience? The audience are aware of the saga's outline and realize that Deianeira will die. They will take Deianeira's statement, it would seem, as signaling the approach of this section of the drama. But what authority and majesty will they assign to the statement? The reaction of the chorus leader is revealing. Up to this point the chorus have responded quickly to Deianeira's various moods and proposals. They have been more positive than their mistress, but certainly not inattentive. Now, however, the chorus leader comments thus on Deianeira's speech (723-4):

ταρβεῖν μὲν ἔργα δέιν' ἀναγκαίως ἔχει·
τὴν δ' ἐλπιδ' οὐ χρὴ τῆς τύχης κρίνειν πάρος.

The lines are directed altogether to the feared results of the robe upon *Heracles*. Deianeira's words, expressing in the plainest and most emphatic way her resolve to die, are simply and utterly ignored.

In fact, Deianeira's statement of resolve is totally ignored right up to and through the moment of her silent exit. After the chorus leader's above lines, there are two more interchanges with Deianeira over the possible amelioration of Heracles' anger toward her. Then Hyllus enters, cursing his mother terribly. Deianeira protests in pitiable anguish, οἶμοι, τίν' ἐξήνεγκας, ὦ τέκνον, λόγον; (741) and again, πῶς εἶπας, ὦ παῖ; (744). And then she utters her final words of the play, ποῦ δ' ἐμπελάξεις τάνδρ' καὶ παρίστασαι; (748).

The total effect of this whole portion of Deianeira's role is quite marvelous. She speaks of a resolve that the audience know will be carried out in the course of the play. But such is the accumulated force of weakened authority which has marked her from the play's beginning that now her one quiet statement of real—and effectual—determination is brushed aside by those around her. The chorus leader thinks only in terms of what *Heracles* may or may not do. Hyllus regards his mother as almost beneath mention, and thinks only of *Heracles'* misery. *Heracles*, absent but still awesomely potent, having determined Deianeira's words and deeds throughout the play now is also the cause for the disregard of her final resolution. And so complete is his domination that Deianeira herself turns aside from concentration on her intended suicide and turns back to *Heracles*. Her very last words (748) ask where *Heracles* is. This has been her baffled question throughout, and she is hardly nearer an answer now than at the beginning of the play. Nothing has worked for her; but even worse she has been wholly unable to project authority. Her silent exit is not so much an unexpected as an appropriate, indeed almost required, stroke of Sophoclean dramaturgy. No one is heeding her. What choice remains but to depart in silence, to perform a final act of communion with the household symbols of all she holds dear—husband and family, the private life—, and then to carry out alone the resolve that thus far only she has known to be serious. While she is thus engaged the chorus sing the third stasimon (821-62). They are full of foreboding. Their lord is reported to be lying stricken; their mistress has departed; and so they sing in gloom—of *Heracles*. Only in the second strophe do they turn to Deianeira, and then in terms of her unwitting assault upon *Heracles*. Even in the moment of her death she commands but negligible attention from those about her.¹³

The immediate sequel is a piece of supreme Sophoclean irony. The knowledge of Deianeira's death releases a torrent of pity and praise for her—from the nurse, from Hyllus, from the chorus. Now, and only now, those who dominated or disregarded her before pay respectful heed. It is as if evidence of Deianeira's

¹³ Contrast the frenzied search for Ajax that is going on at the moment of his suicide.

effectual will for something, even death, is required before she is accorded a measure of honor. But this is scant and bitterly won recognition, and Deianeira certainly does not come forward to accept it. The nurse concludes the scene with a gnomic utterance whose theme is the same as the λόγος ἀρχαῖος at the start of the prologue: the future is beyond ken. And with this cyclical touch the "Deianeira portion" of the play ends.

If the text of the *Trachiniae* presents a Deianeira such as has been suggested, one must ask again what sort of Sophoclean heroine this is. The answer will be that Deianeira is no Sophoclean heroine at all. She is loving and gracious, modest and loyal. She exhibits devotion to Heracles from start to finish. But those qualities which mark Sophoclean heroes—raw force, authority, obduracy—are absent from the passive Deianeira.¹⁴ Sophoclean heroes, at least those we know, gather a play about themselves and direct its thrusts, whether they are onstage or not. Deianeira moves entirely otherwise, in meekness and reaction, even when she sends the robe or determines upon suicide. She is often compared to Tecmessa, and the comparison is just. Both are memorably drawn and genuinely sympathetic figures. But their very similarity should give pause, since Tecmessa clearly is not of heroic stature, in Sophoclean terms.

With so little of Sophocles available it is perhaps rash to be dogmatic about the requirements for a Sophoclean hero. We might simply say that the *Trachiniae* is the single extant play in which the hero, Deianeira, is altogether of a different dimension from heroes of the other plays. Such a view would be perfectly credible if there were not present in the *Trachiniae* a figure who is absolutely consonant in character and action with other Sophoclean heroes and around whom, as has been argued, the play truly focuses, namely Heracles.¹⁵

¹⁴ G. M. Kirkwood, *A Study of Sophoclean Drama* (Ithaca, 1958), p. 114, comments, "In just one thing she is consistent, firm, and courageous—in her devotion to Heracles." Cf. B. M. W. Knox's observation (*The Heroic Temper: Studies in Sophoclean Tragedy* [Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964], p. 172, n. 48) on the antiheroic language of Deianeira except at the moment when she states her resolve to die.

¹⁵ Several scholars have, of course, chosen Heracles as the focus of the play, among them Bowra and S. M. Adams. Most of them proceed from this sound basis to subsequent faults of interpretation. Adams for

To exalt, where so many have impugned,¹⁶ Heracles' character and action demands some explanation. Part has been offered thus far. We have seen that even in his long absence Heracles controls the play and that the picture drawn of him is one of supreme force and authority, of heroic exploits and noble service. It is not, and will not be, a picture of gentleness and temperance, a point which will receive comment later.

As Deianeira speaks her last, "Heracles-centered" words (748) and becomes no more than a passive spectator while Hyllus recounts his father's donning of the robe and consequent agony, the force of Heracles appears ever more paramount. Even in the midst of torture his energy and might are awe-inspiring. He snuffs out Lichas' life as though squashing a frog, a dread action but one that draws no censure either from the Euboean crowd or from Hyllus. Hyllus' behavior is significant. His mood upon first seeing Heracles is one of eager love, οὐ νῦν τὰ πρῶτ' ἐσείδον ἄσμενος πόθῳ (755). Then he witnesses the mounting torment and the terrible vengeance against Lichas (777-82). Heracles rages monstrously, and no one dares approach him. But when he catches sight of Hyllus and summons him, Hyllus is not recoiling in revulsion but is weeping, δακρυρροοῦντα (796), and Heracles' injunctions are anything but ranting (797-802):

ὦ παῖ, πρόσελθε, μὴ φύγῃς τοῦμὸν κακόν,
μηδ' εἴ σε χρὴ θανόντι συνθανεῖν ἐμοί·
ἀλλ' ἄρον ἔξω, καὶ μάλιστα μέν με θῆς
ἐνταῦθ' ὅπου με μὴ τις ὀψεται βροτῶν·
εἰ δ' οἴκτον ἴσχεις, ἀλλά μ' ἔκ γε τῆσδε γῆς
πόρθμευσον ὡς τάχιστα, μηδ' αὐτοῦ θάνω.

The phrases are firm and urgent, but they are also phrases that would arouse from the audience, as they do from Hyllus, sympathy. Despite the suggestion (798) that Hyllus' aid may bring

instance (*Sophocles the Playwright* [Toronto, 1957], p. 108) well remarks, "This is a drama about Heracles," but then is discovered arguing, "If we think the hand was that of Sophocles, that hand must indeed have lost—or had yet to acquire—its customary skill" (p. 126).

¹⁶ Cf. Whitman's heartfelt words, "He presents us with a fantastically gross Heracles . . ." (*op. cit.*, p. 119). G. Ronnet, *Sophocle, poète tragique* (Paris, 1969), p. 94, lists several of the scholarly views against, and for, Heracles, and then joins "ceux qui voient dans un monstrueux égoïsme le fond de son caractère."

agony upon him as well, he obeys immediately and unflinchingly. And he ends his report with an outraged cry to his silent mother that she deserves the worst, since she has slain the best (811-12):

πάντων ἄριστον ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπὶ χθονὶ
κτείνασ', ὅποιον ἄλλον οὐκ ὄψει ποτέ.

These unequivocal words, it should be stressed, are given by Sophocles to Hyllus at the end of a speech that seems to many to reveal a heartless and savage Heracles.

While the dead Deianeira enjoys, or perhaps endures, the mournful attention that is finally lavished upon her, the absent Heracles for the moment becomes less immediate. All of Deianeira's last ritual evokes Heracles—the house she shared with him, the bed she shared—, but his strength and might are not so much to the fore here as, more diffusely, Deianeira's private memories of him. It is as if Sophocles wishes to make, in the midst of Heracles' total masculine mastery of the play, this one brief concession to Deianeira's quiet femininity. When, however, the nurse's gnomic tag seals Deianeira's exit and the fourth stasimon heralds Heracles' approach, we find ourselves back in well-worn paths of expression. The chorus of maidens, who consistently outdid Deianeira in forcefulness, now await Heracles in awe and fear, and pray to be elsewhere (953-5). And yet, the chorus can sense, those bearing Heracles' tortured body do so not just in fright but in reverence (965-7):

πᾶ δ' αὖ φορεῖ νιν; ὥς φίλου
προκηδομένα βαρεῖαν
ἄψοφον φέρει βάσιν.

In this blend of fear and love Heracles at last enters the play physically.¹⁷ Sophocles does not quite yet break the tension he has constructed so carefully and at such length. For a dozen verses, the Old Man and Hyllus converse while the audience, with Heracles now in their view, must still wait in dreadful expectancy for his first words. When they come, the effect is

¹⁷ H. D. F. Kitto remarks nicely (*Poiesis* [Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966], p. 155), "He does indeed return home—and like this! The awful irony of it is enough to show that this is what Sophocles had in mind from the start."

similar to the first view of Odysseus in *Odyssey* V: the Tele-machy has portrayed him as the most illustrious of heroes, but he is weeping by the shore. So with Heracles: for almost a thousand verses he has stood for sheer might, but his first words—from a litter—are a cry to Zeus, agonized questioning as to where he himself is, and exclamations over his torment (983-7). The Sophoclean stroke is as fine as the Homeric, and the analogy continues further since, just as Odysseus despite his grief quickly evinces his craft and intelligence, so Heracles despite his affliction quickly regains impressive mastery of those around him. Once he wakes and starts to speak, no one dares to try to guide or control him. Of the one hundred and thirty verses after the cry to Zeus (983-1111), a mere twelve do not belong to Heracles, and these are all anxious asides by the Old Man, Hyllus, or the coryphaeus. It is only when Heracles himself comes to a halt that Hyllus feels able to approach him.

During his near soliloquy Heracles concentrates equally on the past and present. The past means his labors on behalf of mankind; the present, his destruction at the hands of a woman.¹⁸ The contrast is stark, and no one feels it so acutely as Heracles himself. Again and again he expresses incredulous disbelief that he, the invincible champion, should be vanquished by such a weak creature as Deianeira. In fact, it is solely in this connection that he thinks of Deianeira. The recurring sequence of expression is: here am I, Heracles, who have endured all pains and mastered all adversaries, wracked with deadly agony brought on by a woman. Where is she that I may repay her? May I die! He does not inveigh so much against Deianeira as a wife who has slain her husband and the father of her children, but against Deianeira as the woman who has slain the benefactor of man.

How does Sophocles intend this extended quasi-monologue by Heracles to strike the audience? An indication lies in the reactions of those around him, particularly the chorus leader. The side remarks by Hyllus and the Old Man show only their concern for Heracles and their complete disinclination to oppose

¹⁸ Bowra (*op. cit.*, p. 139) notes that in his death, "The memory of the past makes the present all the more appalling," and again, "Heracles who has all male qualities in excess is brought to ruin by a gentle, unassuming, weak woman who is also his wife."

him. The chorus leader's words are more positive, and more significant. She and the other Trachinian maidens have been associated closely with Deianeira, even when displaying more energy than their mistress or overlooking her declaration of intended suicide. A clear sign of this association, often recognized by scholars, is the fact that when Deianeira exits so too, in effect, do the chorus. After Heracles' entrance there is choral silence except for two comments by the coryphaeus of two verses each and then the final four verses of the play.¹⁹ This is all, in an exodus of over three hundred verses. Therefore Sophocles does not compose casually when he has the coryphaeus first state, just after one of Heracles' savage outbursts against Deianeira (1044-5):

κλύουσ' ἔφριξα τάσδε συμφοράς, φίλοι,
ἀνακτος, οἷαίς οἷος ὦν ἐλαύνεται.

and then, just after another tirade against Deianeira (1112-13):

ὦ τλήμων Ἑλλάς, πένθος οἶον εἰσορῶ
ἔξουσιν, ἀνδρὸς τοῦδέ γ' εἰ σφαλήσεται.

There is not a hint of censure for Heracles' vengeful aims upon Deianeira, only sympathy for his torture and a deep sense of the loss all Greece will experience.

It is Hyllus who ventures to come forward, when Heracles pauses, and who intervenes for his mother. The stichomythia between father and son over the next thirty verses has been held almost unanimously against Heracles. Deianeira's innocence is laid before him, but he spurns it. Heracles clearly does not respond gently, but it may be asked what is Hyllus' purpose in intervening for Deianeira and what is the underlying cause of Heracles' continuing rage. Hyllus in fact is intent before all else on assuaging Heracles' mental and physical anguish. He believes the mental anguish to come from Heracles' conviction that Deianeira has betrayed him. He thus concludes that to absolve Deianeira will have the effect of calming his father. Actually, Heracles cares only about *knowing*. He must know

¹⁹ These should be assigned, I feel sure, not to Hyllus but to the coryphaeus, even though for the purposes of the present point the choral silence would be still more striking if Hyllus uttered lines 1275-8.

why torture has come upon him. Deianeira is the instrument of his death, but her deed carries with it no sufficient explanation. Hence, when Hyllus first refers to her and states that *ἤμαρτεν οὐχ ἔκουσία* (1123), this is for Heracles no explanation at all of his own dilemma, and his rage if anything increases. Then, after Hyllus describes Deianeira's death, he returns to the quality of her action, *ἤμαρτε χρηστὰ μωμένη* (1136). Heracles pounces at the application of *χρηστά* to what Deianeira has wrought upon him, and Hyllus hastens to define the deed further, *στέργημα γὰρ δοκοῦσα προσβαλεῖν σέθεν* (1138). This leads Heracles to question the identity of the *φαρμακὸς* (1140), and Hyllus names Nessus.

The play changes dramatically at this moment, and the change confirms the above interpretation of the stichomythic exchange. Heracles now has the knowledge he must have to accept his death, and so no further word of anger against Deianeira crosses his lips. In fact, he simply does not refer to her again. The knowledge he has gained makes her irrelevant to the remainder of his life, a classification which thus haunts Deianeira in death as in life. Conversely, Hyllus sees that his father no longer rages aimlessly, and so he too abandons the defense of his mother. Deianeira has been assailed by the one and defended by the other not for herself but for her possible contribution to an understanding of *Heracles'* dilemma. His domination, her subservience are the controlling themes and provide the resolution of this difficult passage.

There are two more passages which have been used to advance the indictment of Heracles. When he interprets the oracles to Hyllus and enjoins rigorous compliance to his dying wishes, Hyllus' willing pledge is met straightway by the heartless order to light his father's pyre. A heartless order to be sure, but one that—it need only be said—is rescinded upon Hyllus' anguished outcry. In this instance, as indeed in the stichomythic passage, Heracles for all his awesomeness presents a considerable contrast to such a figure as Creon. In *his* confrontation with *his* son, Creon learns nothing from the comparable stichomythic exchange, and he yields ground on no point whatsoever.

More troublesome is Heracles' disposition of Iole, but the solution here turns out to follow a familiar form. Hyllus is

dumbfounded that his father should require him to marry Iole.²⁰ It is she who is to blame for Deianeira's death and Heracles' own agony (1233-4). As soon as he becomes convinced, however, that the alliance will truly please Heracles (1246), he yields. The situation is comparable to that in the stichomythic passage. Hyllus has only to be sure that some action is necessary for Heracles' well-being, and he will perform it. In the present instance his objection to Iole as the destroyer of Deianeira is not answered at all, but again Deianeira becomes irrelevant once Heracles is content.

How shall we now view Heracles in the *Trachiniae*? It is manifest that he controls the play, that he is the central figure.²¹ Is he a Sophoclean hero? He is indeed.²² The self-centeredness, the harshness, the anger, which characterize him as much as the magnificent labors,²³ are traits of others too: Ajax, Antigone, Oedipus the king, the aged Oedipus, and in a different fashion Electra and Philoctetes. The Sophoclean hero is not gentle, not forbearing, generally not mindful of others. He concentrates on himself with an intensity that can erupt in extreme violence of word or deed. But the force that results from this concentration on self is of a magnitude unattainable by more attractive persons. Heracles, Ajax, Antigone, and the others, even the aged Oedipus, are hardly lovable. But they possess an authority that eventually is able to impose terms on all the surrounding world.

²⁰ Or, perhaps more accurately, take her as a concubine. See the arguments of J. K. MacKinnon, "Heracles' Intention in his Second Request of Hyllus: *Trach.* 1216-51," *C.Q.*, XXI (1971), pp. 33-41.

²¹ Jebb's fear (pp. xxxviii ff.) that Sophocles made a dramatic mistake, that he *intended* Heracles to be the central figure but that by the time he appears Deianeira has taken possession of the play, is misplaced. Cf. the statement of H. Friis Johansen, "Sophocles 1939-1959," *Lustrum*, VII (1962), p. 258, ". . . it is true that this puzzling play seems to be about Deianeira and Heracles rather than about Heracles and Deianeira."

²² Equally mistaken on this point, though in opposite ways, are R. M. Torrance, "Sophocles: Some Bearings," *H. S. C. P.*, LXIX (1965), p. 303, who says that the play is without *any* hero, and T. F. Hoey, "The *Trachiniae* and Unity of Hero," *Arethusa*, III (1970), p. 11, who says that Sophocles has created *two* heroes for this play. There is but one hero in the *Trachiniae*, and it is Heracles.

²³ Cf. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 176; Bowra, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

This is the play. To return to the initial question, it is now easy to imagine the effect, surely conscious, of Sophocles' distribution of roles. An electrifying sense of utter naturalness, combined with high tension, would accompany the audience's realization that Deianeira and Heracles emerged from one actor. Utter naturalness because Deianeira, through her qualities of submission and reaction, does merge at all stages into Heracles and because the unity of the play in Heracles is thus underscored. High tension because the audience sees at the same time that these two figures, brought together in a single actor, also in a real sense slay each other.²⁴ Sophocles' role assignment is bold, and successful.

* * *

When is it likely that Sophocles could have produced a play of such power but also of virtually unrelieved darkness?²⁵ It is almost certainly true, and perhaps wisest, to answer: at practically any point in his career. But efforts to date the *Trachiniae* within narrow limits continue to thrive, rightly so, and a suggestion may be offered here. It is now fairly well established that stylistic arguments, both of a broad and a precise nature, can result in a date for the play as early as *Ajax* or as late as *Electra* (assuming the dates of these two plays to be respectively the mid-440's and the mid-410's),²⁶ but that on balance a date

²⁴ Bowra (*op. cit.*, p. 116) speaks of "... the destiny which involves each in the other's ruin."

²⁵ The darkness is marked nowhere better than in the final verse, *κούδεν τούτων ὅ τι μὴ Ζεὺς* (1278). A cyclical pattern is at work here as much as in the Nurse's gnomic coda to the "Deianeira portion" of the play. In Heracles' opening cries, he looked to Zeus as the sole possible healer of his agony (1000 ff.). Now, with Zeus' healing potion seen to be the demise of Greece's greatest hero, the coryphaeus returns to Heracles' thought and provides for the whole play a coda of extraordinary grimness. On this basic point, Bowra (*op. cit.*, p. 159), who elsewhere has many sound things to say about the *Trachiniae*, is woefully off the mark; Whitman (*op. cit.*, p. 104), with whom I disagree over much else in the play, is absolutely correct. In (mistaken) agreement with Bowra's view that the play is meant to justify the ways of the gods are A. Maddalena, *Sophocle*, I (Turin, 1956) and P. E. Easterling, "Sophocles, *Trachiniae*," *B.I.C.S.*, XV (1968), pp. 58-69.

²⁶ An early date has been favored by Reinhardt, Earp, Kamerbeek, and Schwinge, among others; a late date by Jebb, Wilamowitz, Schmid, Perotta, and Kitto, among others.

at least earlier than *O.T.* (assuming its production to be in the early 420's) is most plausible.²⁷ The mood of darkness, the prevalent language and imagery of sickness, and many other factors seem in fact to support the thesis that, like *O.T.*, the *Trachiniae* derives from the first years of the Peloponnesian War and has the Athenian plague in the background of its conception.²⁸ If we take advantage of Knox's persuasive arguments²⁹ that the date of *O.T.* should be lowered from the very first years of the war to 426 or 425, then the earlier Spring festivals of the war will be left open for other Sophoclean compositions. The *Trachiniae*, along with its unknown companion plays, would fit one of these years well.³⁰

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²⁷ Advocates of such a "middle" date include Webster, Pohlenz, Whitman, Pohlsander, and Lesky.

²⁸ For connections of theme and structure with *O.T.*, see, e.g., Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 168 ff.; H. D. F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy*³ (London, 1961), p. 290; Easterling, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

²⁹ B. M. W. Knox, "The Date of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles," *A. J. P.*, LXXVII (1956), pp. 133-47.

³⁰ I should like to thank Cedric Whitman for first instructing me in the *Trachiniae* and thereby supplying the impetus for this paper. Bernard Knox has suggested many improvements.

TWO ATTIC DECREES OF THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY.

I

The recently edited new preamble of an Attic decree from 306/5 poses a problem for the calendar of that year and at the same time it illustrates one quite normal type of treatment of a stoichedon text.¹ Ronald Stroud has very convincingly narrowed down the possibilities of restoration, where restoration is necessary, so that the prytany in the inscription which he edits may surely be taken as the fourth in order within the year and the month correspondingly as Pyanopsion. He suggests for a framework of the inscription a stoichedon line of 41 letters, with a calendar equation to be read in lines 3-4 either as [Πυανοψιών]ς δεκάτε[ι ὑστέραι, μιᾷ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας] or as [Πυανοψιών]ς δεκάτε[ι ἱσταμένου, ^{vv} ἐνδεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας]. The former is too long by two letters and the latter, in contradistinction, is too short by two letters for a perfect stoichedon order. He finds no way to restore an equation without assuming some irregularity.

One can, however, posit a stoichedon line of 42 letters and invoke the common principle of syllabic division at the ends of lines, thus avoiding epigraphical irregularity, as follows:

[ἐπὶ Κοροίβου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τ]ῆς Πανδιον[ίδος τετάρ ^v]
 [τῆς πρυτανείας ἥμ Πάμφιλος] Θεογείτον[ος Ῥαμνούσι]
 [ος ἐγραμμάτευεν· Πυανοψιών]ς δεκάτε[ι ὑστέραι, μιᾷ]
 [καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας·] ἐκκλησί[α¹⁰]
 5 [- - - - -²⁵ - - - - -]ο[. . .]απ[. . . .¹¹]
lacuna

The third line has three letters at the end inscribed in the space of two. This phenomenon is not rare in stoichedon texts where the idea and compulsion of syllabic division are strong. As early as 433/2, for example, the expense account for the squadrons which sailed to Corcyra² has final Κρ[ι] of Κρ[ιτιάδες]

¹ Ronald Stroud, *Hesperia*, XL (1971), pp. 181-3, No. 30.

² B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents* (1932), p. 69 and photograph on p. 70. The name of the treasurer in line 16 is known

in two spaces (line 2), final *αία*[ς] of *Ἀθηναία*[ς] in three spaces (line 4), final *hois* in three spaces (line 5), final *είας* of *πρυτανείας* in three spaces (line 21), and even final *ς* *Κορ* of *ἐς Κόρ*[κυραν] in three spaces (line 18). This last involves no iota; in all the other instances the fact that one of the crowded letters was iota made the fact of crowding less conspicuous. In our present text the final three letters of *μῆι* (line 3), with two iotas, could comfortably be inscribed in two stoichedon spaces with no apparent crowding at all. And this was doubtless done. Six times in the Corcyra document the last space in a line was left un-inscribed in order to preserve syllabic division. This had to be done only once (so far as we know) in our present text, where the final syllable of *τεράτρης* was put over from the end of line 1 to the beginning of line 2.

The several inscriptions which belong to the year 306/5 were fitted into a calendar scheme of 355 days by W. Kendrick Pritchett in 1937.³ The first six prytanies were of 30 days each, and the first six months began with a regular alternation of 30 and 29 days. I have had occasion to praise this study,⁴ suggesting only that the first four months be restored with the sequence 29 30 29 30 so that Hekatombaion (the first month) might not be represented as full (30 days) following full Thargelion and full Skirophorion of 307/6.⁵

This being so, the twenty-first day of the fourth prytany should have fallen on Pyanopsion 23, and not on Pyanopsion 21 as the equation of the new inscription has it. The festival calendar was in arrears by two days. Later, in the year 171/0, there is evidence that in the month of Pyanopsion the festival calendar had been retarded as much as thirteen days.⁶ Such a retardation may well have been authorized in order to postpone the celebration of the festival of the Thesmophoria (Pyanopsion

now as [Ἰπποκρά]τες Ἐρχιεύς. See Wesley Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXXIV (1965), p. 32.

³ A. J. P., LVIII (1937), p. 330.

⁴ *The Athenian Year* (1961), p. 139.

⁵ B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXIII (1964), p. 13.

⁶ In the intercalary year the stone gives the equation of Pyanopsion 11 with Prytany IV 17. See W. Kendrick Pritchett, *Ancient Athenian Calendars on Stone* (1963), pp. 278-9. Pritchett's reading is accepted and confirmed by Meritt, *T. A. P. A.*, XCV (1964), pp. 247-51.

11-13).⁷ The fiction of the correct date would have been preserved in spite of the delay. But it is not possible always to know the reasons for intercalations of extra days into the festival calendar. Such evidence as there is indicates that they were frequently associated with postponement (for whatever reason) of a festival date.⁸

II

One of the inscriptions from the North Slope of the Acropolis recently published⁹ belongs to the archonship of Neaichmos (320/19 B. C.). A possible restoration, one of two in his opinion, has been proposed by Ronald Stroud, as follows:

a. 320/19 a. ΣΤΟΙΧ. 20
 [ἀναγραφέν]ς Ἀρχέδικ[ος Ν]
 [ανκρίτου Δ]αμπτρέύς· [ἐπὶ]
 [Νεαίχμου ἀ]ρχοντος ἐ[πὶ τ]
 [ῆς Ἀκαμαντίδ]ος δεκ[άτης]
 5 [πρυτανείας ἤμ. .]ατη[....]

After this preamble, and a *lacuna*, there follows in Stroud's publication its association with other fragments of the same inscription already known. Stroud takes the letters [.]ατη[....] in line 5 to be part of the name of the secretary, and then goes on to restore another text, *I. G.*, II², 383, as of the tenth prytany (Akamantis) in the same year, in which the name of the secretary was [.]ψι[---].

I. G., II², 383
 a. 320/19 a. ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25
 [θ ε] ο ι
 [ἀναγραφέν]ς Ἀρχ[έδικος Ν[ανκρί]
 [του Δαμπτρ· ἐπὶ Ν]εαίχμ[ου ἀρχον]
 [τος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμ]αντί[δος δεκάτ]
 5 [ῆς πρυτανείας ἤμ. .]ψι[.....]
 lacuna

The restorations for the secretary cannot both be right, and I suggest that in line 5 of the North Slope inscription one should

⁷ L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (1932), p. 52.

⁸ B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year* (1961), pp. 33, 147-8, 149-51, 161-6, 208 with note 14, 214, 239-40, 241.

⁹ Ronald Stroud, *Hesperia*, XL (1971), pp. 174-8, No. 25.

restore in continuation the date by month, with the name of the month omitted as in *I. G.*, II², 383b, and with the date, within the prytany. As Stroud remarks, there can be no objection to restoring *πρυτανέας* instead of *πρυτανείας* in line 5 of *I. G.*, II², 383, for the spelling was common in the late fourth century. W. Kendrick Pritchett cites examples of it, in his study of style, and concludes "that the restoration of *πρυτανέας* in an inscription dated in the second half of the fourth century affords no textual difficulty."¹⁰

This leaves *I. G.*, II², 383b still to be considered. Granted that the determinations here suggested for Akamantis are correct, its prytany of Pandionis cannot be tenth in order within the year. My own suggestion, for the sake of a normal calendar, was to restore the ordinal numeral for the prytany in line 2 as *τρίτης* instead of *δεκάτης* and to assume an uninscribed space on the stone. Stroud reports the objections to this solution made by Dow and Pritchett and remarks that I alone of all who have worked with the stone have made such a proposal. This is true, but it is also true that I alone have recognized the high improbability of the irregularity that has to be assumed in the festival calendar if the restoration *δεκάτης* is retained. There is as yet no example of any calendar irregularity, ever, in the month of Skirophorion.¹¹ I have noted this fact on several occasions,¹² and have concluded that we have to make a choice of which irregularity we prefer: an uninscribed space in line 2 (for which I cited parallels) or a necessary omission of days from the festival calendar at a date in the year later than any hitherto attested. Stroud's reference to Pritchett's purported analysis of the Choiseul Marble as evidence for the omission of days late in the year is of no value,¹³ for Pritchett's interpretation of the Choiseul Marble has many gross errors, of which this is one,¹⁴ and the reference to it had best been omitted. Stroud's citation of *S. E. G.*, XXI, 422, for the necessary omis-

¹⁰ W. K. Pritchett and O. Neugebauer, *The Calendars of Athens* (1947), p. 38.

¹¹ *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, XXV (1970), p. 11.

¹² B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year* (1961), pp. 103, 208, 211, and the reference cited in note 11.

¹³ *Hesperia*, XL (1971), p. 178, n. 49.

¹⁴ See *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, XXV (1970), pp. 10-11, for a partial indictment, and now more recently my study in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CXV (1971), pp. 115-18.

sion of seven days in another inscription after Thargelion 18 is better evidence for late maladjustments in the calendar, and he has shown that δεκάτης can be retained in *I. G.*, II², 383b with the assumption that the omitted day late in the year 320/19, when the calendar was rectified, was ἐνῆ καὶ νέα of Thargelion. This may, indeed, be correct. Pandionis may then remain the tenth prytany, being also restored in the new inscription from the North Slope. Akamantis would be left for *I. G.*, II², 383, but the number of its prytany would be uncertain and nothing more could be done with the restoration of the text than was proposed by Dinsmoor in 1931.¹⁵

But this is not really satisfactory. It would be better, after all, to claim Pandionis for the seventh prytany in *I. G.*, II², 383b, in spite of its own, in my judgment now less serious, calendar anomaly which led me (and others) to reject such a date. If Pandionis was the seventh prytany, the tenth day of it (*I. G.*, II², 383b) should be the 241st day of the year. The next to last day of Elaphebolion, as shown in the equation in the inscription, ought not to have been the 241st day but only the 235th. The festival calendar may have been retarded by six days in the month of Elaphebolion and so have fallen behind the prytany calendar by that number of intercalated days. Of all months Elaphebolion was the one, *par excellence*, in which such irregularities were apt to occur. Hence the assumption of irregularity at this time of the year is preferable, in principle, to the assumption of any irregularity in the tenth prytany.¹⁶ Postponement of dates in Elaphebolion was such a common occurrence that it might almost be said hardly to constitute an irregularity.¹⁶

The balance of probability favors the restoration of *I. G.*, II², 383b as of the seventh prytany. This does no violence to the stoichedon order of the text, while it illustrates once again a fairly common calendrical phenomenon. Akamantis may now be given to *I. G.*, II², 383, restored as above, and to the inscription from the North Slope. There is no new evidence for the suppression of dates in the festival calendar late in the year.

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¹⁵ W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens* (1931), pp. 23-4.

¹⁶ See the examples cited by B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year* (1961), pp. 33, 147-8, 149-50, 161-5, 208. See also *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1968, pp. 112-14.

POPULAR COMEDY IN ARISTOPHANES.

Since the fundamental work of Körte and Pickard-Cambridge earlier in this century, it has been the generally accepted theory that Old Attic Comedy is a blend of two main ingredients: an Attic-Ionic choral performance (the Komos) and a non-choral, mimetic performance, farcical in nature and probably Doric in origin.¹ This view has, to be sure, been challenged by (among others) H. Herter (*Vom dionysischen Tanz zum komischen Spiel* [Iserlohn, 1947]), who argues that there is evidence to show that both the choral and the actors' parts in Old Comedy descend from performances of the Ithyphalloi in Attica. More recently, L. Breitholtz, in a thoroughly skeptical examination of the evidence (*Die dorische Farce im griechischen Mutterland vor dem 5. Jahrhundert. Hypothese oder Realität?* [Stockholm, 1960]), asserts that there is no clear proof for the existence of Doric farces on the Greek mainland early enough to have contributed to the origins of Old Comedy. To this one might reply that there is very little proof of almost anything in Greek literary history before the fifth century B. C. We have to make what we can of the texts preserved to us.

So far as the present paper is concerned, it makes no difference whether the farcical scenes in Aristophanes derive from earlier Doric comedies, which provided the origin of part of Old Comedy, or not. There is certainly enough evidence to demonstrate the existence of popular entertainments which were familiar to Aristophanes and his audience, and from which he borrowed material to season, so to speak, his literary comedies and make them more acceptable to the "groundlings" in his audience. The possibility, however, cannot be ruled out that he used this type of material because he himself enjoyed it and thought it funny. Although he and other comic writers speak of some of the farcical material as "Megarian," it may be, as Breitholtz argues, a mere pejorative term, meaning "stale and

¹ A. Körte, *R.-E.*, XI, s.v. Komödie; A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy* (Oxford, 1927), hereafter referred to as P-C.

vulgar.”² Such comic themes may have been wide-spread in the Greek world; one of the striking features of my study of these farcical elements is the conservatism of low-class comedy. Many of the jests and comic tricks to be discussed below could be illustrated by American vaudeville and burlesque comics and English “music hall turns” earlier in this century. At any rate, the purpose of this paper is not to prove anything about the origins of comedy, but simply to point out and isolate elements in Aristophanes’ comedies which may contribute to a reader’s understanding and appreciation of the plays.

Let us look first at the literary evidence, especially at what Aristophanes himself tells us. In a number of passages he speaks of vulgar types of comedy and occasionally brags that he himself avoids this sort of farce as below the dignity of his own more elevated drama. This is, of course, mere banter: probably he is criticizing his competitors in the comic festivals for their use of such material. But he may also be making fun of himself and his own comedy; a frequent trick of modern comics is to comment on the badness of their own jokes. This device might be called “deprecating while doing,” or “comic praeteritio” (“I will not, of course, use any of the following stale jokes”).³ In any case, as readers of Aristophanes know, every vulgar trick he criticizes can be abundantly illustrated from his own plays. Here are the most important passages.

In *Ach.*, 729 ff., a Megarian enters to trade in Dicaeopolis’ new, open market. Having nothing to sell but his two daughters, he proposes what he calls a Megarian device (Μεγαρικά τις μαχαρά) to find a purchaser for his girls. A masquerade scene follows, with the two girls disguised as pigs and a series of obscene word-plays based on the double meaning of *choiros* (= pig, or female genitals). The suggestion has been made that possibly disguise-tricks were a specialty of earlier farces.⁴ Both this scene and the next include characters speaking a foreign dialect, which is also noted as a theme used in earlier farces.

² The nearest modern parallel that I can think of is a “Bronx cheer,” which may or may not have originated in the Bronx.

³ The best example is in *Frogs*, 1-30, where Xanthias slips in two of the jokes that Dionysus has forbidden as stale.

⁴ See P-C., pp. 277-8.

In *Clouds*, 295-7, Strepsiades, in fright at the thunder of the Cloud-chorus, threatens to ease himself on stage. Socrates tells him not to behave like those "comic buffoons." The Greek word, *τρογδαίμονες*, may suggest that the original comic actor was considered a *daimon*, an attendant on Dionysus. Several scenes in Aristophanes present characters who ease themselves—or threaten to—on stage (*Peace*, 175-6; *Birds*, 65-8; *Frogs*, 479-91). All of these refer to the effects of sudden terror on the bowels.

More prolonged and less palatable to modern taste is the easing-scene in *Ecc.*, 311-71. Here Blepyrus, husband of Praxagora, the leader of the Greek Women's Liberation Movement, comes out of the house in his wife's clothes: she has sneaked out with his clothes to attend the Ecclesia, dressed as a man. He has had a violent attack of diarrhea, and proceeds to defecate on stage, and discusses his predicament with a friend for all of 60 lines. The scene, to be sure, introduces one of the leading characters and shows the straits to which he has been reduced by his wife. But it is intolerably long and vulgar, and not (to most modern tastes) a bit funny. We may suggest that Aristophanes used it because it was one of those bits of coarse stage-business to which his audience had become accustomed.

The Parabasis in the *Clouds*, 537-43, lists some of the tricks of low comedy, which are not necessarily Doric and all are used in Old Comedy and later farces:

(1) The use of the leather, red-tipped phallus attached to the garments. There is hardly a play of Aristophanes in which this is not used for some vulgar jest. See especially *Ach.*, 156 ff. (the Odomanti mercenaries), 592, and 1216-17; even in the *Clouds*, that "chaste and maidenly comedy," it seems likely that Strepsiades was so equipped (lines 653-4, 734). The obscene use of the same property as a rope by the drunken Philocleon in *Wasps*, 1342-4 defies description. According to the Scholiast on *Peace*, 142, Trygaeus wore the same prop, and says he will use it as a rudder if his beetle falls into the sea. The servant, *Peace*, 879-80, is probably also so equipped. The visible phallus provides a great deal of horse-play in the *Lysistrata* (especially in the Myrrhina-Cinesias scene and the embassy-scenes) and above all in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, where the detection and

stripping of Euripides' kinsman, disguised as a woman and rudely unveiled, is too vulgar for description in decent language (lines 635-48).

Other topics in the passage of the *Clouds* include (2) mockery of bald-heads: the stupid, bald old fool (*senex stupidus*) was a stock character in the later mime. But Aristophanes, who was prematurely bald, may have been protesting for personal reasons. (Cf. *Peace*, 767-73.)

(3) The use of the kordax, a vulgar dance. Later (lines 553-6) Aristophanes complains that his rival Eupolis in his *Maricas* "dragged in" a drunken old woman to perform this dance, "she who was eaten by the beast." This sounds like a travesty of the Andromeda myth.

(4) An old man who beats his companion with a stick, "to hide the badness of his jokes." One might compare the modern comic who hits the "straight-man" with a rolled-up newspaper at his "punch-line." In any case, beating scenes in Aristophanes (especially in driving off "intruders" or pests) are so frequent that they need no listing.

(5) "Torch-scenes": characters rushing on with lighted torches, perhaps originally used in the *Komos* to sing (or threaten to) the spectators. At the end of the *Lysistrata* (1216-24), a character, variously identified, appears at the door of the house where the Spartan and Athenian negotiators have been dining, and threatens a group of bystanders, who seem to be blocking the door, with a torch: "You there, why are you sitting here? Do you want me to sing you with this torch? No: it's a vulgar trick; I won't do it." To the audience: "Still, if I must do it to please *you*, I'll have to put up with it." Again, it seems that Aristophanes is poking fun at his audience's taste for low comic tricks.⁵

More impressive is the use of torches in *Thesm.*, 655-85. After the discovery and binding up of the male intruder in the women's festival, the chorus suggests that they light torches and conduct a search of the precinct to see if any other men have

⁵ For an interesting discussion of the function and staging of this scene, see C. F. Russo, *Aristofane, autore di teatro* (Firenze, 1962), pp. 282-4.

sneaked in. To judge by the text of the choral song that follows, the chorus must have performed a spectacular "torch-dance." Torches are also used at the end of the *Wasps* (Philocleon threatens to singe the injured and outraged guests who are following him), and in *Ecc.*, 937 ff., where a youth enters carrying a torch on his way to a rendezvous with his girl-friend.

In the prologue of the *Wasps* (57-60), the slave Xanthias tells the audience not to expect "jests stolen from Megara." The following lines mention slaves throwing nuts to the audience, and "Heracles cheated of his dinner." Aristophanes himself in the *Peace* (960-3) uses a similar device—a slave throwing sacrificial grain to the audience—to introduce an indecent pun (*κριθή* = barley, or penis). The same trick is mentioned and then pointedly avoided in *Plutus*, 795-9, where the god Plutus says he prefers to receive his offerings of figs and sweets inside the house: "for it isn't proper for a poet to throw figs and sweets to the audience and make it laugh in this way." The topic is then used to introduce a bit of personal satire against a contemporary glutton, or "free-loader": the wife replies:

Well said! For here's Deximachus standing up to grab the figs.

As for the "hungry Heracles," one of the most entertaining scenes in the *Birds* (1565-1693) shows the gluttonous Heracles drooling over a roast fowl, which the hero uses to persuade him to accept the birds' peace-terms. Expecting to be invited to share the roast, he is instead sent back to Olympus to prepare for the hero's coming wedding.⁶

In the last of the great literary Parabases (*Peace*, 739-42), Aristophanes boasts of his services to comedy by forcing his competitors to give up the following stale and vulgar tricks:

(1) "Mocking at rags and warring with lice"; this may be figurative, meaning aiming one's satire at trivial subjects. But it may be literal; two passages in the *Clouds* (634, 696-722) show Strepsiades "warring" with the bugs in his fleece.

⁶ The next three lines in the *Wasps* (61-3), "Euripides degraded," and "cutting Cleon to pieces" probably refer to recent comedies of Aristophanes: i. e., the poet promises not to repeat his recent comic themes.

(2) The "hungry Heracles" is mentioned again.

(3) Slaves running away, deceiving their masters, and being beaten, in order to work in stale jokes. Once again, Aristophanes uses the same trick at the opening of the *Knights* (1-29): the two household slaves of Demos come out after a beating and discuss the advisability of running away.

So much for what Aristophanes himself tells us.⁷ We can add to these passages a few notices about early farces, found in later writers. The evidence is complicated and very tenuous; I skip details here, referring the reader to the masterly treatment by Pickard-Cambridge and the more recent investigation by Breitholtz.⁸ The *locus classicus* is in Athenaeus, XIV, 621 ff., where we hear of the "deikelistai" in Sparta, who "mimed" in low language such comic types as "fruit-stealers" and foreign doctors speaking in dialect. Both are found in Aristophanes; food-stealers in *Ach.*, 809-10 and especially in *Knights*, 1192-1200; dialect speakers in *Ach.*, 729-951, as already noted. In the same passage Athenaeus mentions other similar performances, though some of them were obviously choral and not like the improvised farces we assume as sources for Aristophanes' low comic scenes. They are called variously "phallophoroi," "autokabdaloi," "phlyakes" (in south Italy), and "sophistai." The last term suggests improvised performances given by experts, like the actors in the Italian Commedia dell' Arte. We may also note the "Bryllichistai" at Sparta⁹; these were probably non-dramatic dances in honor of Artemis with men dressed as women and (possibly) women dressed as men and wearing the phallus. This is an early notice of transvestitism, which appears often in later farce.

Presumably, this early form of farcical performances was not written down until the activity of Epicharmus, who wrote comedies, or mimes, in Sicily around 485 B. C. or earlier.¹⁰ From

⁷ Because of limitation of space, I omit a discussion of *Frogs*, 1-30, with the references to defecating and vomiting. In any case, Aristophanes seems here to be criticizing the use of such stale jokes by his competitors in the Dionysiac contests. But see note 3 above.

⁸ P.-C., *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 223-84; 353-415.

⁹ See P.-C., pp. 253-9.

¹⁰ See P.-C., pp. 353-63; 380-413.

the titles and fragments of his plays we learn that he was partial to mythological burlesque (over half the titles) with Heracles and Odysseus as favorite characters; he also dealt with ordinary life and types (the first parasite in Greek comedy appears in fr. 34-5); three titles suggest dramatized debates.

From literary sources, then, we can assume the existence of popular farces in various parts of the Greek world in the fifth century, perhaps going back to the sixth. Typical themes include dialect-scenes; burlesque of myth; scenes of disguising; vulgar dances, sometimes with characters dressed in the clothing of the opposite sex; stealing of food; scenes of characters easing themselves on stage. The type-characters may have included a stupid, bald-headed old man, who is often deceived; an old man with a staff, with which he beats his companion; one or two slaves who crack irrelevant jokes, occasionally throw nuts and other edibles to the audience, and who run away and are beaten; torch-scenes, in which the performers threaten to singe the bystanders with their lighted torches. Very little of this comedy was ever written down except by Epicharmus and his successors, Phormus and Deinolochus, in Sicily. It has been suggested that Aristophanes did not know the work of Epicharmus¹¹; if he used some of the same farcical material, he probably learned it nearer home.

There is some evidence that farcical scenes, including mythological travesty, were presented in Athens in less elevated, or literary performances than the comedies that competed in the theater of Dionysus. A well-known Attic vase of about 400 B. C. represents a single, grotesque actor, representing Perseus, dancing before an audience of two, a man holding a young lady on his lap.¹² The wooden platform with steps leading up to it is a close parallel to the stage found in Phlyax comedy.¹³

We get a description of such private entertainments in Xenophon's *Symposium*: after dinner a group of entertainers appear

¹¹ E. Wüst, "Epicharmos und die alte attische Komödie," *Rh. M.*, XCIII (1950), pp. 337-64.

¹² Illustrated in M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, (2nd ed., Princeton, 1961), p. 48, fig. 202. (Hereafter referred to as Bieber, *GRT*.)

¹³ For a discussion of Phlyax comedy, see below.

(2, 1): the troupe is directed by a Syracusan (again Sicily seems the home of such popular entertainment), and consists of a female flute-player, a dancing-girl, and a boy who could play the cither and also dance. The entertainment first consisted of juggling, acrobatics, and dancing; none of this is dramatic or mimetic in nature, but we hear later (4, 55) that this same Syracusan has a marionette-show which he exhibits to please "simple-minded folk" τοῖς ἄφροσιν. The evening then ends with a bit of real miming, including music and dancing (9, 1-7: The mime of Dionysus and Ariadne):

The Syracusan came in and announced: "Gentlemen, Ariadne will enter the room set apart for her and Dionysus; next, Dionysus, a little drunk, will come to her; after this they will play with each other."

Then, first of all, Ariadne entered, decorated as a bride, and sat down on a chair. Before Dionysus appeared, there was flute music in the Bacchic rhythm. . . . On hearing this, Ariadne reacted so that everyone would realize she was filled with joy at the sound, and though she did not rise to meet him, it was obvious that she had difficulty keeping still. When Dionysus saw her, he danced up like one madly in love, and sat on her lap and embraced and kissed her. She affected modesty, but still embraced him most lovingly in return. (The guests when they saw this, applauded and shouted, "Encore!") When Dionysus rose and drew Ariadne up to stand with him, there was a mimicry of lovers kissing and fondling each other. The audience gazed at a truly handsome Dionysus, a beautiful Ariadne, not pretending but really kissing with their lips; all were aroused as they watched. For they also heard Dionysus asking her if she loved him, and her swearing that she did, so that all those present would have sworn that the boy and girl really loved each other. For they seemed not like actors who had learned a role, but like those who were now allowed to do what they had long desired. Finally, the guests, seeing them embracing and apparently heading for bed, got up, the unmarried swearing that they would get married at once, while those already married mounted their horses and rode off to their wives, to enjoy them.

Noteworthy is the somewhat lascivious nature of this mime, which anticipates some of the features of the later Roman mime; also note the effect on the guests.

Not all of the evidence is in written form, and it is now time to turn to a very brief examination of some of the relevant archaeological material. Without full illustrations, one can only give brief mention of the important items. In any case, very little of it can be securely dated to the sixth or fifth century.

A number of Corinthian vases from the sixth century B. C. show figures with heavily padded stomachs and buttocks, and some equipped with the phallus.¹⁴ The costume suggests the costume of the actors in Old Comedy. Another Corinthian vase depicts a scene of wine-stealers (*Denkmäler*, figs. 123-a-b); the presence of a flute-player suggests a dramatic performance. The names attached to three of the figures are of some interest: "Eunous," perhaps the spirit of good will; "Ophelandros," giver of fertility and other benefits to men; "Omrikos" (later spelled Ombrikos), which may mean the rain bringer. In other words, all are spirits beneficial to mankind. The reverse of the jar shows two of the thieves punished in the stocks. Another sixth-century Corinthian vase (*Denkmäler*, fig. 122) shows Dionysus and Hephaestus attended by ithyphallic *daimones*; although this is probably not a theatrical scene, it indicates that such figures were associated with Dionysus in the Peloponnesus in the sixth century B. C. And there is surely some connection between these figures and the dress of the actors of Old Comedy in Athens, even if we cannot prove direct influence.

Another vase, found in Cyrene but probably of Attic manufacture (*Denkmäler*, fig. 125), dated about 400 B. C. shows a caricature of the apotheosis of Heracles: a winged Athena-Nike drives Heracles in a chariot, drawn by four centaurs, while a figure in loose-fitting tights (the equivalent of nudity on the stage) dances in front of the chariot. Again, we have a vase that indicates familiarity with parodies of heroic myths and includes a figures not unlike the later Phlyax-buffoons.

Although scenes from Attic Old Comedy do not appear to have attracted Attic vase-painters, four vases found in the Agora excavations in 1954 show comic scenes.¹⁵ The vases represent

¹⁴ P.C., figs. 33, 34, 35, 36. Cf. also M. Bieber, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 67-74. (Hereafter referred to by title only.)

¹⁵ M. Crosby, "Five Comic Scenes from Athens," *Hesperia*, XXIV (1955), pp. 76-84. The fifth vase was a previously unpublished oinochoe

grotesque figures like the Phlyakes buffoons; one scene (Crosby, no. 3, *Obeliaphorai*) closely parallels a Phlyax crater in Leninograd: two grotesque figures carrying a roast of meat on a spit. Miss Crosby believes (with Professor T. B. L. Webster) that Phlyax-vases reflect scenes from Attic Old Comedy; but it is equally possible that both Old Comedy and the Phlyakes took scenes from a common source of popular comedy.

At this point we may treat briefly later forms of popular entertainments which may be related to some of the farcical scenes in Old Comedy. Most important is the series of Phlyax-vases found throughout south Italy and Sicily.¹⁶

A Phlyax is a buffoon, but his name seems connected with a root meaning, "increase, fertility, abundance."¹⁷ Hence he may be taken to be an earth spirit of fertility, attendant on Dionysus; several vases show one or two of these figures dancing around Dionysus.¹⁸ But the word then comes to mean the kind of grotesque performance in which such buffoons acted. Most of the vases come from the fourth century B. C., after 360 B. C. according to the expert, Trendall.

The Phlyax-buffoon wears tights (to suggest nudity), and a phallus which often dangles below a short upper garment; usually his buttocks and stomach are heavily padded (like the actors in Old Comedy). The subjects of the vase-painting are about equally divided between mythological travesty (33 listed in Catteruccia) and scenes from daily life (29).

Only a few scenes can be described here. One of the most famous vases (by Asteas of Paestum) parodies Zeus' visit to Alcmena (Catteruccia, no. 1; *Denkmäler*, pl. 76), in which Zeus aided by Hermes uses a ladder to climb up to Alcmena, waiting at her window. A similar amorous adventure, without divine characters (Bieber, *GRT*, fig. 501), suggests that shady, amorous intrigues were among the subjects of these farces. In later

in the British Museum, purchased in Athens in the 1890's. The vases from the Agora are dated by associated finds to about 400 B. C.

¹⁶ Conveniently catalogued in L. M. Catteruccia, *Pittore vascolari italote di soggetto teatrale comico* (Rome, 1951). Unfortunately, the illustrations in this volume are poor, and where possible I refer to better plates in M. Bieber, *Denkmäler*, etc., and M. Bieber, *GRT*.

¹⁷ Catteruccia, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁸ Catteruccia, nos. 14-22, pp. 28-32.

periods, the "Adultery Mime," in which a clever young wife deceives her stupid old husband, is very frequent.

As might be expected, Heracles is a common figure in these mythological burlesques; he appears on at least seven vases (Catteruccia, no. 2, 5-10). One shows him gorging himself in the presence of an outraged Zeus, who seems to be aiming a thunderbolt at him (*Denkmäler*, p. 77); i. e., Aristophanes' "hungry Heracles" again. Another (*Denkmäler*, pl. 79) shows Heracles threatening Apollo, who has taken refuge on the roof of his temple; another figure on the right may be Iolaus prepared to snatch Apollo's bow if he falls off the roof. A fourth mask hangs on the wall on the left.¹⁹

A fragment of a vase by Asteas (*Denkmäler*, fig. 129) shows a parody of the rape of Cassandra by Ajax, but with the roles reversed: Ajax, attacked by Cassandra and an elderly priestess, clings in terror to a statue of Athena. This comic inversion of a well-known legend seems to be a frequent device of mythological burlesque. Of considerable interest also is a travesty of the Antigone-story (*Denkmäler*, fig. 130): the guard has brought "Antigone" before Creon, but the alleged young lady has removed her mask and is revealed as a bearded old man. His sex is further emphasized by the appearance of a phallus under his transparent robe. We may compare the stripping of the disguised kinsman in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*.

Other mythological subjects include the adventures of Odysseus, the birth of Helen from an egg, Pyrrhus about to slay Priam, Oedipus and the sphinx, etc.

A few scenes of ordinary life are interesting, some because they illustrate some of the themes of Old Comedy, others because they anticipate scenes in Plautus and thus form a real link between Greek farce and later comedy in Greece and Rome.

Two vases (Bieber, *GRT*, figs. 512-13) show punishments of slaves or thieves. Commentators usually refer to the beating scene in the *Frogs* (616 ff.) and the punishment of Euripides' kinsman in the *Thesmophoriazusae*. Catteruccia, no. 17 shows

¹⁹ Miss Bieber in *GRT*, p. 131, makes the interesting suggestion that the four masks in this scene are forerunners of the four main stock characters in the Oscan farces, or Atellanæ: Pappus, Dossenus, Maccus, and Bucco. This is mere conjecture, although I find it attractive.

an old friend: the "fruit-stealer." An elderly buffoon is running away, while the stolen fruit pours out of the folds of his cloak.²⁰ Harpo Marx used to have a similar act: a detective investigating some thefts in a private house, one who prides himself on his ability to recognize an honest man by his face, vigorously shakes Harpo's hand: "A really honest man, if I ever saw one." As he does so, quantities of silver pour out from Harpo's voluminous sleeve. An ugly little scene (Catteruccia, no. 65) shows a buffoon vomiting while a woman holds his head. One recalls the scene in the *Acharnians* (580 ff.) where Dicaeopolis used a feather from Lamachus' helmet to induce vomiting. Similar scenes of vomiting on stage are suggested in Cratinus, fr. 251, and Aristophanes, fr. 49. Such vulgar tricks parallel the threats of other characters to defecate on stage.

Connected with themes of later comedy are: (1) a scene of a miser lying on his treasure chest, and apparently attacked by two thieves (*Denkmäler*, pl. 84, 1); (2) a stern father leading home a drunken son (*Denkmäler*, pl. 85, 1); (3) a younger and an older man fighting for possession of a woman (*Denkmäler*, pl. 84, 2); one thinks of the competition of father and son for the possession of a female slave in several plays of Plautus.

This is a fair sampling of the themes of these vases. Probably these farces were improvised and never written down. But the plays were given literary form later by Rhinthon of Syracuse (or Tarentum), who was active under the first two Ptolemies (i. e., early third century B. C.). Ancient testimonia call his plays both Phlyakes and Hilarotragoidia. Rhinthon therefore may be called the "inventor" (Greek, εὑρετής) of Phlyax-comedy only in the sense that Epicharmus was the "inventor" of the Dorian mime: i. e., the first to elevate it to a written, literary form.

We have only a few titles preserved:²¹ they include an *Amphitryon*, an intermediary between Plautus' comedy and his Greek source; we may also recall the Phlyax-vase of Asteas

²⁰ I cannot agree with Miss Bieber's interpretation (*GRT*, p. 138, fig. 502a-b) that the old man is bringing the fruit to a beautiful young lady on the reverse side of the vase. This is hardly the way to bring a present of fruit to a girl-friend.

²¹ Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 183-9. Also A. Olivieri, *Frammenti della commedia greca, etc.* (Naples, 1946-7).

mentioned above. *Heracles*, the constant figure in popular comedy; an *Iphigenia in Aulide* and *I. in Tauris*; *Medea*; *Orestes*; and *Telephus*, a tragedy of Euripides which Aristophanes found very funny and often parodied, especially in the *Acharnians* and *Thesmophoriazusae*. We have a grotesque terracotta statuette, probably of the early fourth century, showing Telephus holding the infant Orestes as a hostage (*Denkmäler*, no. 76, pl. 67, 4); this suggests that this scene stuck in popular memory and was often parodied. Finally, we may mention a *Doulomeleagros*. "Meleager as a Slave," perhaps in his courtship of Atalanta. This is about all we know for certain about Rhinthon. As often happens, when the Phlyax-farces became "literary," the improvised popular farces tended to disappear; there are no Phlyax vases certainly dated after the early 3rd century B. C.

Related in some way to the Greek Phlyakes are the native south Italian farces later called Atellanae, from the town of Atella in Campania near Naples. They are also called Oscan farces, because they were originally in the Oscan Italic dialect. Some connection between the two types is indicated by a vase (*Denkmäler*, no. 125, fig. 133), which shows a figure like a Phlyax-clown labelled "Santia," an Oscan form of Xanthias, a frequent slave-name in Greek comedy.²²

Like the Phlyakes, the Atellanae began as improvised, unwritten farces. They dealt with stock characters: the best known are Maccus, the fool; Dossenus, the scheming hunchback; Pappus, the stupid old man; and Bucco, a braggart. Livy, in a famous passage (VII, 2, 8-12), asserts that these Oscan farces were introduced into Rome, probably in the third century B. C. Our main evidence, however, for the nature of these plays is later, when in the first century B. C. they were written down by Pomponius and Novius for an audience which had lost its taste for the more polished *palliatae*. Over 100 titles are listed in Ribbeck's *Comicorum Romanorum Fragmenta* (Lipsiae, 1898).

²² I have already mentioned (above, note 19) Miss Bieber's suggestion that the masks shown on the Heracles-Apollo scene (*Denkmäler*, pl. 79) are related to four of the stock characters in the Atellanae. Such a relationship is what we should expect to find in south Italy and Sicily in the 4th-3rd centuries B. C., i. e. a mixture of native Italic figures with characters from the contemporary Greek farces.

It must be noted that these later authors obviously reflect many types of earlier comedy; hence, many titles suggest New Comedy: e. g., *Adelphi*, *Citharista*, *Hetaera*, *Gemini*, *Synephebi*, and *Leno*.

But many titles suggest the continuation of the earlier, sub-literary farces. The ever-popular mythological burlesque, which goes back at least to Epicharmus' time, is found in such titles as *Andromache*, *Ariadne*, *Armorum Iudicium*, *Autonoe*, *Hercules Coactor* (i. e., as a bill-collector). Of special interest is *Agamemno Suppositus*, which suggests that someone was disguised as Agamemnon, probably for purposes of deception.

Other titles suggest sketches of ordinary life and common social types (as in Epicharmus and the Phlyakes): e. g., *Agricola*, *Augur*, *Fullones*, *Piscatores*, and *Medicus* (doctors are a favorite butt of comedy in all ages).

The names of the stock characters turn up also in the titles: *Bucco Adoptatus*, *Duo Dosseni* (possibly a play of deception, or else just mistaken identity, like Plautus' *Menaechmi*); *Pappus Agricola*; *Sponsa Pappi* (which may be the situation of the stupid old man deceived by his young wife); also a whole series of Maccus-plays: *Macci Gemini* (mistaken identity again), *Maccus Miles*, *Maccus Copo*, and *Maccus Virgo*, another example of transvestitism, with plenty of opportunity for crude slapstick. A fragment of Pomponius' *Macci Gemini* indicates the same sort of masquerade: a character cries out:

A! perii! non puellula est. numquid nam abscondidisti
Inter nates?

What was hidden "inter nates" is, of course only too clear, and perhaps indicates that the actors in the Atellanae sometimes wore the phallus. In any case, the scene reminds us of the detection of Euripides' kinsman in *Thesm.* (635-48), and of the narrative of the slave Olympio at the end of Plautus' *Casina* (873-937): he has entered a dark room to take his new "bride" Casina, who turns out to be a burly fellow-slave, who has been substituted for Casina. Although the text is corrupt, there is no doubt how Olympio discovered the deception!

Another fragment, from a play called *Kalendae Martiae* (the matron's festival of the Matronalia, when women stayed home

to receive presents), suggests a similar masquerade: one character says:

Vocem deducas oportet, ut videantur mulieris verba.

Another replies:

Iube modo adferatur munus, vocem reddam ego
tenuem et tinnulam.

Similarly, in Aristophanes' *Thesm.*, 266 ff., Euripides' kinsman is directed to speak in a womanish voice.

So far, I think, we have pretty good evidence that some of the themes and characters of older Greek farces persisted in the Atellanae and eventually came to Rome, where Plautus worked them into his *palliatae*.²³

The last form of ancient drama remains to be mentioned, the mime, into which all forms of earlier comedy tended to merge under the Roman Empire.²⁴ The origin of the form is Greek, and goes back at least to Epicharmus, as we have seen. It became extremely popular in the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman world. Without listing all the evidence here, I think it is fairly clear that many of the same types appeared as in earlier farces: e. g., the fool, often bald; ²⁵ we also hear of a character called Ardalio, a glutton perhaps related to Manduccus and Dossenus of the Atellanae; fools and parasites also appear. It seems clear, however, that the mime was not so limited in types as the Phlyakes and the Atellanae; it drew its characters from all sorts and conditions of mankind.

Themes are also wider in range; many of the titles of Laberius suggest New Comedy.²⁶ But mythological parody continues: the longest text preserved to us, a papyrus from the second century of the Christian era, *Chariton*,²⁷ gives a quasi-parody of the

²³ See especially G. E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1952), ch. 1, 2; also A. McN. G. Little, "Plautus and Popular Comedy," *H. S. C. P.*, XLIX (1938), pp. 205-28.

²⁴ The fundamental work is, of course, H. Reich, *Der Mimus* (Berlin, 1903). Other discussions in Bieber, *GRT*; Little, *op. cit.* (n. 23 above).

²⁵ A character is addressed as "calve" in the Atellana, *Piscatores*, of Pomponius.

²⁶ See Ribbeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-59.

²⁷ Originally published by Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxy. Pap.*, III (London,

situation in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, with a cruel barbarian king, a retinue who talk unintelligible gibberish (like the "Persian" in the *Acharnians*), a fool who supplies vulgar stage-business (principally by loudly breaking wind to imitate the drums which accompany parts of the action).

One theme was, or became very popular: the adultery mime, a plot with a stupid old husband deceived by his clever young wife and her lover.²⁸ Ovid in his defence of his love poetry (*Tristia*, II, 497-514) remarks that mimes are *always* presenting "illicit love affairs, in which an elegant lover appears and the clever wife deceives her stupid husband." He adds, "When the lover has deceived the husband by some novel device (*aliqua novitate*), he is applauded and wins the prize by popular acclaim." Juvenal (VI, 41-4) also mentions a mime in which the lover, surprised by the unexpected return of the husband, hides in a chest, where he is in danger of being smothered. A similar theme is found in another Greek papyrus fragment:²⁹ a jealous woman is in love with her young slave, who rejects her (cf. Herodas, *Mime* V). An unwanted husband seems to have figured in the plot, for in one scene she plans to poison him. There is perhaps some justification in the charges of Christian writers that the mimes were all about indecent subjects. "Here (i. e., in the mimes, says Dio Chrysostom) are to be seen nothing but fornication, adultery, courtesans, men pretending to be women, and soft-limbed boys." Note in passing the reference to the old motif of transvestitism.

It is a well-known fact that none of the plots of Greek and Roman Comedy, as far as we know, used the theme of the unfaithful wife deliberately deceiving her husband. But we have seen evidence that this limitation is not true of more popular comic forms: e. g., the Phlyax vase mentioned above showing a lover climbing a ladder to his lady's window, or the Atellana entitled *Sponsa Pappi*.

1903) pp. 41-57; but now most conveniently found in D. L. Page, *Select Papyri*, III: *Literary Papyri* (Loeb Class. Lib., 1950), pp. 336-49.

²⁸ Cf. R. W. Reynolds, "The Adultery Mime," *C. Q.*, XL (1946), pp. 77-84. (This article came to my attention after most of the present paper was written.)

²⁹ Page, *op. cit.*, pp. 351-61.

I believe that such dramatic scenes were known to Aristophanes and his audience through the popular farces of his day. Although he never used them as subjects for his plots, there are several references in speeches to the deception of husbands by clever, unfaithful wives. Aristophanes seems to have had a high opinion of women and their intelligence, but he constantly satirizes them as wine-bibbers and sex-pots. This is probably part of the traditional mockery and lampooning of the Dionysiac festival.

The best evidence is found in the speeches in the *Thesmophoriazussae*, especially in the Kinsman's alleged defence of Euripides. This "defence" consists of relating various misdemeanours of women which Euripides has *not* revealed to their husbands. Some of the episodes sound like echoes of an "adultery mime," and I believe that Aristophanes and his audience had witnessed such scenes in the popular farces of the day. They can hardly refer to real life in Athens in the fifth century B. C.

The most striking example comes in *Thesm.*, 498-502. The Kinsman, relating a series of women's escapades, says: "And he (Euripides) has not yet told how a wife by showing her husband a robe (ἐγκυκλον) in the rays of the sun, got her lover out of the house concealed (by the robe)." One may see here almost a miniature scenario for a very brief adultery mime: the wife gets her husband out of the house on some pretext and receives her lover; the husband returns unexpectedly (perhaps having some suspicions). The wife, in desperation to get her lover out, has a sudden inspiration: she holds up a large garment for her husband to admire, which serves as a screen behind which her lover escapes. This sounds like one of those novel devices to deceive the husband which Ovid says wins the applause and favor of the spectators.

Less amusing, but more vulgar is the scene described in lines 476-89:

Not to mention anyone else, I myself know I am guilty
of many dirty tricks: worst was this, when I'd been married
only three days, and my husband was sleeping beside me.
I had a lover who had deflowered me at the age of seven.
He, yearning for me, came to the door and scratched it.
I recognize the sound at once and start downstairs quietly,

but my husband asks, 'where are you going?' 'Where? I have a terrible pain in the stomach; I'm going to the privy.' 'All right, go ahead.' And then he ground up various herbs (i. e., to help her pains), while I, pouring water on the door-hinge (to keep it from creaking), went out to my lover and enjoyed him, leaning over and holding on to a laurel-bush beside the statue of Apollo Agueus.

Once again we might reconstruct a short mime; like the previous example, it requires only three actors and a simple stage arrangement (a house-door on one side, with part of an interior and an exterior) which can be paralleled on Phlyax vases.

Briefer references to women's deceptive tricks are found in the *'Apai* of the Heraldress, who invokes curses on slaves who tell tales against their mistress to the master, or who being sent (presumably to a lover) bear a false message: curses are also aimed at lovers who do not fulfill their promises (lines 340-4). The speech of the First Woman (383 ff.) mentions men coming home from the theater and searching the house for hidden lovers.

Another possible mime, though not on adultery, may be detected in lines 502-16. Another deception practiced by wives was the substitution of a baby purchased from elsewhere as their own. Apparently a wife who could not bear offspring for her husband was most vulnerable and might be easily divorced. The Kinsman's story again has dramatic possibilities. A woman of his acquaintance had pretended to be in labor for ten days, while she looked for an available baby to buy. Her frantic husband ran around buying up drugs to speed her delivery. An old woman (probably the midwife) finally smuggled in a newborn baby in a crock, with its mouth stopped up with honey. The women get the husband out of the room, remove the baby, who then cries vigorously. The old woman runs out to the man and congratulates him: "A lion! A lion has been born to you, your spit-and-image, just like you in everything, including his penis." Once again we have a cast of three, a simple stage-setting, part indoors, part outside the front door.

It is usually stated that scenes derived from popular farces are found mainly in the second part of the plays (i. e., after the Parabasis). But a careful reading of the comedies, with the evidence here collected in mind, will show that such popular

elements may be found in all parts of the play, especially in the prologue and in iambic scenes before and after the Agon. The *Thesmophoriazusae* especially seems to be built up of popular themes throughout. It includes transvestitism: in the prologue, Agathon appears dressed in women's clothes, to facilitate his composition of a women's chorus. The transformation of the Kinsman to a woman takes place on stage, in a riotously vulgar scene: he submits to a painful shave, and superfluous body-hair is singed off by a torch (perhaps a reminiscence of "torch-scenes" mentioned earlier). Later in the play, Euripides appears disguised as an old hag. Incidentally, the purpose of the last two disguises is to achieve deception, to fool somebody (as often). In the various speeches at the women's meeting, we get descriptions of women's wiles to deceive their husbands, which I have already discussed. When the news reaches the women that a man has sneaked into their meeting, the Kinsman tries to put off the awful moment when he will be interrogated and detected by claiming to have to ease himself (apparently on stage, again). His discovery follows; he is stripped, and the leather phallus which he wears beneath his robe betrays his sex, despite his frantic efforts to conceal it. Then follows a choral song and dance with torches, while the women search the orchestra to see if any more men are lurking about. After a brief, incomplete Parabasis, in which the women defend their sex, we get a series of mythological burlesques of Euripidean tragedies: they include the *Telephus*, with a wineskin taking the place of the infant Orestes as hostage, the *Helen*, and the *Andromeda*. The final scene includes a Scythian policeman speaking a barbarous dialect, and a suggestive dance, which may remind us of the lascivious mime of Dionysus and Ariadne described in Xenophon's *Symposium*.

The *Knights* is filled with farcical elements: in order to satirize Athenian political life, and especially the demagogue Cleon, Aristophanes uses a common popular theme: the deception of a stupid, old master (here Demos, the Athenian people) by clever, unscrupulous slaves.³⁰ The opening of the play sets

³⁰ Cf. Little, *op. cit.* (note 23), p. 213. It hardly needs to be said that this is a very common theme in Plautus.

the tone of the type of popular "slave-comedy." Two slaves come on stage weeping; they have just been beaten inside by the brutal Paphlagonian (= Cleon). They lament together in a sort of "weeping cadenza" (line 10), then discuss whether they should run away or find another means of outwitting the Paphlagonian. Guided by an oracle, they find another prospective slave of Demos, a Sausage-seller ("Hotdog vendor"), who because of his vulgarity, impudence, and shamelessness, can outdo the Paphlagonian as a rival for his master's favor. In part, the competition between the Paphlagonian and the Sausage-seller is presented as an erotic rivalry; both slaves are in love with Demos and seek his favors; this may be a vulgar degradation of a famous remark in Pericles' Funeral Oration (*Thuc.*, II, 43, 1). Included in the first part of the play is a slanging match, or trading of insults between the two "slaves"; this too was a popular form of entertainment as we see from some of the more realistic pastorals of Theocritus, and from certain scenes in Plautus (*convicia* in Latin).³¹

The second part of the play is a contest between the rival slaves before the Master, Demos himself. For a while the pretense of a "slave-drama" is dropped and the material is purely political, while Aristophanes heaps charges of political corruption on Cleon. But at the end we return to the slave-drama: as we have seen, one of the characters in early farce was the food or fruit-stealer. In one of the final scenes (1151-1205), the slaves seek to win over Demos' favor by gifts of food. After a few donations, the Sausage-seller runs out of food, while the Paphlagonian, Cleon, still has a choice roast rabbit to present. Here the Sausage-seller is inspired to pull what he calls a clownish trick (1194: *βωμολόχον . . . τι*). He pretends to see a foreign embassy arriving, loaded with cash for bribes; Cleon runs off to extort his share and while his back is turned, the Sausage-seller steals the rabbit and gives it to Demos. It is noteworthy that one of the Sausage-seller's qualifications for political life, mentioned in an earlier passage (417-28), was his success in stealing food in the Agora. In this way, Aristophanes degrades the competition of politicians to a vulgar, slavish trick of steal-

³¹ Cf. particularly *Pseudolus*, 357-68.

ing food, and to drive home his point, he refers immediately to Cleon's claiming the victory at Sphacteria (1201), the credit for which (in Aristophanes' opinion) belonged to Demosthenes. It seems probable that this whole scene was funnier to the Athenian audience because they recognized in it elements from familiar, popular farces, and that Aristophanes was able in this way to make his fierce charges and satire against Cleon and other demagogues more palatable.

To conclude: it seems to me likely that many scenes and bits of comic stage-business are directly imitated from a sub-literary, farcical type of performance known to the Greeks of the fifth century B. C. I do not claim the case is proved: in fact, as I remarked at the beginning, the purpose of this essay is not to prove anything, but to suggest ideas which may help readers of Aristophanes to appreciate and enjoy more fully his comedies. I do not think these ideas have been sufficiently taken into account in the usual criticism and evaluation of the plays. It might be argued that the genius and originality of Aristophanes lay in his ability to combine these vulgar and often stale tricks with his more elevated "Comedy of Ideas." In the better comedies such tricks are used to illustrate, to make more concrete and vivid, the general theme of the play. Criticism of the poet's dramatic technique should take this material into account. I think this is a more valid method than the traditional approach by way of the Aristotelian rules of probability, necessary sequence of action, complications, suspense, and logical solution: concepts which apparently did not concern Aristophanes very urgently.

Finally, it may be added that great comedy in all ages is rooted in popular entertainment. Not to mention Plautus again, the clowns and fools in Shakespeare seem to derive from medieval sources and popular entertainments. It is well known that Molière used scenes and elements from the popular *Commedia dell' Arte* in his plays. It seems to me highly probable that Aristophanes followed the same practice.

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ON THE HELLENIC POLICY OF AUGUSTUS AND AGRIPPA IN 27 B. C.

Two millennia of administrative problems attract the gifted man to whom this issue is dedicated. Two inscriptions which reflect the work of Augustus will have a special interest for him. They are well known, but when the connection between two well known documents finally occurs to one, it often affects seriously the view one takes of both.

The Date of I. G., II², 1035.

An inscription from the Athenian Acropolis,¹ *I. G., II², 1035*, of which only the right two-thirds is preserved, contains in lines 4 ff. a decree concerning the restoration of temple property and real estate, sacred and public, which had fallen into the hands of private persons, in part persons who had leased the property. This seems to have occurred in a period of anarchy (*διὰ τὴν ἀ[ναρχίαν]*, as Kahrstedt² restored line 19). The decree forbids absolutely the future alienation of the dedications or furniture of sanctuaries, calls for ritual cleansings, and establishes new rules for the leasing of real estate and the regular performance of the old religious rites.

The date when temple properties passed into the hands of private persons and had to be recovered in special legislation by the state is an important period in the history of Athens and Greece itself, the date too at which these properties were restored to the gods and heroes. The long inscription, however, has not been dated yet to everyone's satisfaction, and a recent student³ has seen fit to leave the date open within three-hundred years. Our purpose in this article is to present one additional argument, which, we think, places the decree almost precisely

¹ Originally published by Chr. D. Tsountas, *Eph. Arch.*, 1884, cols. 165-71 with a splendid facsimile on Plate 11; J. Kirchner, *I. G., II²* (1916), 1035. It is now in the Epigraphical Museum (EM 13280).

² U. Kahrstedt, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit* (Diss. Bernenses, I, 7 [1954]), p. 60, n. 6.

³ D. Behrend, *Attische Pachturkunden* (*Vestigia*, XII [1970]), p. 62, No. 16.

in the year 27/6 B. C., but first we catalogue the factors which up to now have served in chronological arguments.

The lettering: To us the lettering back in 1938 suggested the Augustan Period.⁴ The lettering looked Hadrianic or later to Graindor.⁵ Kirchner said, "De tempore non satis constat," but followed Keil in dating the inscription to the beginning of the first century B. C.

The numerals: Keil⁶ argued that the acrophonic numerals (in lines 2 and 3) could not be dated later than the beginning of the first century after Christ. Acrophonic numerals cease with *I. G.*, II², 2336 of 102/1 B. C. with the whole series of such catalogues; a sporadic use of acrophonic numerals, however, occurred later, e. g. in *I. G.*, II², 2292 of the middle of the first century after Christ. Tod thought that the archaistic taste of the second century after Christ might have revived the acrophonic numerals; this argument, suggested by the lettering, does not appeal to me because the system here is unaccompanied by the old Attic alphabet which the archaizers of the second century affected. On the other hand, the first official use of the alphabetic (not acrophonic) numerals appears locally in the time of Augustus with *I. G.*, II², 3788 (ἡ βουλὴ τ[ὸν X]), but the similar monuments *I. G.*, II², 3786, 3787, 3789 still avoid this abbreviation. All these honor Julius Nicanor (*P. I. R.*², J 440).

The identity of the person called Magnos, who built the Deigma: The first editor, Tsountas, saw only one individual who came into consideration, namely Cn. Pompeius Magnus. John Day⁷ found the identification rather convincing and thought the Deigma was built with funds given to Athens by Pompey in 62 B. C.

The reference to the so-called House of Cyrrhestes, i. e. the

⁴ Reported by John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (New York, 1942), pp. 145-51.

⁵ P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire* (Brussels, 1922), pp. 142-4. He later dated it in the middle of the first century after Christ by a mere *lapsus calami* in *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (Cairo, 1931), p. 162, n. 2. He never treated it as earlier than the Antonine Period.

⁶ Bruno Keil, *Hermes*, XXV (1890), pp. 317-20.

⁷ Day, *op. cit.* (see note 4). The legal and institutional study by D. Gofas, *Δεῖγμα* (Athens, 1970), does not treat this question.

Tower of the Winds: According to Henry Robinson⁸ the building could have been erected almost any time between 100 and 37 B. C., though he inclines to the view that it was erected between 50 and 37 B. C.

The silence about Hadrianic construction: The first editor, Tsountas, inferred that the inscription could safely be dated before Hadrian.

To these previous considerations we now add a new one.

The decree begins in line 4 with the words *περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τεμενῶν ὅπως ἀποκατασταθῇ το[ι]ς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν, ὧν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρχε καὶ τοῦ δή[μου] — —*. The length of the line is obtained by the safe restoration of line 16, *ἐκθε[ί]ναι ἦν⁹ με[ν] ἐν Ἀκροπ[ό]λει παρὰ [τῇ] Π[ο]λιᾷδι Ἀθηνᾶι, ἣν δ' ἐν Πιραεῖ παρὰ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι καὶ τῇ [ι] Ἀθηνᾶι τῇ Σωτείρᾳ, ἐστὶ¹⁰ τοῦ βασιλ[έ]ως καὶ τοῦ ταμίου τῆς ἐ[κ]ρᾶς διατάξεως εἰς τετραετίαν καὶ ἀναγράψαι ἐν στήλῃ ταῦτε τῶν με[μ]ν[η]ν[ο]μένων ὀνόματα καὶ — —*, "to publish which for a period of four years, one on the Acropolis by Athena Polias, the other at Piraeus by Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira, it is the duty of the basileus and of the treasurer of the sacred diataxis," etc.

Having ascertained the length of the line and (more important) having measured the lacuna to the left, we can make a spatially satisfactory, first restoration of line 9 and partly reconstruct the article as follows:

- 8 [— — — μὴ ἐξεῖναι εἰς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον ἀπ[ο]δοῦσθαι τι τῶν ἱερῶν τεμενῶν κα[τὰ μ.]ηδένα τρόπον μηδὲ ὀνήσασθαι μη
[δὲ ἀποτίμῃμα ἢ δῶρον δοῦναι· εἶναι δὲ κα]τ[ὰ τῶν] ἀποδομένων
γραφὰς ἀσεβείας [καὶ δ]φ[ί]λ[ει]ν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶι τὸ χρῆμα
ὅσον ἀπέδοντο
10 [— — — — —] κίμ[ε]ναι]ς νόμοις.

Not only my restoration but the wording of the whole passage, I think, reflects the ruling of the consuls of 27 B. C., Augustus and Agrippa, which came to light on an inscription from Cyme (in Asia Minor), now in Leyden.

⁸ H. S. Robinson, "The Tower of the Winds and the Roman Marketplace," *A. J. A.*, XLVII (1943), pp. 291-305.

⁹ So I restore and edit instead of ἀναθ[έ]ναι <τ>ῆν.

¹⁰ My restoration ἐστὶ (or ἐσται).

The Leyden Inscription from Cyme

There are textual problems. The reader will find bibliography and more general discussion in Sherk's *Roman Documents*, No. 61. The stone was first published with a photograph in the dissertation by H. W. Pleket, *Greek Inscriptions in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leyden* (Leyden, 1958), pp. 49-56, No. 57. Another photograph was published by K. M. T. Atkinson, *R. I. D. A.*, VII (1960), facing p. 261. The text with new restorations in lines 3 and 17, new punctuation in line 5, and a new division between lines 15 and 16 reads as follows.

- [A]ὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστὸς []
 [M]ᾶρκος Ἀγρίππας Λευκίου υἱὸς ὕπατοι ν ε[- -]
 [Οἱ]τινες δημόσιοι τόποι ἢ ἱεροὶ ἐν πόλεσ[ιν εἰσι τῆς]
 [π]όλεως ἐκάστης ἐπαρχείας εἰσίν, εἴτε τι[νὰ ἀναθῆ]
 5 ματα τούτων τῶν τόπων εἰσὶν ἔσονταί τε[ε. μηδεῖς]
 [τ]αῦτα αἰρέτω μηδὲ ἀγοραζέτω μηδὲ ἀπο[τίμμημα]
 [ἦ] δῶρον λαμβανέτω. ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπεινῇ[νεγμένον]
 [ἦ ἢ]γορασμένον ἔν τε δώρῳ δεδομένον ἦ, [ὃς ἂν ἐπὶ τῆς]
 [ἐ]παρχείας ἢ ἀποκατασταθῆναι εἰς τὸν δημ[όσιον τόπον]
 10 ἢ ἱερὸν τῆς πόλεως φροντιζέτω, καὶ ὃ ἂν χρ[ῆμα - - -]
 [ο]ν δοθῇ, τοῦτο μὴ δικαιοδοτεῖτω {ι} vacat
 [.] Vinicius proc(onsul) s(alutem) d(at) mag(istrati-
 bus) Cumas. Apollonides L. f. No[race(us)]
 [c(ivis) v(ester)] me adeit et demonstravit Liberei Patris
 fanum nom[ine]
 [ven]ditiones possidere ab Lusia Diogenis f. Tucalleus
 c(ive) [v(estro)]
 15 [et c]um vellent thiasetae sacra deo restituere iussu Au-
 [gus]ti Caesaris pretio soluto quod est inscriptum fano,
 [cohi]berei ab Lusia. E(go) v(olo) v(os) c(urare), sei
 ita sunt, utei Lusias quod
 [est] positum pretium fano recipiat et restituat deo fa-
 [num e]t in eo inscribatur Imp. Caesar Deivi f. Augustu[s]
 re[sti]
 20 [tuit. Sei] autem Lusia contradeicit quae Apollonides
 post[u]
 [lat, vadi]monium ei satisdato ubi ego ero. Lusiam
 prom[it]

- [tere magi]s probō. Ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Φανίτου *vacat*
 [— — os] Οὐνίκιος χαίρειν λέγει ἄρχουσι Κυμαίων. Ἀ[πολ]
 [λωνίδ]ης Λευκίου Νωρακείος πολέιτης ὑμέτερό[ς μοι]
 25 [προσῆλ]θεν καὶ ὑπέδειξεν Διονύσου ἱερὸν ὀνόμ[ατι]
 [πράσεως κ]ατέχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λυσίου τοῦ Διογένους [Τυκάλ]
 [λεως πολείτου ὑμετέρο]ν, καὶ ὅτε ἡβού[λοντο οἱ θιασεῖ]
 [ται — — — — —]

Previous restorations of line 3 are: [Εἴ] *τινες* Pleket and the others; ἐν πόλει[ον ἢ ἐν χώρᾳ] Pleket, ἡ κατὰ τῆς] Arangio-Ruiz, πόλει[ον ὅσοι] Atkinson, πόλει[ον αἵτινες] Kunkel. Iota occupies half a letter space.

For the new restoration [Οἷ] *τινες* in line 3 followed by εἴτε *τινὰ* in line 4 compare the statutes of the Iobacchi in *S. I. G.*³, 1109, the section in lines 127-35, beginning οὗ δ' ἂν in line 127 and continuing καὶ εἴ τις τι in line 135.

Lines 5-6: "Let no one remove the latter," etc.

The specific case raised by the intransigence of Lysias son of Diogenes is the ownership of the sanctuary, which he possesses, claiming to have bought it outright (*nom[ine ven]dition<i>s*).¹¹

In line 17 I now restore [*cohi*] *berei* for Pleket's [*Li*] *berei*, not only because we need an infinitive but because [*Li*] *berei* now seems to me too short. I am judging from a photograph.

New Conclusions and Refinements.

Lines 15-16 of the Leyden inscription mention a *iussus Au[gus]ti Caesaris* the essence of which—Leyden line 15 plus Athens line 4—was *sacra de<is et heroibus> restituere*. The first of the two documents from Cyme at Leyden was not the *iussus Augusti Caesaris* but a ruling by the consuls Augustus and Agrippa concerning one question connected therewith. It must not be assumed that the *iussus* (no longer extant) was

¹¹ The Athenians and Greeks of the Aegean area sometimes used the word *πᾶσις* when they spoke of a leasing of sacred property. From a Greek standpoint this might be a sale of the use for a certain time, though in Roman Law it was not a sale. See D. Behrend, *Attische Pachturkunden*, pp. 86-8 and 147-9; H. J. Wolff, *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte Altgriechenlands und des hellenistisch-römischen Ägyptens* (Weimar, 1961), p. 139. *Venditio* was not always the right translation of the Greek word *πᾶσις*.

promulgated by the young Caesar after he took the name of Augustus; the Roman governor would naturally call him by his new name. Probably he issued the order in 30 or 29 B. C. while he was in the Aegean area.¹² The ruling, on the other hand, concerns the movable property of public localities and of the sanctuaries which the young Caesar had ordered to be restored to the gods and heroes. The Athenian decree which is the second document of *I. G.*, II², 1035 reflects both the *iussus Caesaris* and the ruling by Augustus and Agrippa. The epistle of the proconsul Vinicius reflects merely the *iussus Caesaris*.

The ruling in the Leyden inscription, lines 1-11 begins with the statement that whatever public or sacred property exists in city states belongs (I think) to the domain of the city concerned. With Roman encouragement the city should see to it that powerful men like Lysias not only give the sanctuaries back when the money has been raised or the time has elapsed but do not in the meanwhile sell, lend, or pledge the furniture, dedications, or equipment. Whoever is in charge of the domain ([ὁς ἀν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐ]παρχείας ᾗ) must recover also these movables. The clause [ὁς ἀν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐ]παρχείας ᾗ does not mean the governor of the Roman province but the *strategos*, archon, epimelete, or other official who in this or that city might watch over the public and sacred domain in the city's interest. At Athens a more or less permanent ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς πόλεως under the Principate seems to have protected the domain.

The word ἐπαρχία was not yet the obvious translation of *provincia* as readers of *Z. P. E.*, V (1970), p. 226 will know.

The Background Recorded at Aphrodisias.

In 1970 Kenan T. Erim, *P. B. S. R.*, XXXVII (1969), p. 95 published an excellent transcript (with photograph) of an inscription at Aphrodisias which contains a decree of the

¹² As a parallel the *iussus Caesaris* which resulted in the Forum Iulium at Alexandria may be mentioned. A reference to it was published by F. Magi, "Le iscrizioni recentamente scoperte sull'Obelisco Vaticano," *Studi Romani*, XI (1963), pp. 53-6: *Iussu Imp. Caesaris Divi f. C. Cornelius Cn. f. Gallus, praef(ectus) fabr(um) Caesaris Divi f., Forum Iulium fecit*. Octavian was not yet Augustus. The condemnation and death of Gallus occurred in 26 B. C.

Hellenes of Asia in honor of two men who went on a dangerous embassy¹³ to [Caesar Augus]tus and the Roman authorities (usually the proconsul of Asia and his legates). The aim was to ask them for permission to lay claim to the domain (of the cities), ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐπαρχίας. The decree begins with the words τῶν πόλεων. It dates after Octavian took the name of Augustus, but the embassy doubtless occurred in 30 or 29 B. C. when Octavian was in the neighborhood. The two ambassadors then stayed on as members of the *consilium* for the Roman authorities and undertook an active role in many trials and

¹³ With supplements the inscription at Aphrodisias might read as follows:

- [Ἔδοξεν τῷ κοινῷ γνώμη π]ροέδρων καὶ γραμ<μ>ατέως ὁ Ἐπει τῶν πόλεω[ν]
 [αἱ πλείσται — — — —] ὑπὸ τε τῶν δημοσιωνῶν καὶ τῶν γεινομένων
 [— — — — —]του καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπόγνωσιν παρενιω
 [— — — — — τὸ κοινὸν] τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνελθὼν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἔκρινε
 5 [— — — — —]α ἐν τῇ Ἐφεσίῳ πόλει πέμψαι πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς
 [Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν καὶ το]ὺς ἡγουμένους ἐκ τῶν πρώτων καὶ μέλιστα τιμω
 [μένων ἀνδρῶν — — —]ῃς περὶ τε τῶν προγεγραμμένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶ[ν]
 [— — — — — τ]οὺς ἀξιώσοντας ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐπαρχίας καὶ υ[.]
 [— — — — —]νην αὐτὴν καὶ αἰρεθέντων πρεσβευτῶν, ἐν οἷς καὶ [Διο]
 10 [νυσίον καὶ Πρ]οκλέους τῶν Ἰάσονος τοῦ Σκύμνου τῶν Ἀφροδισιέων πολ[ι]
 [τῶν, οἱ ἔμενο]ν ἐν Τράλλεσιν· ὧν καὶ μὴ ἐπιδημοῦντων ἔπεμψαν οἱ πρόεδρο[ι]
 [ὡς τὸν ἐκεῖ π]αρ' Ἀφροδισιέων δῆμον γράμ[μα]τα περὶ τε τοῦ εἰρῆσθαι αὐτοῦ[s]
 [— — — — —]ιοντας διὰ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, γινωσκομένης
 [ἅπασιν ὡς εἰπ]εῖν τῆς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ διαλήψεως, καθότι τὰ κατὰ μέρος
 15 [αἱ πόλεις ἐκ] τῶν ἐξαπεσταλμένων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γραμμάτων δηλοῦ
 [σι· — — — — δ]ὲ καὶ κληθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου συναχθείσης ἐκκλησίας
 [ὑπέσχοντο ἐκ]τελέσειν τὴν πρεσβήαν~δι' ἣν καὶ πρεσβήαν πολλοὺς
 [καὶ μεγάλους] κινδύνους ὑπομείναντες καὶ ἀναδόντες τὰ ψήφισματα
 [Καίσαρι Σεβαστ]ῷ καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις καὶ [καὶ] προσεδρεύσαντες ἐν παν
 20 [τὶ καιρῷ τοῖς] ἡγουμένοις καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας [ἀ]ναδεξάμε
 [νοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ] κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ παρατυχόντες πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ πο[ι]
 [ήσαντες τῇ]ν πρεσβήαν καλὴν καὶ εὐτυχῇ καὶ ἀξίαν τοῦ κρινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 [καὶ τῆς περὶ] αὐτῶν διαλήψεως, καταρωθῶσαντο τὰ μέγιστα καὶ συμφέροντα τοῖς
 [τῆς Ἀσίας π]ᾶσιν δῆμοις τε καὶ ἔθνεσιν~δεδοῖσθαι τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσί
 25 [ας Ἑλλήνων] ἐπηγῆσθαι τοὺς προγεγραμμένους ἄνδρας καὶ ἐστεφανίσθαι χρυσῷ
 [στεφάνῳ τὸ] ἔσ[τειον] αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἣ εἰσηνέγκαντο ἀνδρῆα τε καὶ σπουδῇ vacat
 [καὶ ἰστανεῖ]ν αὐτῶν καὶ ἰκόνας χαλκᾶς παρ' ᾧ ἂν βούλυνται δῆμῳ ἢ ἔθνεϊ, ἐπ[ὶ]
 [τῆς ἐπιγραφ]ῆς ὁ Οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐτίμησαν Διονύσιον καὶ Πρόκ
 [τοὺς Ἰάσονο]ς τοῦ Σκύμνου κατορθωσαμένους τὰ μέγιστα ἀρετῆς [ενεκ]ῇ
 30 vacat ενεκεν vacat

For agreement and disagreement see of this inscription the text just published by Th. Drew-Bear, *Z. P. B.*, VIII (1971), pp. 286-8.

put in an appearance at all the trials. Among the causes of the despair into which [most] of the cities had previously fallen are mentioned the tax-farmers.

The inscription at Aphrodisias, implying tyranny at Aphrodisias and anarchy throughout the province of Asia, best shows the sad condition of the Greek republics in 30 B. C. and illuminates the tremendous effort which the young Caesar had to make to recover for the cities their public and sacred domain.¹⁴ In the senatorial provinces of the East he was remembered as the protector of the cities against foreign domination, represented primarily by the old kind of Roman tax-collectors and ex-ploters. A hundred years later there was nothing absurd in the phrase, "the Caesar-loving demos of the Aphrodisians, free and autonomous from the beginning by the grace of the Augusti" (McCrum-Woodhead, 495).

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¹⁴ In some cities it may have been the local citizens who failed to act and so failed to recover the domain. Not all will have had the energy and courage of the exiles from Aphrodisias. That in the Augustan Period the domain was not recovered everywhere appears from *Ann. Ep.*, 1940, 44 (Aezani), but there were also special cases which should not be cited as evidence thereof, e. g. in *I. Oret.*, I, xxvi, 2.

ASSIMILATORY AND DISSIMILATORY GAIN AND LOSS OF *r*.

Several of the generally familiar Indo-European languages show a rather high incidence of forms in which the phoneme *r* has undergone metathesis or in which by an apparent assimilation a single *r* has been replaced by two (not geminate) or in which by dissimilation two *r*'s have been replaced by one.¹ G. Rohlfs² called attention to the frequency of the addition of *r* after a consonant in Italian; he regarded the causes as largely obscure, but in part he admitted word-contamination or influence of other words as a contributing factor. Fr. *chartreuse*, discussed in the seventh paragraph below, might provide an illustration of this type of influence. Rebecca Posner,³ p. 101, in speaking of the Romance languages, says that metathesis, epenthesis, dissimilation, assimilation, etc., are particularly frequent among the so-called "liquid" consonants—the *l*- and *r*-sounds. Many of the instances which will be cited below from Greek, Latin, Romance languages, and English are simply "mistakes" or nonce-forms which never became permanently established in usage, but it is possible for some forms which originate in this manner either to continue to exist beside the earlier forms or to replace them entirely.⁴ Brugmann, *Gdr.*², I, p. 426, Anm. 1, 3), cites four possible instances of doublets with and with-

¹ No account is taken throughout the remainder of this article of those forms which show a dissimilatory change of *r* to *l*(*l*), as in It. *pellegrino* from L. *peregrino*(*m*).

² *Historische Grammatik der italienischen Sprache*, I (Bern, 1948), p. 529.

³ *Consonantal Dissimilation in the Romance Languages* (Oxford, 1961). See especially pp. 101-13.

⁴ H. M. Hoenigswald, *Phonetica*, XI (1964), p. 214, in discussing assimilatory and dissimilatory changes, is reluctant to give the "minor" sound-changes a status separate from the ordinary, "regular" sound-changes, and suggests that the sporadicity of such sound-changes as distant dissimilation and assimilation may be directly connected with the circumstance that distant conditioning allows more scope for morpheme boundaries to intervene and thus for "analogic" change [in other words, resistance to change, or restoration of standard forms, if I understand him correctly] to occur.

out *r*, and Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, I, pp. 295-6, gives eighteen sets, among which all four of Brugmann's are included.⁵ Among Hirt's examples, which will be discussed later, several are highly dubious, and indeed it is always necessary to admit the possibility that two etymologically unrelated words of similar or identical meaning may accidentally resemble each other in form except for the presence of *r* in one and its absence in the other. Consequently the argument of this paper may lack some of the rigorousness which is generally demanded in articles dealing with problems in historical linguistics. Certainly, however, it is difficult not to believe in some sort of relationship between, for example, Eng. *speak*, *spoke* (archaic *spake*), *spoken* and Ger. *sprechen*, *sprach*, *gesprochen* despite their lack of full normal phonological correspondence. Brugmann suggested, as one of several possible explanations for the *r*-less forms, that dissimilatory loss had occurred under the influence of *r* in a prefix or suffix. To Brugmann's and Hirt's examples I expect to add a few of my own, and I hope to present evidence that assimilatory gain of *r* must be recognized as a possibility along with dissimilatory loss. First, however, some attention should be paid to instances of metathesis of *r* in which it changes position without the form in question suffering any total gain or loss.

When a form with *r* in a prior position is replaced by one with *r* in a posterior position, the change may be expressed by the formula $r-\emptyset > \emptyset-r$ and illustrated by the example Lat. *arcesso* > *accerso*. Walde-Hofmann derive *arcesso* from **ar-facesso*; with replacement of *ar-* by *ac-* after *ac-cedo*, *ac-cio* the form *accerso* originated through transfer of *r* to the second syllable, since the *Sprachgefühl* seemed to require its presence. *accerso* then is not only much the rarer of the two forms but also the less original one. Its failure to show the change *-rs-* > *-rr-* may be counted as an additional argument against its an-

⁵ In eleven of Hirt's eighteen sets the *r*- and non-*r* forms exist in the same language, or at least in earlier and later stages of the same language (e.g. OHG *sprechān* : *spehhan* with OE *sprecan* : *specan*; Gk. *ῥήγνυμι* : *ἄγνυμι*). Among these eleven, Skt. fem. *tisrah* 'three' when compared with the masculine and neuter forms constitutes a variation within the paradigm; it is briefly discussed later in this article. In other instances (e.g. L. *frango*, Goth. *brikan* : Skt. *bhanákti*, OIr. *conboing*) the forms are taken from separate languages but are presumed to be somehow related.

tiquity.—Other examples include: Gk. Κέκροψ < *Κέρκοψ, according to the etymology proposed by P. Kretschmer, *Gl.*, IV (1913), p. 309, adopted by Frisk and Chantraine. The interpretation of *κερκ-οψ as 'mit Schwanz versehen' rests on the half-ophidian character of the legendary Attic king, for which Kretschmer finds support in representations of Cecrops on a red-figured Attic crater and on the east pediment of the The-seum. It should be noted that the dissimilation here involves two consonants in contact and thus is different from all others treated in the present article.—Gk. κροκόδιλος, It. *coccodrillo*, and intermediate forms: the Greek and Latin forms show considerable variation, involving κροκ-/κορκ- in the first syllable, ει/ι in the penultimate syllable, and also gemination or non-gemination of the *l*, but here we are concerned only with the distribution of *r* in the two halves of the word. LSJ report κορκόδριλλος and κορκοδρίλλιον from the *Corpus Glossarium Latinorum*, but no form of the type of *κοκόδριλ(λ)ος. *T. L. L.*, s. v. *crocodil(l)us* lists, as spellings occurring in good manuscripts, *crocodil(l)-*, *crocodril(l)-*, *cocodril(l)-*, *corcodil(l)-*, *corcodril(l)-*, the last two as being the most frequent. The standard Italian form *coccodrillo* would naturally be from a form reflected by the spelling *cocodrill-*. The etymology is uncertain, but Frisk and Chantraine agree in deriving the first member of the compound from κρόκη 'pebble' and the second from δριλος 'worm,' with loss of the second *r*. *κροκόδριλος > κροκόδιλος would then be an instance of change of the type of Lat. *agres-tris > agrestis (formula $r-r > r-\emptyset$; see below), while κροκόδιλος > Lat. *cocodril(l)us* would be a change of the type under consideration in the present paragraph ($r-\emptyset > \emptyset-r$). However, in view of the etymology favored by Frisk, Chantraine, and their predecessors whom they cite, one cannot completely rule out the possibility that forms with *r* in the second member represent a direct continuation of -δριλος.—πρίστis 'sawfish' > Lat. *pristis*, *pistrix* 'shark, whale.' The Greek form is treated by Frisk under πρίω 'saw,' and I have seen no metathesized Greek form of this word cited. Several Latin spellings occur in the manuscripts of Verg., *Aen.*, III, 427, where the word occurs in verse-final position in a description of the lower part of Scylla's body, but *pistrix* is the reading of the best manuscripts and of most printed texts. *pistriger* occurs in Sid., *Ep.*, IV, 8, as epithet of Triton

(*Tritone in pistris formam cauda desinente* Forcellini; 'von einem Walfisch getragen' Walde-Hofmann, s.v. *pristis*). In Verg., *Aen.*, V, 116, however, in the description of the boat-race *Pristim* occurs (again in verse-final position) in the majority of manuscripts, with *Pristin* in Med. Livy, XXXV, 26, 1 shows acc. pl. *pristis*, again with reference to a certain swift type of ship. Walde-Hofmann, l.c., regard *pistris* as a form arising through popular etymology under the influence of forms of the family of *pinso*. Thus Latin shows both the unaltered Greek form and a form with the *r* transferred to a posterior position, accompanied by a change of stem-class.—Chauncey E. Finch, *A.J.P.*, XC (1969), p. 461, in discussing the list of animal sounds in *Vat. Lat.* 6018 cites the words INTERPETRATIO DE ALLELUIA as following the list itself, and places a (*sic*) after the word INTERPETRATIO. The fact that the metathesized form is a faulty manuscript reading does not impair its value as a further example of slips of this kind.—*sackistry* (for *sacristy*) is a slip once observed by me in the speech of an educated adult native English speaker, possibly induced by the influence of *vestry*.

The opposite type of metathesis, in which *r* is transferred from a posterior to a prior position, may be symbolized by the formula $\emptyset \rightarrow r > r \rightarrow \emptyset$ and illustrated by the example Lat. *fimbriae*, (late) *fimbria* > Eng. *fringe*. Bloch-Wartburg, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* (Paris, 1950), s.v. *frange* cite the Romance forms Rum. *frînghie* 'corde,' North It. dialect *franbe*, and the French loan It. *frangia*.—Other examples include: Gk. Πρικων, a Boeotian and Eritrean variant of the personal name Πικρων. Cf. *I. G.*, VII, 657; F. Bechtel, *K. Z.*, XLV (1913), p. 155; P. Kretschmer, *Gl.*, VI (1915), p. 304, who, in preference to Bechtel's hesitant connection with περκνός, favors the view that Πρικων anticipates a Modern Greek form πικρός = μικρός. He compares Doric τράφος = τάφρος, Eretr. Κροιδων = Κοιδρων.—*Gravelis* (for the surname *Gavrelis*) and *Bárcadi* (for *Bacárdi* [rum]) are two additional slips which I have observed in the speech of educated adult native English speakers. More complex is *cyndrilical* for *cylindrical*, reported to me by a colleague from the speech of a student.

In the rather sparse examples cited in the two preceding paragraphs there was change in the position of the *r*, but no loss or

gain in the total number of *r*'s. Forms showing dissimilatory loss of one of two successive *r*'s on the other hand are very frequent. If the prior *r* is lost, the formula is $r-r > \emptyset-r$ and the change may be illustrated by Skt. *tisrah* 'three' (fem.) < **trisrah*.⁶—Other examples include: Gk. *γαστήρ* < **grastēr*. Frisk and Chantraine both support this derivation, which brings *γαστήρ* into connection with *γράω* 'gnaw, eat,' Skt. *grasati* 'devour,' *grasty-*, name of a demon who by "devouring" the sun and moon causes eclipses. Chantraine in citing Mod. Gk. *γλάστρα* 'flower-pot' explains the phonetic evolution as *γάστρα* > *γράστα* > *γράστρα* > *γλάστρα* and rejects the notion that the form might imply a continuation of **γραστήρ*.—*δάκρυ* < **δράκρυ*: the latter is essentially the reconstruction posited by Frisk as starting-point for the various dissimilated forms found in Indo-European languages, some showing initial dental plus *r*, some initial dental without *r*. E. P. Hamp, *Studies in Historical Linguistics in Honor of George Sherman Lane* (Chapel Hill, 1967), pp. 152-3 proceeds from a "synchronic IE **ḍakru-ḍrakur/n-*, from a pre-IE **ḍrākru (-r/n-)*." The medial *-kr-* in some of the forms no doubt favored dissimilatory loss of the *r* in the initial syllable, while the *n*-forms of the heteroclite stem favored its preservation in forms such as OHG *trahan*, Ger. *Träne*.—Lat. *dūrus*: Walde-Hofmann favor derivation from **drū-ros* after Osthoff, *Parerga*, I, p. 111, or from **dreu-ros* or **drou-ros*, bringing it in any case into connection with Skt. *dāru* 'wood,' Gk. *δόνυ* 'wood, spear,' etc. Similarly Mayrhofer, *Et. Wb. d. Skt., s. v. dāru*. Frisk, *s. v. δρῦς*, mentions the alleged connection without comment; Chantraine, *s. vv. δόνυ, δρῦς*, ignores it; Ernout-Meillet⁴ treat the derivation with disfavor, partly on the ground that the dissimilation cannot be adequately supported. In general the etymology can be regarded as only a possible and not a certain one.—Thumb, *Griechische Dialekte*, I, p. 119, 29, cites *φάραν* (Schwyzer, *Dial. gr. exx.*, 90, from Argos) as equivalent to Homeric *φρήτην*.—J. Wackernagel, *Vermischte Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde* (Basel, 1897),

⁶ The agreement with Av. *tišrō*, OIr. *teoir*, MWelsh, Bret. *teir* suggests that the dissimilatory loss of *r* in the first syllable may here have antedated the breakup of the Indo-European speech-community. The Germanic fem. forms of 'three' OHG *drīo*, OE *dreo*, etc., all with the *r*, are on the other hand innovations.

p. 9, gives several more examples of loss of the prior of two *r*'s: λάμπουρις, epithet and designation of the fox, < *λάμπρ-ουρ-; νόθουρος· ὁ ἀδύνατος συγγίνεσθαι ἢ ὄνος Hes., from *νώθρ-ουρος, in opposition to Lagerkrantz's derivation (Nov., 1896, in *K. Z.*, XXXV [1899], p. 275) of the first member from νόθῆς 'slothful.' The *r*-form is preserved in νόθροκάρδιος· βραδὺς κατὰ λογισμόν Hes.—Brugmann⁷ cites Span. *postrado* < Lat. *prostratus*, OF *penre* = *prendre*, Lat. *ministorum* = *ministorum* (cited as epigraphical, without further indication of source).

If the posterior of two *r*'s is lost, the formula is *r-r* > *r*-∅ and the change may be illustrated by Lat. *agrestis* < **agrestis* (cf. *campestris*, *palustris*, *silvestris*, and also *terrestris*, where the conditions favor the dissimilation but where it fails to take place.—Lat. *gurgis*, *gurgitis*: Walde-Hofmann regard this form as a derivative of root **gwer-* 'swallow' with "broken reduplication"; similarly Ernout-Meillet⁸. This presupposes the existence, at one stage, of a stem **gur-gr-et-*⁸.—Cypriote Greek shows *we re ta se* gen. sg. = *φῤῥῆτας*, *e we re ta sa tu* = *ἐφῤῥῆτασαν* (Schwyzer, 679, from *Idalium*; cf. Thumb, *l. c.*) in contrast to undissimilated Elean *φρατρα*.⁹—δρύφακτοι 'wooden barriers': Frisk and Chantraine both affirm connection of *δρυ-* with *δρῦς* and of *-φακτοι* with *φράττω*, and also regard the late form *δρύφακτοι* as the result of restoration of the lost second *r*.—Wackernagel, *l. c.*, cites *ὀρθαγορίσκος*, *ὀρθιάζειν*, *ὀρθογόη*, *ὀρθολάλος*, **Ὀρθος*, **Ὀρθαγόρας*, all these after J. Schmidt, *K. Z.*, XXXIII (1895), pp. 456-7, who for most of them cites variants with undissimilated *ὀρθρ*.—Schmidt, *l. c.*, further cites *θρεπτά* as a variant of *θρέπτρα* read by Zenodotus in Δ 478; Arg. *θυρωτοι* for *θυρωτρ* (Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.*, 3325, 305); *ρόπτρον* (Schwyzer, 109, 41, from *Epidaurus*) for *ρόπτρον*; *Μαραθών* if connection with *μάραθρον* 'fennel' is valid; but in any case Frisk cites both

⁷ *Ber. d. kön. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, LII (1900) [henceforth to be cited as Brugmann 1900], pp. 404-5.

⁸ *gur-* and *gr-* may be regarded as representing two different treatments of the zero-grade form of the root, with the labial feature of the *g*⁰ (cf. *L. vorare*, Gk. *βιβρώσκω*, Skt. *girāti* 'swallows') vocalized in the former but lost in the latter.

⁹ Cf. W. Schulze, *Berl. phil. Wochenschrift*, X (1890), p. 1503, in opposition to the notion that these forms, along with several others, involve stem-variation rather than dissimilation.

μάραθον and μάραθρον, the dissimilated form being the earlier attested.—ἀργός 'shining': Wackernagel, *l. c.*, derives from *αργρός and connects with Vedic ṛjráh 'glänzend-farbig, rötlich.' The forms ὀρθ- arising from ὀρθρ- through dissimilation, cited above, provide the support for his argument, while ἀργι- in ἀργικέπαινος, etc. varies with *ἀργρο- under the system familiarly entitled the "Caland suffixes."—Lat. *praestigiæ* 'tricks, delusions': found in Plaut., *Capt.*, 524, but *praestrigiator* is the favored reading in *Aul.*, 630, *Poen.*, 1125, and *praestigiæ* in Acc. *apud* Cic., *N. D.*, III, 29, 72, was emended to *praestrigiæ* by Buecheler.¹⁰ Connection with *praestringo* is virtually certain, and we thus have undissimilated and dissimilated forms in rivalry.—*Frentrani/Frentani*: the undissimilated form is known from the Oscan coin-legend *Frentreí* (Conway, *Italic Dialects*, no. 196 = Buck, no. 73), from the cognomen *Frentrani* in *C. I. L.*, VI, 200, col. 5, line 56, and in the form *Feretrani* as one of several variant readings in Livy, IX, 45, 18. Conway, p. 212, regards these forms and not the standard Latin *Frentani* with single *r* as representing the original form.—Lat. *prōcērus* 'tall': Brugmann, 1900, pp. 404-5, upheld its derivation from **prō-krēros* (which he declares to have been already proposed previously), and relationship to *creo*, *crēsko* seems extremely probable, but it is possible, with Walde-Hofmann, to take -*cēr*- as lengthened grade of the first syllable of a disyllabic base rather than as a dissimilated form from -*crē-r*.—Other instances of progressive dissimilation cited by Brugmann, *l. c.*, are: *crebesco* from *crebresco*,¹¹ *fragare* (reflected also in Span. *fragante*) from *fragrare*, *propius* (reflected in It. *propio*) from *proprius*.—*artetica*: cited as OSpan. by Posner, p. 117, along with OF *artétique*, both from **arthritica*. Actually *artético* and *artrítico* both appear in Cassell's *Spanish Dictionary*, while Bloch-Wartburg cite the French forms *artétique* as 12th century, *arthritique* as 16th century.—Calabrian *rastu* from **rastru* is cited by Posner, p. 112.

Several forms present alterations of a more complex nature

¹⁰ According to Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin*, I, Caec., fr. 199; cf. R. G. Kent, *Lang.*, VII (1932), p. 21.

¹¹ Variation between *crebresco* and *crebesco* occurs in manuscripts of literary texts in the simplex and in compounds with *con-*, *in-*, and *per-*. For details *T. L. L.* and Forcellini may be consulted.

because *r* can disappear in either the prior or the posterior position or because there are three positions in which *r* may appear: Lat. *cribrum* 'sieve' < **krei-dhrom*, related to *cerno* and with suffix *-dhro-*, so that the etymological justification for *r* in both syllables is beyond doubt. *cribrum* occurs as a manuscript reading for example in Apul., *Met.*, VIII, 23, and is reflected in Span. *cribo*. *cibrum* on the other hand is cited by Brugmann 1900, p. 404, without indication of source, and is reflected in certain Romance forms such as Rum. *ciur*, cf. Meyer-Lübke, 2324.—*finestra* and variant forms: Rohlf's, p. 529, regards blending of *finestra* with the metathesized forms *frinesta*, *firnesta* as the source of the 2-*r* forms *frinestra*, Catanz. *firnestra*.—L. *vertragus*, name of a type of hound: Ernout-Meillet⁴ cite variants *vertagus*, *vert(r)aga*, *vertagra*. In Martial, XIV, 200 manuscripts of family B^A read *vertagus*, those of C^A *vetragus*. The word is supposedly of Gaulish origin, the second part perhaps related to OIr. *traig* 'foot.' Cf. A. Meillet, *B. S. L.*, XXII (1921), pp. 90-1, Pokorny, *Idg. etym. Wb.*, p. 1089.

Assimilatory gain of *r*—or at least the replacement of a form containing *r* in a prior or posterior position by one containing *r* in both positions—has received less attention than the changes described in the preceding paragraphs, and yet examples are moderately numerous. Progressive assimilation, involving gain of *r* in the posterior position without loss in the prior position, may be expressed through the formula $r-\emptyset > r-r$ and illustrated by Eng. *cartridge* from Fr. *cartouche* from It. *cartocchio* 'a cornet of paper.'—Fr. *chartreux*, *-reuse* (in its various meanings, with *Carthusian* preserving the form without the second *r*): the *Oxford English Dictionary* suggests that the earlier corruption of *charteus*, *-ous* to *chartreus*, *-rous* was apparently one of French popular etymology and probably due to association with *chartre* 'prison,' suggested by the rigid confinement and severe discipline of the order.—*Tristan / Tristram*: not only is the history of the legend of Tristan and Isolde complex but the origin of the hero's name has been the subject of some speculation. F. Lot¹² regarded it as of Pictish origin, through a

¹² *Romania*, XXV (1896), p. 22. Some further bibliography on the name is listed in Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis, *Tristan and Isolt* (New York, 1960), p. 313.

Celtic form *Drostan*, but is mainly preoccupied with the problem of initial *t/d* in certain early Celtic forms of the name and not with the *r* in the second syllable. I regard it as not impossible that the form *Tristram* may have arisen on the analogy of Germanic names of the type of *Bertram*, *Guntram*, and *Wolfram*. In any case it seems quite clear that the form with single *r* was the earlier, while the form with two, though old, was not the original form.

Regressive assimilation, involving gain of *r* in the prior position without loss in the posterior position, may be expressed by the formula $\emptyset-r > r-r$ and illustrated by L. *thesaurus* > Fr. *trésor*, Sicil. *trisoro*, Old Venetian *tesoro*, in contrast to unassimilated It. *tesoro*. G. Baist, *Ztschr. für rom. Phil.*, XXIV (1900), p. 407, argues that the only Romance dialects showing the *tr*-forms are dialects which could have received them from French, and that the ultimate source is to be found in such early Germanic forms as OSax. *tresuhûs*, OHG *treso*, *tresohus*, etc., none of which forms lack the *r*.—Rohlf's, *op. cit.*, p. 530, cites It. dial. (Velletri) *traverna* from L. *taberna*.¹³—Similar is It. *travertino* from L. *Tiburtino* (*m*).—*credrae*, apparently for *cedrae* 'citrons,' occurs in Petronius, XXXVIII, 1; the speaker is one of the guests at Trimalchio's banquet.—*Octobres* for *Octobres* is cited as epigraphical by Leumann-Hofmann, p. 179, without further indication of source.—The ethnic *Tartar* and related forms with *r* in both syllables have been universal in western languages since the 13th century according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and the form is attributed to association with *Tartarus* 'hell.' At the same time the *O.E.D.* mentions the opinion of those who believe the form with *r* in the prior syllable to be the original form, Chinese and Russian sources having been responsible for *Tatar*, which is widespread in Slavic and oriental languages and occurs as a more learned form in modern western languages. If such was the case, the western languages may possibly have inherited a form unaffected by the Chinese or Russian dissimilation, and we would lose one

¹³ L. *taberna* on the other hand is sometimes derived from **traberna*, supposedly a derivative of *trab-s*, an etymology regarded with disfavor by Ernout-Meillet.⁴ Even if this etymology were accepted, it would be by no means certain that dialectal *traverna* is a survival of **traberna* rather than a result of secondary regressive assimilation.

example of the change $\emptyset \rightarrow r > r \rightarrow r$.—My friend Professor Evangelos A. Afendras, of The University of Hawaii, has informed me that his own surname has been mispronounced *Afrendras* and *Afrendas* by speakers of English and of Canadian French.

Mention was made in the first paragraph of this article of the forms cited by Brugmann and by Hirt as showing variation between *r* and zero, and also of the explanation offered by Brugmann, that the forms not containing *r* in the root had been affected by dissimilatory loss induced by an *r* in a prefix or suffix. *L. praestigiae*, discussed in the fifth paragraph above, would serve as an example of dissimilatory loss induced by *r* in a prefix, and Gk. *δρύφακτοι*, in which the dissimilation was caused by *r* in a noun-stem as first member of the compound, is closely similar. Gk. *γαστήρ*, gen. *γαστρός*, and *λάμπουρος*, cited in the fourth paragraph, will illustrate dissimilatory loss induced by *r* in a suffix or noun-stem appearing as second member of a compound. A list of the principal Indo-European *r*-suffixes which might induce such dissimilatory loss of *r* in the root would include: 1. the suffix *-r*, together with the more complex *-ter*, *-ser*, *-mer*, *-wer*, all forming heteroclite neuter nouns in which *r* in the nom.-acc. singular alternated with *n* in the rest of the paradigm, and in which the vowel in the suffix was subject to ablaut-variation.¹⁴ 2. Stems in *-ro-* like Gk. *δῶρον* representing, at least in part, thematization of the types described in 1. above. 3. Agent-nouns in *-tēr* (and its ablaut-variants) related to *-ter-* in 1. above as adjective to abstract noun. 4. Neuter instrument-nouns in *-tro-* representing, in origin, thematization of nouns in *-ter/tr-*. 5. Medio-passive forms of verbs.¹⁵

It has been shown earlier in this article, from forms of known etymology, that loss of the prior of the two *r*'s through dissimi-

¹⁴ See especially E. Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen* (Paris, 1935), pp. 100-20; evidence is largely from Hittite, the other languages having suffered extensive secondary alterations, but the type is undoubtedly an old and productive one.

¹⁵ The original distribution of *r*-forms in the paradigm cannot be determined with certainty, and in some sub-groups (Greek, Germanic, Balto-Slavic) *r*-forms are totally lacking, but, whatever their origin, they are sufficiently widespread (Oscan, Umbrian, Latin, Celtic, Armenian, Hittite, Tocharian, Indo-Iranian) to make it necessary to consider them as possible sources of dissimilatory loss or assimilatory gain of *r* in the root.

lation ($r \rightarrow \emptyset$; fourth paragraph) and gain of r in a prior position through assimilation ($\emptyset \rightarrow r$; eighth paragraph) are both possible.¹⁶ There is some ground for believing that in several of Hirt's etymological sets the alternation arose through gain of r in forms not originally containing it rather than through the reverse process of loss, and the main basis of argument will be Benveniste's doctrine of the Indo-European root, which had not been formulated when Brugmann and Hirt wrote.¹⁷ Since we are here concerned with r after initial consonant, the roots with which we shall have to deal will be roots in state II, represented by the formula $CC-$, with C standing for any consonant except that for our present purposes the second C will naturally be r . Benveniste's rules, based on rational reconstruction of early Indo-European morphological patterns with due attention to accent and the closely associated distribution of full-grade and zero-grade, allow roots in state II to be followed by one suffix ($-eC-$ capable of alternating with $-C-$) and one enlargement ($-C-$ not capable of alternating with $-eC-$) but not by two suffixes or two enlargements. There must be one and only one full-grade vowel, and this vowel, as long as the root is in state II, will follow its second consonant; in other words $CC-eC-C-$ is permissible but $CC-C-eC-$ (as well as $CC-C-C-$ and $CC-eC-eC-$) is not. Initial s presents a special problem: in some stems it is a part of the root proper; thus comparison of Gk. $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\delta\omega$ 'I sleep' with Skt. *svapnaḥ* noun 'sleep' allows us to reconstruct a root $*sew-$, whence $*sew-d-$ (state I) and $*sw-ep-$ (state II, with suffix necessarily in a different grade and incidentally possessing a different consonant). Otherwise the s is prefixal, is likely to be missing in some of the forms of a given etymological set, and is to be discounted in the process of extracting the root.

¹⁶ No implication is intended that the existence of r in a posterior position is an absolutely necessary precondition for the appearance of a new r in a prior position. I remember hearing *tryphoon* in the speech of a radio announcer, though I can make no conjecture as to the cause which gave rise to such a form. The material which I have managed to assemble, however, tends to favor the view that a new r in the initial syllable is likely to have been induced by an r already present in a posterior position.

¹⁷ Cf. note 14 above. The doctrine of the root is elaborated in pp. 147-73.

Among the eighteen etymological sets in which Hirt proposed to see evidence of variation between *r* and zero, Skt. *tisrah*, fem. 'three,' a clear instance of dissimilatory loss, has already been discussed in the fourth paragraph, and so also the group including OHG *trahan*, Gk. *δάκρυ*. His third set, Goth. *raups*: Gk. *ἐρυθρός*, Skt. *rudhirah*, all = 'red,' is the only group in which the variation in question appears in the suffix rather than in the root, and is probably better regarded as a case of suffix-variation than as one of either dissimilatory loss or assimilatory gain.—Gk. *πρότι*, *πρός*, Skt. *prati*: Gk. *ποτί*, Av. *paiti*. G. Bonfante, *Word*, VII (1951), p. 251, opposed connection of *ποτί*, Av. *paiti*, OPers. *patiy* with Gk. *ἀπό*, **po-* on semantic grounds and regarded them as relatively recent innovations of Greek and Iranian arising through deformation of **proti*, though without any explanation of how such a deformation arose. *ποτί*, however, is not remote from such meanings of *ἀπό* as those seen in, for example, *ἀποδίδωμι*, *ἀποκρίνομαι*, *ἀπολογέω*, all of which imply some notion of direction toward another person, while on the other hand phonological derivation of *ποτί* from *πρότι* is less easy to support than most other instances of this type of dissimilation. The resemblance between the two forms is partly the result of their both containing the suffix *-ti*, which may have spread analogically from one to the other.—OHG *sprechan*, OE *sprecan*: OHG *spechan*, OE *specan*, Eng. *speak*. This was one of Brugmann's four examples. The *r*-forms occur in North as well as West Germanic and in some non-Germanic cognates (Albanian and Celtic; cf. Pokorny, *Idg. etym. Wb.*, pp. 996-7, and Kluge-Götze, *Etym. Wb. d. deutschen Spr.* [16th ed., Berlin, 1953], *s. v. sprechen*). The forms without *r* are limited to West Germanic, with neither set attested in Gothic. Kluge-Götze, *s. v. Schank* treat the *r*-less forms existing beside *Schrank*, OHG *sprechen*, M̄HG *strumpf*, MLG *wrase* as parallel cases of loss of *r*. All in all it seems better to assume a loss of *r* in forms like *speak* than a gain in forms like *sprechen*.—L. *pius*, *piare*: Skt. *priyah* 'beloved.' Walde-Hofmann cite with disfavor Speyer's article (*Verslagen en Mededeelingen d. kon. Ak. van Wetenschap., Afd. Letterkunde*, IV^e Reeks, Deel VII [1906], pp. 129-39), on which Hirt relied for support for his equation. I regard the equation as tenuous at best.—Hirt's two sets of forms meaning 'break' ('brechen' or 'zerbrechen') may ad-

son of L. *frūges* with the Germanic forms Goth. *brūks*, *brūkjan*, OE *bryce*, OHG *prūchi*, and which contrasts with the gradation *ū/ew/ow* of Skt. *bhunākti*, *bhogaḥ* 'use, enjoyment.'—Umb. *cringatro* *krenkatrum*, name of a certain ceremonial band or stole, OHG *hring*, OCS *krōgъ* 'circle' : L. *cingo*, Lith. *kinkijti* 'to harness horses,' Skt. *kāncī* 'girdle.' Both these forms and those of the family of Gk. *κίρκος*, *κρίκος* (the former of which is taken by both Walde-Hofmann and Ernout-Meillet as the ultimate source of L. *circus*) have *réduplication brisée*.²¹ Word-contamination seems a good possibility, better perhaps than loss of *r* in L. *cingo*, etc. or gain of *r* in Umb. *cringatro*, etc., though in view of the popular character of several of the forms either or both possibilities must be admitted.—Ger. *schroten*, L. *scrautum* : Lith. *skutù* 'shave, peel,' Gk. *σκόπος* 'stone-splinters.' Pokorny, p. 947, derives the first two from root (*s*)*keru-*, (*s*)*kreu-*, the two states, in Benveniste's sense, of a *u*-extension of root 4. (*s*)*ker-* 'schneiden,' the last two, p. 954, from 6. *skēu-t-* 'schneiden,' etc. Frisk regards *σκόπος* as without any sure etymology, though it might be mentioned in passing that the *r*, which is presumably suffixal, might afford support if one should be tempted to derive the word by dissimilation from **skrūros*. For the range of meaning, which extends from 'sack, covering' to 'remove covering, hew' we may compare Eng. noun 'skin' : verb 'to skin.' In general, however, this seems to be among the less convincing of Hirt's examples.—OCS *rekъ* 'say,' *narokъ* 'accusation,' *rěčъ* 'accusation,' Goth. *wrōhs* 'accusation,' *wrōhjan* 'accuse' : IE **wekw-* 'to say.' All the *r*-forms quite evidently belong, with Gk. *ῥῆμα*, L. *verbum*, Eng. *word*, etc., to Pokorny's root 6. **er-* 'feierlich sagen, sprechen,' a root fully distinct from *vekʷ-* 'sprechen.' This equation must be discarded.—Ger. *schrapen*, Eng. *scrape*, ON *skrapa*, Lett. *skrabt* 'hollow out, scratch,' OCS *o-skrebъ* 'shave, scratch' : Goth. *skaban*, Ger. *schaben*, Lith. *skabėti* 'cut, hew,' OCS *skoblъ* 'scraping-iron.' This set from a semantic viewpoint is especially satisfactory, but several phonological features require some discussion. The forms both with and without *r* appear to have some cognates without the initial *s* (cf. Pokorny, pp. 931-2, 944); the *s-* is therefore probably prefixal and not

²¹ Cf. L. *gurgēs*, cited in the fifth paragraph above.

the initial of the root **sek-* 'cut' in state II with extensions. For the vocalism, L. *scābo*, *scābi*, Goth. *skaban*, ON preterit *skōf* give evidence of alternation *a/ā*, with L. *scobis* 'filings,' *scobina* 'file' presenting a problematical *ō* and OCS *o-skrebq* showing an *e* which fails to match the back vowel of the Germanic and Baltic forms. The final consonant varies between the three labial stops: Goth. *gaskapjan* 'create' and some other Germanic forms give evidence of IE *-b-*; Goth. *skaban* gives evidence of *-bh-*; for *-p*-forms see Pokorny, pp. 931-2. This variation strongly suggests that the *p/b/bh* is not part of the root in the narrowest sense but a suffix or enlargement. For the non-*r* forms we might posit an extended root *(*s*)*keə-**p/b/bh-* (state I, with *-eə-* > *-ā-* attested by L. *scābi*, ON *skōf*).²² The *r*-forms may have gained their *r* through regressive assimilation from forms containing suffixal or desinential *r*, perhaps through the additional influence of forms from root 4. (*s*)*ker-* 'cut' (cf. Gk. *κείρω*, OIcel. *skera*, etc., Pokorny, pp. 938-9) with labial extensions reflected in OE *sceorpan*, *screpan* 'scratch,' L. *scrobis* 'ditch, trench,' pp. 943-5, or may even represent actual contamination of forms from the roots (*s*)*keə-* and (*s*)*ker-*.—On Hirt's pairs Ger. *Strumpf* : Ger. *Stumpf*, MLG *wrase* : OHG *waso*, Ger. *Schrank* : Ger. *Schank*?, OE *wrixl* : Ger. *Wechsel*, Ger. *schrill*, Eng. *shrill* : OHG *skëllan* I refrain from discussion here, except to call attention to the eleventh paragraph above, where mention was made of the citation of the first three of these pairs by Kluge-Götze.—On the other hand it is possible to propose two other examples which have not, to my knowledge, been proposed by Brugmann, Hirt, or any other authority. OHG *spriozan*, Ger. *spriessen* 'sprout, spring up,' Goth. *sprauto* adv. 'quickly,' Lett. *spraustiēs* 'to press ahead,' Welsh *ffrwest* (<**sprudsta-*) 'haste' : Gk. *σπείδω*, *σπουδή*, Lith. *spāusti* 'to press,' *spaudā* noun 'press,' *spūdinti* 'to hasten,' *spūdėti* 'to

²² It might be tempting to see in *kh-* of Skt. *khanati* 'he digs' an instance of conversion of a voiceless stop to a voiceless aspirate when standing immediately before a laryngeal. In this case *khanati* might be from **ke₂-en-e-ti*, and is in fact analyzed in a partially similar manner by T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language* (London, 1955), p. 289. The alternate root *khā-* should then be derived from *ke₂-*, an unextended state I form, whose *kh-*, since it cannot be from *k* immediately before a laryngeal, must be analogical. Mayrhofer, however, admits no connection for *khanati* outside of Indo-Iranian as sure.

exert oneself.' The ablaut-conditions (IE *ew/ow/u* ²³) are the same in the *r*- and the *r*-less forms, and the two sets are semantically very close, with apparently a notion of forward pressure developing into notions of haste, of vegetation bursting into new growth, etc.—L. *trūdo* 'push,' *trudis* 'iron-pointed pike,' Goth. *us-priutan* 'annoy, persecute,' OE *strūtian* 'to fight,' OCS *trudъ* 'toil, trouble' : Skt. *tudāti* 'push, thrust,' L. *tundo*, *studeo*, Goth *stautan* 'strike,' OHG *stozzan*, Ger. *stossen*. The "movable" *s*-, present in some forms but absent in others, offers no difficulty. The vocalism of some of the Germanic forms presents problems,²⁴ but it is quite clear that the root-variants proposed here to account for all these forms originally belonged to the *ew/ow/u* series. The underlying sense appears to be 'thrust (an object; for example, a spear or pike) forward,' with partial specialization in connection with injury of another, combat, or types of hard physical labor. L. *studeo* is an intransitive *ē*-verb denoting zealous pushing of oneself toward a goal.—The root-variants **sprewd/spewd-* and **(s)trewd/(s)tewd-* which must be assumed to account for the last two proposed equations are precisely alike in their vocalism. The former set appears not to possess forms without the initial *s*, but nonetheless it is unlikely that the *s* is a true part of the root, as though we had to assume a state I form **sep-*. Even with the *s*- detached the *r*-forms are sufficiently heavy to arouse suspicion that their *r* was gained by forms not originally showing it, rather than the reverse.

In the earlier part of this article I have collected, from rather scattered sources, a fairly substantial number of forms which show the effect of assimilatory or dissimilatory changes involving *r* and have attempted to classify these examples on the basis of gain and loss of *r* and direction of change. The evidence should make it clear that gain as well as loss of *r* is possible and

²³ *ū* in Lith. *spūdinti*, *spūdėti* represents Baltic lengthening of an originally short *u*. Cf. Chr. S. Stang, *Vergl. Gr. d. baltischen Spr.* (Oslo, 1966), p. 123.

²⁴ We might expect an alternation Goth. *iu/āu/u*, OHG *io/ō/u* and conjugation as a strong verb of Grimm's second class, like Ger. *ziehen*, *zog*, *gezogen*, etc., but an aorist-present with zero-grade vowel appears to have given rise to morphological remodeling and consequent transfer to the seventh strong class. Cf. E. Prokosch, *Comparative Grammar of the Germanic Languages* (Philadelphia, 1939), pp. 127-8, 151, 157, 167, 180.

that certain forms, whatever their original status as "mistakes" or "barbarisms" arising through popular etymology or unknown causes, nonetheless have established themselves in standard usage. In the latter part I have examined most of Hirt's sets of supposedly related *r*- and *r*-less forms and have suggested that for some of them the assumption of gain in the *r*-forms is more likely than that of loss in the *r*-less forms. We can seldom say positively that the *r*-less form must be the original form on the ground that the *r*-form presupposes too heavy a base; the doctrine of the Indo-European root developed by Benveniste, with its rules on admissible suffixes and enlargements, is liberal enough to admit bases containing four consonants, among which may be included the laryngeals commonly assumed to account for the long-vowel ablaut series. It is worthy of notice, however, that among the eighteen pairs which Benveniste (*Origines*, p. 151; cf. also p. 161) presents in order to illustrate states I and II of the root, none is of the structural type of, for example, **tre-w-d*.²⁵ It is therefore likely, as I have suggested in several places in the previous paragraph, that some of the especially heavy bases had gained their *r* secondarily. If either gain or loss of *r* in a prior position was induced by assimilatory or dissimilatory effect of an *r* in a posterior syllable, it is regrettable that there is such a scarcity of quotable forms containing *r*-suffixes and occurring in doublets with and without *r*, but the changes in question must be assigned to a very early stage in Indo-European prehistory, as indeed must also the highly schematic and orderly system of root-structure elaborated by Benveniste, a system which would not be arrived at if roots were extracted, by analysis along synchronic lines, from the Indo-European language as traditionally reconstructed, and still less from Sanskrit, Greek, or Latin.

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²⁵ Benveniste, *Origines*, p. 151, groups together Skt. *taru-tā* (that is, *taru-tr* 'conqueror') and Goth. *-priutan* as evidence, respectively, for the state I and state II bases **tér-w-* and **tr-éu-*. Whitney's root-book and Thumb-Hauschild, II, pp. 265-6, assign *tarutā* to the same root as *tarati* 'crosses over, overcomes,' while Feist, Walde-Hofmann, and Ernout-Meillet place *-priutan* along with L. *trūdo*. Unless we admit Benveniste's equation, which seems implausible at best, there appears to be no objection to positing a relationship between roots **trewd-* and **tewd-* of the type suggested in the eleventh paragraph above.

CATULLUS 4 AND CATALEPTON 10 AGAIN.

Over the last fifteen years the fourth poem of Catullus has been accorded more than its fair share of critical attention, much of it from scholars of considerable acumen.¹ But the bulk of what has been written has tended to be rather solemn about a poem that, when one reads it, fairly ripples with sprightliness. No one, even at first encounter, can fail to respond to the buoyancy of the pure iambic metre and the jauntiness of the list of stages the *phaselus* has to tick off in retracing its triumphant course back to its distant origins in the forests of Mount Cytorus. I was therefore cheered to find in *A. J. P.*, LXXXVIII (1967), 163-72 an article by H. Akbar Kahn of the University of Manchester entitled "The Humor of Catullus, *Carm.* 4, and the Theme of Virgil, *Catalepton* 10," for I foresaw that this would redress the balance. That was not, however, to be the case. Kahn sees the humor of the poem as rooted in the personification and garrulity of the vessel. Catullus, he believes, is making sport of a worn-out tub, making it claim credit for heroic accomplishments beyond reasonable belief. By a series of verbal ambiguities Catullus shows us that in fact the vessel was far more a comic *servus currens* than a hero. My disappointment in this interpretation was reawakened and reinforced with the recent appearance of a new edition of Catullus with extensive commentary by Professor Kenneth Quinn.² Quinn seems to accept the core of Kahn's thesis, dresses it out with bits and pieces from Putnam and Hornsby, and presents the assembled farrago for our edification. For him the poem is essentially affectionate, however, not comical. Since Quinn's edition seems likely to be widely used in schools in the English-speaking world, it now seems necessary to offer one more discussion of the poem.

¹ Cf. F. O. Copley, "Catullus c. 4: The World of the Poem," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXXIX (1958), pp. 9-13; H. J. Mette, "Catull *Carm.* 4," *R. M.*, CV (1962), pp. 153-7; M. C. J. Putnam, "Catullus' Journey," *O. P.*, LVII (1962), pp. 10-19; R. A. Hornsby, "The Craft of Catullus (*Carm.* 4)," *A. J. P.*, LXXXIV (1963), pp. 256-65.

² Kenneth Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems* (London and Basingstoke, 1970).

Like most of Catullus' work, the poem is occasional, and we are alerted to this by the address in the first line, *hospites*. So the reader is invited to reconstruct the occasion from information given in the course of the poem. Hornsby³ would have it the *hospites* may be the Dioscouri, who are addressed again at the end of the poem, but not only would this seem quite unnecessarily cryptic of the poet, but such an initial address to divinities would hardly be appropriate. Much more likely these are, as they seem at first glance, guests of Catullus. Hornsby also maintains⁴ that the *erus* of verse 19 is not necessarily Catullus, that in fact by choosing this oblique way of referring to the ship's owner Catullus has deliberately suggested that he and the *erus* are not the same. But since Catullus acts as interpreter for the vessel to his *hospites*, and a special understanding and affection between the poet and the vessel breathes in every line of the poem, more probably this is simply a graceful way of alluding to himself that avoids intruding himself, which would distract us from the boat's story. Consider the parallel identification of himself as *erus* of Sirmio in poem 31, 12.

Indeed everything conspires to suggest that the settings of poems 4 and 31 are the same. The setting of 4 is a *limpidus lacus* (24), and in 31 the Lacus Benacus (modern Lago di Garda) is described as a lake of singular beauty (31, 1-3; 13-14). Catullus had a place there of which he was especially fond, presumably a summer place, one where he might be expected to entertain guests regularly and to which he repaired on his return from Bithynia (31, 4-6). His warm delight in the place, given expression in that poem, suggests he went there before returning to Rome, for in an earlier poem he speaks of Rome as his real home, over Verona (68, 31-6), and here he writes as one who has just come to what he can regard as the end of an extended and exhausting absence. Sirmio, a peninsula projecting into the lake, was a place where a boat would be useful. And Catullus' father, if he was prominent enough to entertain Julius Caesar and his staff when Caesar was governor of Cisalpine Gaul (Suetonius, *Div. Iul.*, 73), must be presumed to have

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 262.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

been more than rich enough to afford to buy his son such a boat. In short, there is nothing at all improbable in the notion that Catullus acquired this *phaselus* during his tour of duty on Memmius' staff with the intention of bringing it back for use at his villa at Sirmio. Nor is there anything here inconsistent with what he tells us in other poems. The fact that he did not make the financial killing he had hoped for and expected in Bithynia (10, 9-13; 28, 6-8), the fact that he did not acquire any of the famous Bithynian litter-bearers (10, 21-3) will not mean that he was in any way strapped for cash. In poem 48, at the end of his term of service, he is proposing a tour of the glorious cities of Asia on which he will have the company of none of his comrades. What is more logical than that this should have been made in this *phaselus*? In the catalogue of the journey of the *phaselus* the cities of Asia are not named, but Rhodes is, and the Cyclades are, so we may presume the omission is a casual one.

Everyone seems to have noticed that there is something special about the way the boat is personified in the poem. Hornsby⁵ in particular dilates on the notion that by this personification the *phaselus* becomes a reincarnation of the Argo, in whose fabric a timber from the speaking grove of Dodona was incorporated. Putnam⁶ emphasizes a spiritual union between the poet and the craft, so that the ship's ecstatic race from Asia Minor to Italy is the reflection of the poet's happiness on his return. Copley⁷ sees the personification as a brilliant invention of Catullus springing from an appreciation of the irony and paradox of an "inanimate fabric that had life and personality." There is some truth in each of these observations.

The personification of ships may be as old as the earliest version of the myth of the Argo. It is certainly to be seen in the great, handsome apotropaic eyes that decorate the prows of ships shown on early island vases and may have been implicit in Alcaeus' poems using the ship as a metaphor for the state.⁸ But

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 263-4.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 13-18.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

⁸ Cf. e.g. E. Lobel and D. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*² (Oxford, 1963), Alcaeus, fr. 76 and 326.

this ship is more than just alive; it speaks, and in a singular way that the poet emphasizes. He insists on its speaking at his beginning (1-2):

Phaselus ille, quem uidetis, hospites,
ait fuisse nauium celerrimus. . . .

He labors the point a bit later, lest it escape you (6-7):

et hoc negat minacis Hadriatici
negare litus insulasue Cycladas. . . .

He talks of the whispering foliage of the trees when its timbers were still uncut wood on the ridge of Cytorus (10-12) and goes on *ait* (15), *dicit* (16), and *se dedicat* (26). Such insistence cannot be accidental or casual.

What is more, he describes the sound of the ship's voice. When it was still part of the forest growing on the heights of Cytorus it often gave out a whispering from its articulate foliage (11-12):

nam Cytorio in iugo
loquente saepe sibilum edidit coma.

That this voice is the same as its present voice is conveyed by the striking emphasis on the letter *s* throughout the poem, and especially by the frequency of doubled *s* and final *-is*. Thus in the opening lines we find (1-5):

Phaselus ille, quem uidetis, hospites,
ait fuisse nauium celerrimus,
neque ullius natantis impetum trabis
nequisset praeterire, siue palmulis
opus foret uolare siue linteo.

Fuisse, nequisset, fuisse, esse, cognitissima, stetit, imbuisse, tulisse, incidisset, esse, nouissimo; there are eleven cases of doubled *s* in a poem of only twenty-seven lines. And there are in addition some fifty occurrences of single *s* and *x*, a very high concentration.

Onomatopoeia is a dangerous plaything for the critic, and here we must go carefully. For *s* is the letter that best suggests the whistling of the wind and the hiss of the waves. Words like *scateo*, *sibilo*, *spumo*, *strepo*, *strideo*, and *susurro*, all of which are used of the sounds of moving wind and water, come to mind.

Moreover *s* is a letter of speed, and we can imagine that for a boat flying before a fine wind in fair weather it would suggest itself to a Roman poet. But that is not the case here; the boat in question is at anchor in calm water (cf. *limpidum lacum*, vs. 24), and Catullus insists that it speaks here and now: *quem uidetis . . . ait* (1-2).

Anyone familiar with boats knows that in such circumstances the noise they make is a curious, continuous, mournful creaking, mysterious, since there is no apparent strain, but incessant and apt to be rather disturbing. What word the Romans would have used to describe this creaking is doubtful. Many writers describe ships in storms, but almost none describes a ship at anchor, and none that I know of speaks of this particular phenomenon. The best I can offer is the description of similar sounds. Creaking farm waggons are described by Vergil as *stridentia plaustra* (*Geor.*, III, 536) and by Ovid as *stridula plaustra* (*Tr.*, III, 12). But perhaps the best evidence of all, though of an unusual sort, is the imitation of the *phaselus* poem in *Catalepton* 10:

Sabinus ille, quem uidetis, hospites,
ait fuisse mulio celerrimus,
neque ullius uolantis impetum cisi
nequisse praeterire . . . (1-4)

Part of the poet's intent in this imitation must be that the creaking of the vehicle of this teamster echoes the creaking of Catullus' *phaselus*, and the effect is maintained throughout the burlesque. The mechanism of Catullus 4 is, then, a translation of the creaking of the idle ship and its rocking, reflected in the regularity of the iambic rhythm, into a triumphant account of its past history and glory.

The poet functions as interpreter between the *phaselus* and the *hospites* he addresses in the first verse. Only he can understand it when it speaks; his importance is constantly underscored by his repeated assertions that this is what the *phaselus* says. The *hospites* quickly fade into the background, but they must have something to do with the poem's genesis. It is easy enough to see what sort of incident must have occurred, that Catullus was showing his guests about his villa and showing off his boat tied up at the water's edge, and someone remarked jokingly—perhaps

it was the poet himself—that it sounded as though the boat were trying to say something, as though it were mourning its fate.

And this will account for the slightly disconcerting note at the end of the poem. The vessel has had a glorious career, a long, triumphant voyage from Amastris, but that is in the past, and now it is growing old in peace and dedicates itself to the Dioscouri. If it is outworn after a single voyage, that is a surprisingly short life, even if the poet got it secondhand. And why should it have been brought laboriously all the way up to this inland lake if it was not to be used there? I think the fact is that Catullus is only contrasting its life as a sea-going vessel with its life as a pleasure craft at his villa, that he does not intend us to think of it as genuinely old and outworn, that this is simply a neat ending to his poem, with allusion to the quality of the sound. Creaking does suggest age.

But the ending must have been one of the very things that particularly attracted Vergil to attempt an adaptation of the poem in *Catalepton* 10. He shortened it by two verses but kept key words throughout, as well as the emphasis on *s*, doubled *s*, and *s* + *i*, with eleven uses of doubled *s* and forty-five of single *s* and *x*. His subject, however, is not a boat, but a muleteer who, having plied his trade through Cisalpine Gaul for many years, has now changed his name and risen in the world so that he sits on the ivory chair of a curule magistrate. One gathers he would like to have his humble origins forgotten and that the change of his name was an effort in that direction, though the precise effect of the change seems uncertain.

What, then, is the effect of the sound pattern combined with the iambic metre here? The metre seems to give the effect of his monotonous trudging. And since his mules are a team yoked together (18-19), they must draw a vehicle (cf. Varro, *R. R.*, II, 8, 5), perhaps a *raeda* like that of Juvenal's muleteer (3, 10 and 317-18), whose creaking is echoed in the sound pattern.

But what does the end of the poem mean—that he has made a dedication of his bridle and currycomb to the gods of the road and now sits on an ivory curule chair and dedicates himself to the Dioscouri? (23-5):

sed haec prius fuere: nunc eburnea
sedetque sede seque dedicat tibi,
gemelle Castor, et gemelle Castoris.

In the Forum Romanum the tribunals of the praetors evidently had to be erected in inaugurated *templa* and in the open air.⁹ The original station of the praetor urbanus must have been on the speakers' platform in the Comitium;¹⁰ after Julius Caesar abolished the Comitium, it appears to have been moved to the rostra in front of the temple of the Deified Julius. With the proliferation of the *quaestiones perpetuae* and, of necessity, praetors to preside over them beginning in the middle of the second century B. C., until the praetors reached the number of eight under Sulla, the suitable places for tribunals must gradually have been occupied. Cicero defended a case on a charge of *ambitus in medio foro*,¹¹ by which he probably meant that the praetor who was president of the court sat on the old Antiate rostrum¹² that was later removed by Julius Caesar or Augustus to the northwest end of the Forum.¹³ And the evidence strongly suggests that the *quaestio* on *repetundae*, the oldest *quaestio perpetua*, as well as the court of the praetor urbanus, found a place in the Comitium.¹⁴ But the *quaestiones* on *ueneficia*, *maiestas*, *peculatus*, and *uis* are without location in our sources. Since the preferred locations for tribunals seem to have been speakers' platforms, can we not take the curious architectural form of the stair of the temple of Castor as it was rebuilt by Tiberius with its little flights of steps leading off to the sides and broad platform along the front, as indication that this, too, regularly served as a rostrum and had done so earlier, at least from the Metellan reconstruction of the temple in 117 B. C.,¹⁵ and was one of the *rostra III* mentioned in the *Notitia* and *Curiosum*?¹⁶ In that case it might well have served as a station

⁹ Cf. E. Welin, *Studien zur Topographie des Forum Romanum* (Lund, 1953), pp. 111-20.

¹⁰ Cf. H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, I, 1, pp. 499-500 and Livy, XXVII, 50, 9.

¹¹ Cicero, *ad Quint. frat.*, II, 3, 6.

¹² Cf. Livy, VIII, 14, 12; Pliny, *N. H.*, VII, 212.

¹³ Cf. S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1929), s. v. "Rostra Augusti."

¹⁴ Cf. Plutarch, *Cato*, 44, 1-4. Cato was president of the *quaestio perpetua de repetundis*.

¹⁵ Cf. Platner and Ashby, s. v. "Castor, Aedes"; Cicero, *Phil.*, III, 11, 27; Plutarch, *Sulla*, 33, 4.

¹⁶ Cf. Jordan, *op. cit.*, II, p. 551.

NOTES ON ARISTOPHANES' *BIRDS*.

I. *Av.*, 1196-8.

Who speaks these lines? It is generally assumed, for want of a hint to the contrary, that they are delivered by the coryphaeus of the half-chorus that has just responded with excited dochmiacs to the announcement of Iris' imminent arrival. The assignment of the lines to the leader of the chorus appears to be supported by the scholiast's notation that there was a coronis at 1198, signalling the termination of the choral action.

It should, however, be remembered that the scholia on the two dochmiac passages, 1188-95 and 1262-8, are shot through with improbabilities. They do not recognize the responsion; they count the ode as consisting of eight units, and the antode of six. They speculate that during the ode the actors retire from the stage, and they appear to assume the same for the duration of the antode, if, that is, we accept Hense's and White's summary of Heliodoran practice, that a coronis indicates the exit or introit of an actor or actors.¹ But the stage action, at this point of the play, does not favor, and in fact will not allow, Pisetaerus' retirement. He is, by now, the leader of the insurgent bird troops. The news of the divinity's approach demands his presence with his people whom he calls "hither" (1186) just before, according to the scholiast, he exits.

With the authority of the scholiast's stage directions in doubt, let us take a closer look at 1196-8. The lines have always been regarded as either a downright quotation from a tragedy² or as a virulent case of generic parody. The latter is, I think, more likely. The lines are paratragodic with a vengeance, on a different level of imitation from that achieved in the preceding dochmiacs, which emulate high drama in their metrics rather than their diction. It is hard to believe that a coryphaeus could

¹ J. W. White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy* (London, 1912), p. 393, accepting the conclusions of O. Hense, *Heliodorische Untersuchungen* (Leipzig, 1870).

² Fr. adesp. 47 Nauck²; cf. P. Rau, *Paratragodia* (Munich, 1967), pp. 177, 179.

separate himself sufficiently in spirit from his chorus, and attain a degree of stylistic independence, to speak these outrageous lines. More important, the antode, 1262-8, is not followed by a similar three lines spoken by the coryphaeus of the other half-chorus, as one might have expected, given the remarkable tendency toward amoebian symmetry found between comic half-choruses.⁸

Now 1196 is incomplete; the first metron is lost. If there was a paragraphos indicating a change of speaker, it is lost also, and apparently was lost already in the first century when "Heliodorus" surmised that 1196-8 were part of the choral passage that begins at 1188. I would like to propose that these lines are spoken by the Second Messenger. It will be remembered that he arrives at 1168, a *servus currens* with murder in his eye, to report that an unnamed god has entered the gates of the new city. At Pisetaerus' perplexed inquiry why they had not immediately mobilized the home guard, the Messenger paints a stirring picture of massed columns of birds moving out against the intruder. At 1184 he stops short, points to one of the side entrances—the west entrance?—and calls out: "I think (the intruder) is already here" (there is no reason why Iris should be coming on stage, except that, where convenient, the stage tends to be identified with the area of *Nephelokokkygia*, an identification which becomes explicit at 1217-18). Pisetaerus, in response, organizes the arming of his troops, who then, in a paroxysm of shadow boxing, strike up their *dochmiacs*.

It will not do for Iris to enter while Pisetaerus is attempting to ready the defences, and while the first half-chorus intones its paean to war. Hence her arrival has to be delayed for a few lines. But once Pisetaerus and the chorus—and the audience—have placed themselves in readiness, we need a renewal of the announcement. The one to provide it is the Messenger who, one imagines, has witnessed the local preparations with mounting impatience, and now decides that he must refurbish his warning with increased emphasis. As he mouths his *orotundities*, Iris enters, also on

⁸ The case for symmetry is especially strong here, because ode and antode bracket the Iris scene. For the attention to symmetry in the *Birds* see also C. H. Whitman, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero* (Harvard, 1964), p. 320, n. 55.

the double. Pisetaerus notices her, tries to block her way, and the next scene is underway. The Messenger makes his getaway under the shelter of the confusion that follows.

II. *Av.*, 206-71.

What are the stage movements of Hoopoe,⁴ and how much of the singing does he do? The second question is easy to answer: all of it. Otto Schroeder put it well:⁵ some manuscripts assign 260-2 to the chorus of birds; but they have not yet gotten themselves together. And Eduard Fraenkel saw, as Rogers had seen before him,⁶ that even 267 must be given to Hoopoe, as it is in most manuscripts and in editions prior to Brunck's. It presents his last, and finally successful, effort to bring the chorus into the orchestra. The whole scene, then, belongs to the gentle peace-maker.

But how are we to envisage the movements on the stage? At the beginning of our scene, Pisetaerus asks Hoopoe to go, as quickly as possible, into the shrubbery and wake up the nightingale. Hoopoe responds by addressing to his lovely companion a series of complimentary anapaests whose language anticipates Euripides' *Helen*, 1107-13.⁷ The passage is largely descriptive. For the benefit of the audience Hoopoe conjures up the mythical and natural connotations of the nightingale's song. Only the first two lines of his serenade are actually addressed to the nightingale. The rest is far less proletic than the dithyrambic address to the various species of birds which follows at 227, after the Athenian visitors have had a chance to comment admiringly on the musical offering.

But where does he do his singing? The natural expectation

⁴ My assumptions about the stage are, by and large, those sensibly summarized in P. Arnott, *Greek Scenic Conventions* (Oxford, 1962).

⁵ O. Schroeder, ed., *Die Voegel* (Berlin, 1927), p. 35.

⁶ E. Fraenkel, "Some Notes on the Hoopoe's Song," *Eranos*, XLVIII (1950), p. 75; B. Rogers, ed., tr., *The Birds of Aristophanes* (London, 1906), p. 34.

⁷ H. M. Blaydes, ed., *Aristophanis Aves* (Halle, 1882), p. 214 cites a lengthy disquisition by Bakhuyzen who imagines an old spring song imitated by both Aristophanes and Euripides. If for "spring song" we substitute "pattern of thinking about spring," we might be closer to the truth.

would be, since he has been asked to enter the shrubbery, that Hoopoe has exited through the central door before he begins his anapaests.⁸ Pisetaerus' observation, 224, that Hoopoe has, as it were, honeyed o'er the whole shrubbery, would appear to support the expectation. But what are we to do with 225-6, where Pisetaerus warns Euelpides to be still since Hoopoe is getting ready to sing again? It might be argued, and has been, by Schroeder among others, that Pisetaerus becomes aware of Hoopoe's preparations through a new prelude on the aulos. This is awkward, especially since our stage reference to aulos playing comes just before this, after 222, which makes it hard to conceive of a *new* start on the aulos at 225.

There are other straws in the wind. At 252 and 259 Hoopoe summons the birds "hither," quintupling the order so as to leave no doubt in the minds of the audience that the summoner is posted in the location to which he asks the birds to come. Again, it might be argued that "hither" refers to the shrubbery; he is inviting the birds to come in from the fields, furrows, gardens, hills, swamps, meadows, and the sea, and to assemble at the place where the nightingale is. But this also is hard to credit. 255-8 suggest unmistakably that the birds should come and enter into conversation with Pisetaerus who is, of course, on stage, probably in the orchestra, near the audience, looking up exaggeratedly in the direction of the auditorium as if he was expecting the birds to come swooping down from the Acropolis (263-4).

Perhaps the most effective argument against supposing that Hoopoe does his singing behind the scene is the realization what it would mean having some of the most beautiful poetry in the play sung from behind a partition that would necessarily muffle the sound. Schroeder and others, strangely, have thought that Hoopoe's exit was an advantage inasmuch as it was then possible to hand the singing over to a virtuoso, which presumably the actor playing the part of Hoopoe was not: a presumption the actor would not have relished. Commentators generally are much too ready to believe that extended singing can be produced from behind the scene. Note the implications of the evidence

⁸ C. F. Russo, *Aristofane* (Florence, 1962), p. 236: "dietro la scena."

assembled by Pickard-Cambridge for the training of actors:⁹ singing behind the scene would have disappointed the audience's critical expectations of virtuosity in voice and gesture. The same goes for choral singing; to have the frog chorus in the *Frogs* do their singing behind the scene, and not show them dancing in the orchestra, would have been to cheat the spectators.

Whatever may have been the case in other situations, here, it seems, we must devise an alternative. The movements should be plotted as follows. After Pisetaerus has asked Hoopoe to go in and wake the nightingale, Hoopoe approaches the door,¹⁰ but as his summons shades off into its descriptive sequel (211 ff.) he turns back to the audience, thus delaying his entry and, ultimately, the response of the nightingale who does not appear until very much later, after the agon. There follows the by-play between the Athenians, whereupon Hoopoe launches into his κλητικός ὕμνος to the birds. One may imagine him striding back and forth on the platform, perhaps even venturing now and then into the orchestra, to underline his appeals with appropriate gestures in the direction of the areas indicated. It is unlikely that so lively and so concretely topographical a song should have been designed as pure music, without the visual and choreographic component. None of the parallels mentioned by Fraenkel have these qualities.

But by 266 Hoopoe has clearly exited; Pisetaerus complains that Hoopoe's screams, in the shrubbery, have apparently been in vain. The most sensible reconstruction is this. After 259, at the termination of the song with which Hoopoe has bidden the birds to come on stage, there is silence. Nothing happens; the birds are deaf, or drowsy, or uninterested. At that point Hoopoe, finally, heeds Pisetaerus' original suggestion and plunges into the shrubbery, not, however, in order to wake the nightingale, who has temporarily dropped out of the picture, but to get closer to the birds. He resorts to pure bird language,

⁹ A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*² (Oxford, 1968), pp. 167-76.

¹⁰ J. van Leeuwen, ed., *Aristophanis Aves* (Leiden, 1902), p. 40, has it right, except for his notion that the shrubbery is on the right of the stage. But it is unclear from his comments whether his Hoopoe ever leaves the stage.

shrieking like a curlew signalling to his young, with notes and sounds intended to impress us with their avian richness, more than the rather simple cadences of 225-6 and elsewhere. After 262, once again, silence. Nothing happens. The Athenians are surprised; what are the birds waiting for? Finally, 267, the last desperate *ρορορίξ ρορορίξ* on the part of Hoopoe, still behind the scene. Suddenly Pisetaerus notices the first bird, probably in a place where he had not expected it to appear, perhaps at his very back.¹¹ By 270 Hoopoe is back on stage, ready to explain. Pisetaerus' *οὗτος αὐτός* carries a suggestion that Hoopoe is just emerging from the door. His return coincides more or less with the appearance of the initial quartet of birds. Thus, if this reconstruction of Hoopoe's movements is correct, he is out of sight for the duration of ten lines, some of them rather short. We should not forget, however, that two periods of silence will have extended the time of his absence. Still, it is comforting to know that in this early part of the play, during which the Athenians are not at all certain of their safety or their prospects, the calming presence of the wise old reformed Tereus is not denied them for more than a minute.

III. *Av.*, 1164 ff.

What is Pisetaerus doing after 1163, when the messenger has completed his tale of the building of the city? 1167 shows that he is sceptical, to say the least. The coryphaeus also appears to

¹¹ It has been suggested that the first four birds appear on the roof of the scene building. But that would put them at too great a distance from the Athenians to make their sudden appearance properly felt. The four birds are, unlike the members of the chorus that will enter directly, not real birds but fantasy creatures, introduced for the sake of the jokes that their names trigger. They are, thus, of the same order as the Chaeris-crow at 858-61. The "Purplewing," the "Mede," the "Third-Generation-Hoopoe," and the "Gulp-Down" are not regular species; for the *φωινικόπτερος* see D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (London, 1936), p. 304: "This is the only reference to the bird in classical Greek, and the identification here is at best doubtful." They are grotesque apparitions, with brilliant color, monumental crests, horrendous beaks, and generally overwhelming. A spectacular advance guard of the chorus, they can register their effect on the Athenians only if they are close upon them.

understand, from his reading of Pisetaerus' response, that he is far from convinced: "Come on, man, what are you doing? Perhaps you don't believe . . .?" (Parenthetically, if we are right and 1196-8 are spoken by the Second Messenger, 1164-5 appear to be the only trimeters in the play spoken by the coryphaeus.) How does a comic character express scepticism? The editors, in this instance, conjecture some sort of dumb show: "Admirationem gestu manifeste significat P.," is van Leeuwen's comment. A modern Greek can, indeed, produce a variety of subtle gestures, from raised eyebrow to brushed lapel, to indicate disbelief. The raised eyebrow is out; and subtle gestures will be lost in the vast cavea of the Greek theater. The ancient stage favors articulation through speech.

How is disbelief vocalized? One interjection of which Hesychius tells us that it is indicative of *θανυμάζειν* is *αἰβοῖ*.¹² Now at *Pax*, 1066 Trygaeus uses a duplicate form of the interjection: *αἰβοῦβοῖ*! which prompts the priest Hierocles to ask: "Why are you laughing?"

Can *αἰβοῖ* be associated with laughter? Kenneth Dover¹³ thinks not. But of the 15 occurrences of *αἰβοῖ* in Aristophanes, 7 (*Nub.*, 102; *Vesp.*, 37, 1338;¹⁴ *Pax*, 544, 1291; *Av.*, 610, 1341b) could be analyzed as signifying or verging on or accompanying laughter. The scholiast says specifically about 3 others (*Nub.*, 829, 906; *Pax*, 1066) that laughter is involved, though we would have gathered it from the text only for the

¹² *αἰβοῖ*. ὡς οἱ μοι τίθεται καὶ ἐπὶ θανυμασμοῦ. Cf. also the entry in *Etym. Magn.*—E. Schinck, *De interiectionum epiphonematumque vi atque usu apud Aristophanem*, *Diss. Philol. Halenses*, I (1873), pp. 196-200, analyzes the occurrence of *αἰβοῖ* and its variants in comedy, and concludes that the interjection cannot be associated with any one response. Many scholia refer to it as an *ἐπιρρημα σχετλιαστικόν*. That we should not translate *σχετλιαστικόν* too narrowly is to be gathered from Herodian, *Prosod. cathol.*, 19, pp. 502-3 Lentz. Herodian distinguishes *σχετλιαστικά ἐπιρρήματα* from other adverbs in a way which shows them to be 'emotive' as against 'local,' 'temporal,' and the like.—Schinck's conjecture that the nature of the response may have been indicated by the tonal accent on the word is attractive but not demonstrable.

¹³ K. Dover, ed., *Aristophanes: Clouds* (Oxford, 1968), p. 211.

¹⁴ Here *αἰβοῖ* could go either with what precedes: expression of loathing for lawsuits; or with what follows: expression of pleasure in carousing.

last. The scholiast also tells us (*Av.*, 1341b) that αἰβοῖ signals not only σχετλιασμός, but also ἡδονή.

The passage with which we are concerned does not feature αἰβοῖ, but in the light of what has been said about the close association between θαυμασμός and γέλως, it is worth considering whether Pisetaerus' response to the news of the building of Nephelokokkygia is one in which disbelief and amusement coincide, with laughter as the audible index. Demonstrable fits of laughter in Old Comedy are remarkably rare. γέλως, γελᾶν and their compounds and derivatives are common enough in the comic texts. But in the vast majority of cases no stage laughter is intended. In scenes, for instance, where one character complains to another that he is laughing at him—καταγελᾷς—the speech to which the injured party is taking exception is one of mock-seriousness. I have counted only four or five cases in which the text permits us to say with a fair degree of assurance that one of the characters is laughing.

Ran., 42-6: Heracles attempts to suppress the laughter that overcomes him at the sight of the Heracles'd Dionysus, and fails. There is no interjection. Heracles' repeated avowals that he cannot help himself, and that he simply has to laugh, take the place of a more spontaneous exclamation. For once, untypically, the comic Heracles does not act on impulse. There is little doubt about the result: he laughs.

Nub., 818-20: Strepsiades jeers at Phidippides' usage of the oath "by Zeus the Olympian." Phidippides asks in return: "What's there to laugh about?" We cannot be completely certain that the jeer is in the form of laughter. But the duplicate ἰδὸν ἰδοί which introduces the crucial lines, though by itself no more than a voiced pointer, could well be realized with a cackle. I am inclined to think that here it serves as a quasi-interjection of comic wonder, approximating in function to αἰβοῖ, and that Phidippides' question should be taken literally: Strepsiades has laughed in his face.

For *Pax*, 1066, see above. At *Av.*, 801, after the termination of the parabasis, the trio consisting of Pisetaerus, Euelpides, and Hoopoe emerge from the door, winged. Pisetaerus immediately announces that he has never seen a more laughable sight. Euelpides: "What are you laughing at?" Pisetaerus: "At

your quills" (I follow the distribution of Blaydes, adopted by Hall and Geldart, but it does not matter much who says what). Does Euelpides' question take its cue from Pisetaerus' remark, or from an actual snort of laughter uttered along with it? Since this is part of the beginning of a new scene, featuring the slow, awkward advance from the rear of the two newly birded men, actual laughter would enliven the proceedings. Furthermore, it would gain time for the audience to get used to the new sight and unburden themselves of their own laughter. But the case for laughter is not as strong as it is in the passages from the *Frogs* and the *Clouds*.

Equ., 696-7: here the evidence is even less clear. Cleon threatens the Salami-man:

I'll rip you off, if I can reach my peak
With packs of lies—or I'll go pack my bag.

All this with the appropriate minatory gestures. The Salami-man's answer is simple; he dances in and out of the territory of the blustering Paphlagonian, with successive jibes presumably delivered on the occasions when he is safely out of reach: "I love your threats," "I laugh at your blather," "I turn my rump on you and shake," and so forth. "I laugh at your blather": is it more than a synonym for looking down his plebeian nose at Cleon's rhetoric? One can do no more than guess, but the staccato clauses, with obvious provision for concomitant and interim acting,¹⁵ make it tempting to suppose that the Salami-man actually laughed.

And that is all. Evidently the incidence of demonstrable laughter in Aristophanic comedy is extremely low. Perhaps this should not cause surprise. The comic hero is, on the whole, more concerned with acting than with re-acting. He is the one that prompts, rather than experiences, the comic situations, hence there is no reason why he should do much laughing. As for the victims of his comic designs, the experience is usually too painful for them to consider laughter. The laughter is to come from the audience. To build it into the stage action on any large scale would dilute the concentration of the verbal

¹⁵ A close parallel: *Vesp.*, 1335-41, where note *λαίβοι, αἰβοῖ*.

and kinetic stimuli calculated to set off the audience's amusement. A theater-goer does not appreciate having his laughs preempted.

Occasionally, however, the comic hero finds himself in a situation in which his schemes have, seemingly, developed beyond his control. It is such a point which appears to have been reached at *Av.*, 1164 when the coryphaeus asks Pisetaerus what he is doing.¹⁶ Perhaps we may be permitted to devise a stage direction along the following lines: "Exit First Messenger. Pisetaerus follows him with his eyes; then screws up his face to scan the sky; turns right; turns left; shakes himself violently; and breaks into salvoes of laughter."

IV. *Av.*, 1072-6.

These are notorious lines. They are the key evidence upon which recent discussions of Diagoras ὁ ἄθεος have rested their conflicting cases.¹⁷ It is hardly likely that further comments will succeed in negotiating the outstanding differences.

But the lines contain two elements which have not, I think, been recognized for the curiosities they are. To take up the lesser of the two first: what is the meaning of τῇδε . . . θῆμ' ἐρα? If we were to take line 1072 literally it should state that on this very day, the day of the performance of the *Birds*, a decree was being published announcing the proscription of Diagoras and of the tyrants. It is tempting to understand τῇδε θῆμ' ἐρα in a more general sense—"these days"—as if proscriptions were in the air, or could be studied on appropriate and accessible

¹⁶ οὗτος τί ποιεῖς; is paralleled in *Pax*, 682: αὐτῇ τί ποιεῖς; But the explanation that follows shows that in Trygaeus' case the query is prompted by an imaginary movement on the part of Eirene. It is the absence of such an explanation at *Av.*, 1164 which suggests the search for an alternative explanation.

¹⁷ The principal treatments are: P. de Koning, *Quaestiones Atticae* (Leiden, 1891), pp. 56-65; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker*, *Gött. Abh.*, IV (1900), no. 3, pp. 80-4; I. Lana, "Diagora di Melo," *Atti Acc. Torino*, LXXXIV (1950), no. 2, pp. 161-205; F. Jacoby, *Diagoras ὁ ἄθεος*, *Abh. Berl. Akad. (Sprache, Literatur u. Kunst)*, 1959, no. 3; F. Wehrli, review of Jacoby, in *Gnomon*, XXXIII (1961), pp. 123-6; L. Woodbury, "The Date and Atheism of Diagoras of Melos," *Phoenix*, XIX (1965), pp. 178-211.

monuments. The ancient commentator (schol. V, *Av.* 1073), with his emphasis on a bronze stele, may have adopted this interpretation. But there is no warrant for it; "today," in Aristophanes, always means "on this very day," usually with reference to the portion of the day that is still ahead. *ἐπαναγορεύεται* is a hapax, but there are no grounds for speculating that its force is much different from that of the simple *ἀναγορεύεται*, which signifies public proclamation. So we can be fairly certain: just after the birds have voiced their pride in the destruction they visit upon the foes of fields and gardens, they open their epirrheme with an acknowledgment of the proclamation against the civic foes that is being issued "on this very day."

Now we know that on the tenth of Elaphebolion, on the day of the procession which preceded the dramatic performances at the Greater Dionysia, the audience was treated to a number of public displays and communications.¹⁸ If we can trust fourth-century authors on matters some of which had in their day become distant memories, the events of the day included such morale-building items as announcements of crowns bestowed on citizens, a parade of orphans in full armor, and the display of tribute from subject states. In this general mood of patriotic celebration, a revoicing of the well-known oath against tyrants, best associated with the annual bouleutic oath,¹⁹ would have introduced a negative note.²⁰ It is even more difficult to imagine that the assembled multitudes would have wanted to bother with a reminder of the shocking casuistry of Diagoras, small fry in-

¹⁸ A. W. Pickard-Cambridge (*supra*, note 9), p. 66; cf. also A. E. Raubitschek, in *T. A. P. A.*, LXXII (1941), pp. 356-62. My decision to associate the patriotic spectacles with the preliminaries of the *πομπή* rather than with the days of the performances flies in the face of Aesch., in *Otes.*, 154, *ταύτη ποτὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μελλόντων ὥσπερ νυνὶ τῶν τραγῳδῶν γίγνεσθαι*. But all that Aeschines is likely to have known is that these things took place at the Dionysia. His further specification is designed to lend color to his argument. Other sources refer more generally to the Dionysia, or to the contest of the tragedians.

¹⁹ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen* (Berlin, 1893), I, p. 54 and n. 23.

²⁰ The decree of Demophantus (*Andoc.*, I, 98) arranged for the oath to be sworn *πρὸ Διονυσίων*. Whether this means "prior to the Dionysia" or "on the day before the dramatic performances," it cannot mean "on the day of performance."

deed, and not calculated to engage religious or communal passions.

In any case, $\tau\eta\delta\epsilon\ \theta\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ does not point to the tenth of Elaphebolion, but to one of the succeeding days, a day of dramatic performances. Modern scholars have been impressed with the difficulty of fitting all the performances of which we have knowledge into the available four or five days. I find it difficult to believe that during those days, days set aside for the celebration of the god through art, time was taken out to pronounce public curses against individual malefactors. Further, it is implausible that Aristophanes should have anticipated a specific announcement as he was writing the play, weeks before the actual presentation. The epirrheme is too much of a piece to make it likely that the first line was added during final rehearsals.

Much of this, obviously, is in the realm of speculation. But enough doubt remains to endow the first line of our passage with an air of unreality. Now to turn to the larger issue: it must be said that lines 1072-6, taken as a whole, are unique in that, on the usual interpretation, they appear to cite a piece of empirical reality that is to serve as a foil for the joke about Philocrates which follows. What Aristophanes does here is to establish a model, ostensibly taken from civic life, before he introduces the comic distortion, Philocrates the Sparrower. The latter is to be dealt with by analogy with the villains whose proscription is cited first. For Aristophanes, the procedure is remarkable. Parody is, of course, one of the principal sources of humor in Old Comedy. Peter Rau's helpful monograph²¹ presents a full score of the fertile variety of butts and take-offs that Aristophanes brings into play. But the usual method of the comedian is to launch the parody, the distortion of the model, without any preparation, and to have the audience recognize the familiar behind the refraction without spelling out the relationship. Here, for once, Aristophanes turns exhaustive, referential. He supplies a photograph before he flashes on the cartoon. Surely the picture of the proscribed Philocrates would automatically have reminded the audience of proscriptions in the world beyond the theater. The normal procedure is illustrated

²¹ P. Rau (*supra*, note 2).

by *Thesm.*, 331 ff., which gives us a women's caucus version of the magistrate's proclamation, without first citing the pertinent paradigm. What is it about the passage in the *Birds* that induces the comic writer to turn circumstantial, and to articulate the normally suppressed 'as'-statement: "You know how we deal with public enemies!"?

The answer must be that our lines do not, after all, signal a paradigm. The joke starts at line 1072, with the mention of "this day," and continues throughout the citation of the supposed model. It has always been felt that the reference to the dead tyrants is jocular: Aristophanes is making fun of the Athenian preoccupation with the old, possibly pre-Solonic²² oath against the tyrants. Even now that the recent sacrileges had caused some Athenians to worry about the possibility of a coup d'état, Aristophanes was unwilling to take the phobia seriously. But what about Diagoras? In the fullest recent treatment of the whole labyrinth of difficulties bedeviling our knowledge of that elusive man of letters, Woodbury²³ argues that the lines about the decree against Diagoras must be taken seriously precisely because the lines about the tyrants cannot be. We need, for the sake of the joke, a contrast between the (realistic) entry about Diagoras and the (distorted) entry about the tyrants. His argument is directed against Jacoby²⁴ who was inclined to believe that in 414 B. C. Diagoras was as dead as the tyrants, and that both conceits were to be relished as nonsense.

It would be pointless to duplicate the massive marshalling of evidence contributed by Woodbury to show that Jacoby's dating of the decree in the year of Diopceithes cannot be right. Given the premises with which Jacoby, Woodbury, and others have worked, the chances are that Jacoby's arguments for a condemnation in 433 cannot be upheld. But I wonder whether, in the light of the very peculiar nature of our passage, we may not be justified in questioning those premises. If the epirrheme is a jest from beginning to end; if, that is, its opener is not the formulation of a paradigm from life, but a piece of travesty,

²² M. Ostwald, in *T. A. P. A.*, LXXXVI (1955), pp. 105-10.

²³ L. Woodbury (*supra*, note 17), pp. 179-81.

²⁴ F. Jacoby (*supra*, note 17), p. 23.

just as distorted in its way as the outlawing of Philocrates that follows, one may ask whether we should take the words about Diagoras any more seriously than similar maledictions called down on intellectuals elsewhere in Aristophanes.

The premise which Woodbury and his predecessors share in common is simply this. We know the proscription of Diagoras to have been a historical fact, for the bronze stele on which it was recorded, and which stood either on the Acropolis or at Eleusis, was seen by everybody, as Jacoby thought,²⁵ or at least by the Atthidographer Melanthius (whose date is contested). It was he who supplied the information to Craterus, who in turn passed it on to Aristarchus, from where it reached Didymus, and ultimately our schoila.

But how certain can we really be that there ever was such a stele? What parallel do we have for the elaborate recording, on precious bronze, of measures taken against a minor poet turned fanatic? We know from Thucydides²⁶ that there was, on the Acropolis, a stele about the tyrants. From the days of Isagoras and Cleomenes on, bronze stelai are associated with the formal outlawing of dangerous politicians eliminated at great risk.²⁷ Did Melanthius perhaps draw his information about the supposed decree against Diagoras from this very passage, combining it with what Thucydides says of the bronze stele about the tyrants, and throwing in Pellene, mentioned at *Birds*, 1421, under circumstances which lent themselves to speculation?²⁸

²⁵ F. Jacoby, p. 23.

²⁶ Thuc., VI, 55, 1; cf. also schol. *Lysistr.*, 273.

²⁷ R. S. Stroud, "A Fragment of an Inscribed Bronze Stele from Athens," *Hesperia*, XXXII (1963), p. 138, n. 1 provides a list of proscribed individuals whose names are said to have been recorded on bronze stelai. Unfortunately our sources are in every case post-classical.—Pollux, X, 97 mentions Attic stelai in Eleusis, recording the auctioned-off property of those who had committed sacrilege. If these inscriptions were anything like our *I. G.*, I², 329 or 330, they cannot have given much satisfaction to a later scholar in search of biographical information.

²⁸ Pellene was the only Argive town which remained hostile to Athens throughout the war: Thuc., II, 9, 2; V, 58, 4; VIII, 3, 2. One wonders how the Athenians could have called on Pellene to accede to extra-

Much less weight should be placed on the circumstance that the terms of the decree against Diagoras cited in schol. V are close to the language of Aristophanes. Aristophanes is an expert in the art of accommodating public language to comic speech, with minimal alterations. Still, we know enough about the way Hellenistic romancers derived their biographical "data" from the fictions created by the dramatists. It is tempting to imagine that whatever information we possess about Diagoras' proscription—and Woodbury shows painstakingly how confused and contradictory that information is—goes back to this passage in Aristophanes. As Jacoby saw, *pace* Wehrli, the association of Diagoras with the desecration of the mysteries in 415 is a consequence of the date of the *Birds*. The stray remark in Lysias' speech against Andocides (6, 18), which links Diagoras' atheism with a general remark about proscribing foreigners, should not be pressed unduly. Doubts about the authenticity of the speech remain, though Dover has demonstrated the flimsiness of some of the criteria that have been used to athetize it.²⁹ Even if it is Lysias', however, we cannot be sure that the remark about extradition and proscription, if it is meant to include Diagoras, is not a further development of *Birds*, 1072 ff., the first of several such developments. Plato's *Apology* teaches us how effectively the comedians could influence their audiences' sense of historical reality.³⁰

But enough of speculation. It is obviously impossible to *prove* that the tradition about Diagoras rests on nothing firmer than an Aristophanic joke, designed to exploit the incongruity of

dition proceedings. Aristophanes mentions Pellene twice. 1: *Lysistr.*, 996: The Spartans are horny; they need Pellene. Schol.: a prostitute.—2: *Av.*, 1421: Pisetaerus to the informer: Are you thinking of flying straight to Pellene? The commentators, relying on a scholion, talk about woollen cloaks given as prizes to victors at Pellenian games. We should confess that both references to Pellene are topical allusions to which we have lost the key. It is of course possible that Diagoras did spend some time in Pellene, whether as the result of having to flee from Athens or not.

²⁹ K. J. Dover, *Lysias and the Corpus Lysiacum* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1968), pp. 78-83 and *passim*.

³⁰ See also the sensible remarks of J. van Leeuwen (*supra*, note 10), p. 167, n. 6.

putting Diagoras in the same category as public enemies of the most dangerous kind. As we cast our eyes once more on the lines under consideration, we might wish to fall in with Whitman's formulation that "the birds pass a decree issuing large rewards to anyone who will slay Diagoras of Melos."³¹ But that will not do; the birds make a point of saying that their own exercise in proscription begins only at 1076. Everything that precedes is the putative model for their action. I hope to have shown how curious a model it is, and how careful we must be not to take its allegations too seriously.³²

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³¹ C. H. Whitman (*supra*, note 3), p. 187.

³² I am grateful to the members of the Berkeley seminar with whom, in the spring of 1971, I read the *Birds*, and who helped me to think about these matters. I wish to thank also my friends Ronald Stroud and Martin Ostwald whose communications should have served to rein in the speculations of section IV.

VERBAL ART IN CATULLUS, 31.

It is fitting to dedicate these remarks on the Sirmio poem of Catullus to Henry T. Rowell, whose sense of setting both in Italy and the other wide ranges of his travels is matched only by his evocation of suitable response from his environment. *Macte uirtute!*

Poem 31 of Catullus, "Paene insularum," has long been regarded as one of his most direct, joyful, and accessible poems.¹ It would seem to demand of the reader no more than an ability to construe the text. However, critics have lately said that the poem has a more complex side. In his recent commentary K. Quinn² directs attention to the fact that "the simple emotions of joy and relief are counterbalanced by a sophisticated, consciously complex formulation." Earlier he wrote³ that 31 is "emphatically not the simple story in praise of Sirmio that it is sometimes carelessly taken to be." Both observations remark upon complexity of structure but do not clarify what the poem is or does. A. G. McKay and D. M. Shepherd⁴ enjoin the student of poem 31 to "discover the elements which contribute to its complexity." Some of the elements which make "Paene insularum" something other than a simple poem in sophisticated dress have already been set forth. M. C. J. Putnam⁵ came close

¹ E. T. Merrill, *Catullus* (Harvard University Press reprint of 1893 ed. [Cambridge, Mass., 1951]), p. 57: "The poem is a most unartificial and joyous pouring out of the poet's warmth of feeling at reaching Sirmio. . . ." This is (inaccurately) quoted by the latest commentary on Catullus, K. Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems* (Macmillan, London, 1970), p. 183. Otto Weinreich, "Catull c. 60," *Hermes*, LXXXVII (1959), on poem 31, p. 86: "hellste Farben, reine Freude."

² See above, note 1.

³ K. Quinn, *The Catullan Revolution* (Melbourne, 1959), pp. 34 ff.; p. 106, n. 9.

⁴ *Roman Lyric Poetry: Catullus and Horace* (New York, 1969), p. 136.

⁵ "Catullus' Journey (*carm.* 4)," *Classical Philology*, LVII (1962), pp. 10 ff., especially pp. 12 f. One may note that in poem 4, 19 the *phaselus* is personified as a faithful retainer and calls Catullus *erus*, parallels with poem 31.

to saying that 31 has a specific sexual implication as well as a sensual tone. R. J. Baker⁶ has also stressed the sexual aspect of Catullus' relation to Sirmio, and has gone on to examine the ambiguous relationship between the *domus*, a powerful recurring symbol in Catullus' poetry, and the returning *erus* (probably *erilis filius*). We can go farther now and assert that poem 31 exhibits both a sexual relationship between 'uenusta Sirmio' and Catullus, as well as ambiguity concerning the nature of the *domus* itself. Further, this relationship and ambiguity can be confirmed by an examination of the poem's structure, syntax, and sound patterns.⁷

Paene insularum, Sirmio, insularumque
 ocelle, quascumque in liquentibus stagnis
 marique uasto fert uterque Neptunus,
 quam te libenter quamque laetus inuiso,
 uix mi ipse credens Thyniam atque Bithynos 5
 liquisse campos et uidere te in tuto.

Quinn⁸ says that these lines portray "C.'s emotions on getting home: an appropriately urbane exposition of the basic data." It seems more complex than that. This first sentence indeed sets

⁶ "Catullus and Friend in *carm.* XXXI," *Mnemosyne*, N. S. IV, XXIII (1970), pp. 33-41.

⁷ In an attempt to profit from relatively complex advances made by Roman Jakobson and other linguistically oriented students of modern literature, J. P. Elder analyzed poem 51 of Catullus, "The 'Figure of Grammar' in Catullus 51," *Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan*, ed. L. Wallach (Ithaca, 1966), pp. 202-9, especially 206. He drew attention to the assignment of certain syntactical units to certain of the poem's strophes, developed an unmistakable sound pattern for the poem by noting the incidence of certain consonants, and elicited a unified reading for all four strophes. My present study owes much to this, and to subsequent work of Roman Jakobson and Lawrence G. Jones; see note 25 below. I am grateful to Mr. C. Greig, Cambridge University Schools Classics Project, for drawing my attention to poem 31; to Professor Mary R. Lefkowitz for many suggestions and much improving criticism; and to Professors Frank O. Copley and Louis A. MacKay for sharing their views on Catullus and the sonnet form. See also my "Poem 31" in *Experiments: Nine Essays on Catullus*, ed. C. Greig (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 36-41.

⁸ See note 1 above.

in motion the principal statement: "how happy I am to gaze upon you, Sirmio, in safety, having traveled from Bithynia." However, the poet does not write it this way. It is more than the exigencies of choliambic meter that result in the shape of these six lines. Sirmio is addressed at the outset as *ocelle*, a term of endearment in relaxed discourse, and one used of a woman. The only other instance of the vocative *ocelle* in Catullus is in 50, 19, used of Licinius Calvus in an erotic sense.⁹ At once Sirmio is no longer a place on the map but a spot in the heart. But most characteristically for Catullus, Sirmio is not merely the *ocellus*; it is the gem of peninsulas and of islands, of whatever peninsula-island groupings 'uterque Neptunus,' Neptune as either sea or fresh-water god, bears both in ample lakes and the expansive sea. Sirmio would have been a place unheard of by a cultivated Roman audience, except perhaps for the provincial Veronese; why does the poet hem the proper noun about with such a weight of alternatives? He has a special, almost human relationship to the place, as we will see in connection with the poem's final sentence. For Catullus, no emotional relationship was without its duality, its potentially dark side. In this poem, Sirmio is not one simple thing.

The second part of the first sentence develops this duality (peninsula / island; lake / sea; both Neptunes) with 'Thyniam atque Bithynos campos.' Catullus was neither ethnologist nor antiquarian, nor is he "whimsically using the high-sounding phrase to express his pleasure at leaving 'the whole place' behind."¹⁰ Rather, he is showing us how he comes from a place viewable in two aspects to another place, his home, similarly viewable. And he assigns to himself the finite verb *inuiso* and also the related infinitive *uidere*. He thus presents himself under two aspects. On the one hand, he gazes at his home; on the other, he scarcely believes that he has left the East and is gazing at Sirmio.

o quid solutis est beatius curis,
cum mens onus reponit, ac peregrino

⁹ See my *Enarratio Catulliana, Supplementa to Mnemosyne*, X (1968), pp. 4 ff.

¹⁰ C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary* (Oxford, 1961), p. 169; cf. Quinn, note 1, above, p. 185: "a piece of learned word-play."

labore fessi uenimus larem ad nostrum,
 desideratoque acquiescimus lecto? 10
 hoc est quod unum est pro laboribus tantis.

The question and answer of lines seven through eleven provide a clue to the duality exhibited in lines one through six. Quinn¹¹ provides the usual interpretation: "analysis and reflection." Other nuances are possible. The poet is generalizing (he uses the first plural, *uenimus*) but also particularizing himself, as in *desiderato lecto*, which in turn speaks to the female aspect of Sirmio elicited by addressing it as *ocelle*. The poet in the second sentence, the question, marks himself off from preoccupations, the *solutis curis* of line seven, which themselves have a sensuous touch, in the sense of *curae* as "longings." He goes on to mention the burden which is extraneous to the mind, and "foreign exertion." The collocation of *peregrino* and *nostrum*, at the end of their lines, and the repetition of the important nouns *labore* and *laboribus*, are typical of the way Catullus uses word order to reinforce sense. So too Sirmio in line one is exactly poised between peninsulas and islands. Catullus implies that nothing is better than divesting oneself of foreign or extraneous strivings, and resting in the longed-for bed. 'hoc est quod unum est pro laboribus tantis.' The use of *unum* highlights the duality present until the poet is at rest, and at one with himself. Tibullus, I, 1, 43 ff., is more explicit about why the *lectus* is *desideratus*: 'satis est, requiescere lecto / si licet et solito membra leuare toro. / quam iuuat immites uentos audire cubantem / et dominam tenero continuisse sinu. . . .'¹²

One recent critic has seen Sirmio as personally dear to Catullus like a woman, and as solace for the death of the poet's brother. By re-uniting with Sirmio, Catullus reconstitutes the *domus* of his affection and of his love for both Lesbia and his brother.¹³

¹¹ See note 1 above.

¹² One might contrast the use of *erus* in Catullus, the self-preoccupied lover, and *domina* in the outward-looking Tibullus. The importance of the bed is also signalized by the absence of the pervasive *q/c* sound of the poem only in line nine, the "approach" to the bed. For *curae* as love longings, see my *Numen Litterarum, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte*, Band V (Leiden, Köln, 1971), p. 35.

¹³ Baker, *op. cit.*, note 6 above, p. 40, and p. 38: "Not before Sirmio has received him into intimate relationship once more. . . ."

One can go farther than these hints to elucidate line eleven, to assess the importance of this line in the poem and to say more precisely what *hoc unum* may be. The poet does not end with unity, however.

salve, o uenusta Sirmio, atque ero gaude
gaudente; uosque, o Lydiae lacus undae,
ridete quidquid est domi cachinnorum.

Quinn asserts: "salutation: master greets old retainer."¹⁴ Catullus now implies that his joy is great, that he is 'erus gaudens,' whose pleasure generates the imperative to Sirmio, now called *uenusta*, "having the sensual allure of Venus," used of both men and women by Catullus.¹⁵ The poet has not explicitly personified Sirmio as an attractive woman (conceivably a male slave might also be meant) but he has made it very natural for us so to see her by using *ocelle* and *uenusta*. She is the reason why he is happy; she is his home, and suggests to Catullus a sexual longing to unite with herself in the desired bed. Their unity, however, does not abide; two imperatives, *salve* and *gaude*, are addressed to *uenusta Sirmio*, but the last, *ridete*, line fourteen, opens the poem out. Quinn¹⁶ remarks of *Lydiae*: "a final piece of learning." Surely the lake's waves are called Lydian because the Etruscans, who had hegemony over the Po basin for centuries, were thought to have come from Asia Minor; thus the first masters of the lake's waters have made the same journey as their present master, Catullus. This constitutes another duality. The lake and the home are also differentiated, but unified in the emotional release of joy in Catullus' joy. So too, the waves and the laughs, 'quidquid est cachinnorum,' are separated, but of course are the same thing, breaking waves.¹⁷ The *lacus* and the *domus*, the *undae* and the *cachinni*, all

¹⁴ Quinn, note 1 above. Does his adjective "old" indicate age or familiarity, e. g., "dear old boy"?

¹⁵ *uenusta* used of a woman in Catullus, 89, 2 (sister of Gellius), and of men in 3, 2, 'hominum uenustiorum,' 13, 6 (Fabullus), 22, 2 (Suffenus), and 97, 9 (Aemilius' self-image), all indications of charm and quality, either actually ascribed by Catullus or ironically applied.

¹⁶ See note 1 above.

¹⁷ See Catullus 64, 273; Lucretius, II, 559 and V, 1005.

coalesce into one thing, *unum*: the poet's happiness projected upon his environment.

One might be tempted to see an unambiguous duality in the poem's concluding presentation of an apparently unflawed and responsive *domus*. However, *quidquid* raises a special problem. To be sure, it balances 'uterque' in line three, expressive of duality. Is hearty, spontaneous laughter, *cachinni*, in short supply? It may be facile to dismiss 'quidquid est domi cachinnorum' as "this favorite idiom of Catullus"¹⁸ and to distinguish too rigidly between the waves' home and the poet's. The *domus* for Catullus is a powerful symbol precisely because it can so easily be profaned by treason or death. The poet may be showing here his less than complete trust and expectation of nothing but generous response from the household at his homecoming. No Agamemnon or Odysseus, but rather a forerunner of the ambiguous Hölderlin on the Bodensee approaching Lindau,¹⁹ Catullus knows the abiding power of *curae, onus, labores*. The brother's death²⁰ surely lies hidden among these. So too more explicitly does his own task of writing poetry, and both Neptunes' task. Further, *laboribus tantis* includes going to Bithynia as well as returning, and all the intervening activity. Union with Sirmio the beloved is the one thing that counterbalances gratuitous expense of energy. She was there all along; or was she? "We shall not cease from exploration / and the end of all our exploring / will be to arrive where we started / and know the place for the first time."²¹

The antithesis of this meditation upon the whole man in his *domus* was brought out elsewhere by Catullus in poem 63, where Attis, crazed by Magna Mater, is forever separated from his self and his home. The *domus* for Catullus is indeed a powerful symbol of continuity, stability, and happiness, never fully achieved.²² Even at its most inviting, as in poem 31, home is

¹⁸ Fordyce, *op. cit.*, note 10 above, p. 170.

¹⁹ See the poem "Heimkunft / An die Verwandten," printed in the excellent critical essay by Martin Heidegger, *Erläuterungen zu Hölderlins Dichtung* (Frankfurt, 1951), pp. 9 ff., especially "Was du suchest, es ist nahe, begegnet dir schon."

²⁰ See Baker, *op. cit.*, note 6 above.

²¹ T. S. Eliot, "Little Gidding."

²² See also Catullus, 68, 20 ff.

not consistently presented as *unum*, but changes, like the weather of the lake.²³

Poem 31 is usually divided into three sections: I. 1-6: "Sirmio, how happy I am to gaze at you"; II. 7-11: "what is better than to rest in bed after casting off one's burdens; this alone justifies so much labor"; III. 12-14: "rejoice in your master, Sirmio, and you waves too."²⁴ This division is stressed by syntactic structure as well as sound patterns.²⁵ The poem's division into these three sections lends special importance to line eleven. The threefold division of poem 31 is signalled in the following ways, with the text reading *gaudente* in line thirteen.²⁶ One might call section I the centripetal section; II, the center; and III, the centrifugal section.²⁷

There is some evidence that Catullus assigned Section I a sound pattern that is different from that of Section II. Lines five and six have the same vowels in their first three syllables (*i, i, e*) and in their last four syllables (*e, i, u, o*). Likewise, Sections I and II are linked in sound by line eleven's repetition of sounds found in line two (first two and last four syllables in each) and by the rhymes *-ibus stagnis / -ibus tantis*. Sections I and II are dissimilar to section III in that they have repeated rhymes establishing a convincing associative pattern: *insu-*

²³ Quinn, *op. cit.*, note 1 above, pp. 184, 187, sees ambiguity in *domi*, line 14, but of a trivial sort: 1. "in the house;" 2. "on command." For Quinn, the deepest ambiguity of the poem is the personification of Sirmio, "exploited ironically" by the poem's suggestion that Sirmio is a real person. Why ironic? May poets not be allowed by their commentator to mean what they say?

²⁴ So paragraphed even by M. Schuster, *Catulli Veronensis Liber* (Teubner, Leipzig, 2nd ed., 1958) although he reads *gaudete*, line 13, and so divided by Quinn, note 1 above.

²⁵ See J. P. Elder, *op. cit.*, note 7 above; cf. his observations in "Notes on some Conscious and Subconscious Elements in Catullus' Poetry," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LX (1951), pp. 101-36, especially p. 115. I have found great help and insight in Roman Jakobson and Lawrence G. Jones, *Shakespeare's Verbal Art in Th'Expende of Spirit, De Proprietatibus Litterarum*, Series Practica, XXXV (The Hague, Paris, 1970).

²⁶ On Bergk's and Mynors' *gaudente* see G. P. Goold, "A New Text of Catullus," *Phoenix*, XII (1958), p. 94.

²⁷ Jakobson and Jones, *op. cit.*, note 25 above, p. 10 and *passim*.

larum / insularum-; *quam / quam*; *Thun-/thun-*; *-is /-is*; *-to /-to*; *-est /-est* (lines one, four, five, seven, ten, and eleven). Further, sections I and II are different from Section III in that lines four, six, eight, and ten end in the rhyme *-o*.

Just as Section I is marked off from II and III by these and other recognizable, functional patterns of association, so I is linked to III by some sound similarities. For instance, the sentences in I and III begin only with consonants, while those in II begin only with vowels. Sections I and III are progressive grammatical structures with clauses, while II is simple declaration / question. Finally, animate nouns and pronouns are found only in I and III. Thus both interaction and contrast can be seen in these three sections underpinning their individuality.

There is present in this poem another framing device setting off a central portion of text: the last word in the first and last three lines of the poem (all referring to water) are the only places where the final syllables of each line do not alternate open (o) and closed (c) syllables. The open / closed syllable pattern in this poem constitutes a new structure framing the poem's sections in a way different from the sentence and sound patterns just considered, but also working along contentual lines as well as sound patterns. An antithetical chiastic structure is easily discerned in the following schema of each line's final syllable as open or closed: 1, o/14, c; 2, c/13, o; 3, c/12, o; 4, o/11, c; 5, c/10, o; 6, o/9, c; 7, c/8, o. This "recessed panel" formation is made up of a linking of binary opposites; in Section II as analyzed above, a regular chiastic order may be seen: 7, c; 8, o; 9, c; 10, o; 11, c, with rhyme (*-o*) reinforcing the pattern in each open syllable.

One might object that such sound patterning is fortuitous in an inflected language like Latin, and that exigencies of meter and of syntax, and choice of diction remarkably close to vernacular Latin of the poet's time, obviate such *recherché* patterns as those suggested here. To this one may reply that at least the open / closed pattern is too regular to be gratuitous and too avoidable in principle to be a constraint of subject matter or meter. This pattern reinforces the sense of the poem by differentiating in sound and syntax that part of the poem present-

ing Catullus' own experience in past and present. If the poet, as seems likely, is working with a pattern of open / closed syllables, he may be doing something analogous with other sound patterns. We can observe these and say that they contribute to the poem's special texture and help suggest its structure, at least for the modern audience. Also, they underline a sharp break at the end of line eleven, and constitute verbal artistry, "grammar of poetry," whether instinctive or overconscious.

A few things can be asserted about the structural, sound, and semantic parallels in this poem. Section I is a statement. Section II is an elaboration. Section III is a restatement (or peroration) which avoids or rejects the idiosyncratic syntax, sound, and hence meaning of Section II, by returning to the syntactic and sound patterns and imagery of Section I. Section II is central; Section I leads to it and III leads away from it back to I. At the point where the centrifugal section is to begin, that is, at the end of line eleven, there is a sharp break in the poem's multilevelled structure. Line eleven is of the highest structural importance because it signals the forthcoming return to the patterns of I. It is of the highest semantic significance because it summarizes Catullus' experience in the poem, and tells us what it is that justifies it.

It is perhaps at first glance curious that the choliambic meter, usually associated with complaint or invective, is assigned the task of achieving so complex a poem as this. Catullus uses the choliambic meter in seven other poems besides 31. Of these three are invective or satirical attacks, viz., 37, "*Salax taberna*"; 39, "*Egnatius*"; and 59, "*Bononiensis Rufa*"; one is a vehicle for literary criticism as well as personal affront, 22, "*Suffenus iste*"; one is concerned with elegance of expression as well as social, even malicious, communication and literary criticism, 44, "*O funde noster*," and perhaps should be classed with 22. The remaining two, 8, "*Miser Catulle*," and 60, "*Num te leaena montibus*," deal with the poet's self in love. The lighter satirical attacks (37, 39, and 59) may be compared for analogues with the fragmentary choliambics of Hipponax, Callimachus' Iamb I, and Theocritus' epitaph of Hipponax, Epigram XIX. Those on literary matters and social intercourse (22 and 44) with the poet present and speaking recall

Callimachus' iambics conveying literary criticism (Iamb I again, and XIII with its self-defense), a propempticon (Iamb VI), and a birthday poem (Iamb XII) where the tone is light and the mood jocular. This leaves 8, 31, and 60.

Poem 60, set by someone to make a prominent and unique conjoining of poems in choliambics in the corpus, and the last of Catullus' polymetric poems,²⁸ is "more characteristic of the high style of epic or epyllion"²⁹ than of irony or invective. Like other choliambic verse, such as poem 8, 60 is perhaps an attack as well as a reproach to someone. However, its brief expressive force is unusually tuned, for this meter, to a serious network, e. g., 64, 154-7,³⁰ which tends to make one linger over 60 rather than, say, 37, 39, or 59.

Critics react in varying ways to poem 8. Macaulay could not read it without tears, and commentators³¹ stress sincerity. Baehrens speaks of the poet as "a Lesbia desertus et totus infelix adfectusque." His remark about the generic aspect of the poem's meter is germane: "iratus igitur noster quippe recusationem non intellegens hos iambos in Lesbiam facit, tristem vitam et infamia coopertam, quam iam victura sit, ei ob oculos ponens."³² One might even further remark that though these nineteen choliambic lines attack in some oblique way the *amata*, they more directly portray the wavering Catullus, bidding himself first to be strong, then, with increasingly particularized detail and inflammation, falling under the beloved's sway once more.³³ It is not amiss to see in poem 8 the

²⁸ O. Weinreich, *op. cit.*, note 1 above, discusses, pp. 75-90, poem 60 and the other choliambics; on the arrangement of these see pp. 86 ff. For another thematic significance of 31's context in the corpus, see T. R. Wiseman, *Catullan Questions* (Leicester, 1969), *passim*. Weinreich persuasively says that poem 60 is addressed to Lesbia. It does not vitiate his thesis to see the beginnings of dark coloring in a choliambic "sequence" in 31.

²⁹ Quinn, *op. cit.*, note 1 above, p. 263.

³⁰ See Weinreich, *op. cit.*, note 1 above, p. 76.

³¹ E. g., Fordyce, *op. cit.*, note 10 above, p. 110.

³² A. Baehrens, *Catulli Veronensis Liber*, II (Leipzig, 1885), p. 111.

³³ Poem 8 is most skilfully composed. One might note the pattern established in the succeeding lines by the letter *l*, and also the semantic collocation of words with double *l*. These, in order, are: 'Catulle, puella, nulla, illa, puella, illa, puella, Catullus, nulla, bella, labella,

playful mood of the poet showing his own inability to keep his mind off the girl as he pictures in increasing detail the neutral 'quae tibi manet uita?'⁸⁴ There is self-irony as well as self-defense.

Poems 60 and 8, then, use the choliambic meter for messages which have a serious side. Poem 31 is the only choliambic verse addressing primarily and explicitly the beloved. Like 8 it moves from direct address to command. I should like to suggest that 31 fulfills its choliambic responsibilities by portraying a fanciful picture of Catullus the *erūs gaudens* clasping his beloved Sirmio closely to himself in bed. One might compare Callimachus, Iamb IX, ithyphallic Hermes and the lover of Philetadas. Poem 60 enunciates in passionate mode the theme of responsiveness to love, as poem 8 takes its serious aspect from the emotional impact of *miser Catulle*, and the *candidi soles* that are gone.

Poem 31, suggesting Sirmio and Catullus in close embrace reconstituting their *domus*, exemplifies duality's role and the value of *labor*. It further suggests that even this exaggerated picture of Catullus (like poem 50, "Hesterno, Licini, die,")⁸⁵ is not unflawed, and that the *domus* has potentially dark aspects. It is likely that Catullus experimented with iambic verse in 8, 31, and 60 in an attempt to create a new role for the choliambic meter, an extension beyond invective and literary criticism in polite society, into the frontiers of serious self-expression. We know that Catullus did something like this for the epigram. We are beginning to see how Catullus uses polymetric verse to go beyond epigram and its traditional subjects and stratagems.⁸⁶ It remains to see how poem 31 in its interactive arrangement of Sections I, II, and III may constitute a prototype of the sonnet form.

Catulle.' This is virtually the line of the emotional dynamics of the poem. See also J. P. Elder, *op. cit.*, note 25 above, pp. 116 f. for sound patterns.

⁸⁴ See D. O. Ross Jr., *Style and Tradition in Catullus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 171: poem 8 "seems to suggest continually changing and expanding possibilities of mood and expression." One might say that poem 31 shapes and controls these possibilities.

⁸⁵ See note 9 above.

⁸⁶ Ross, *op. cit.*, note 37 above.

L. A. Moritz has written of poem 13, "Cenabis bene,"³⁷ "Its length is that of a sonnet, and though it is hardly a sonnet in any other sense, it has the sonnet's main structure of 8 plus 6 lines. (Poem 31, another 14-line poem which, perhaps, is more like a sonnet in feeling, has the reverse structure of 6 plus 8.)" This structure could be seen if one were to divide poem 31 so: 6 plus (5 plus 3); but it is now evident that lines seven through fourteen do not form a syntactic or sound unit. However, it is possible to see in poem 31 the beginnings of the sonnet form.

There are two other fourteen-line poems by Catullus besides 31.³⁸ Poem 13, "Cenabis bene," hendecasyllabic, exhibits a division of 5 plus 5 plus 4, remotely Keatsian. Poem 16, "Pedicabo uos," also but not coincidentally hendecasyllabic, could have a Petrarchan scheme of 8 (4 plus 4) plus 6.³⁹ Poem 31, sharing nothing with 13 and 16 except fourteen-line format, may not usefully be called a sonnet. It is more accurate philologically to see a rhetorical patterning of semantics here, statement / elaboration / restatement.⁴⁰ The sonnet in English and Italian (after risqué beginnings) displays an affinity for personal experiences, reaction to landscape, moral meditations, and sometimes myth as well as love. Like Catullus 31, the sonnet also works in small reactive units congenial to or even generating brief interacting statements in short scope. Readers follow, react, sense heightened tension, contradiction, and ambiguity, and are left with the experience of verbal art of a high order. The incipient sonnet form in poem 31 may be taken as suggestive confirmation of the text's shifting moods, inasmuch as later sonnets exploit consistently and fully this structural possibility.

³⁷ *Experiments*, note 7 above, p. 35.

³⁸ Horace similarly in the *Odes* works in four-line units, even in I, 3.

³⁹ Petrarch knew Catullus; see Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (Paris, 1907), I, pp. 165-70; II, p. 239; cf. W. G. Hale, *C. R.*, XX (1906), pp. 160-4 on Petrarch's MS of Catullus, our Oxoniensis. In thirteenth-century Sicily the 8 plus 6 sonnet first appears, very often obscene; perhaps the Catullan connection eventually will be explored.

⁴⁰ For rhetoric's bearing on Catullus, see H. Bardon, *L'art de la composition chez Catulle* (Paris, 1943); on poem 31, p. 14, n. 2; cf. pp. 10, 69; on poem 8, p. 22.

Both meter and the proto-sonnet form of poem 31 reinforce the semantic content and the sound and syntactic patterns of this poem. It may now be evident that Catullus consciously used choliambic meter and this fourteen-line form to make a highly complex and structured text, whilst retaining the jaunty and light tone appropriate for that meter. Indeed, the bravura and surface joy of poem 31 are an excellent foil for the labor of ambiguity and of love.

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SENIORES—IUNIORES IN THE LATE-ROMAN FIELD ARMY.¹

*... partiti sunt comites . . . militares partiti sunt numeri
... diviso palatio ut potiori placuerat, Valentinianus Medio-
lanum, Constantinopolim Valens discessit.*

In these words, Ammianus Marcellinus describes the division of generals, regiments, and civil administration, between the brothers Valentinian and Valens in June 364.² Henceforth, east and west had an army and *Augustus* of its own: no new arrangement, but now made permanent.³ In 364, Ammianus

¹ Expanded from a paper read in San Francisco, on December 28th 1969, to the American Philological Association. I was then a visiting assistant professor at Cornell University, and would thank my pupils and colleagues for their hospitality. I also thank Professor Birley and his colleagues at Durham University, who kindly read the final draft. See NOTE at end of this article, p. 278.

Ammianus is cited from the edition of C. U. Clark (1910 and 1915, reprinted 1963), and the *Notitia* from that of O. Seeck (1876, reprinted 1962). Regiments named by Ammianus (with references) will be found in Appendix i. Those named by the *Notitia* will be found in Seeck's excellent indices, where I have noted only two errors, in the reference to *comites sagittarii iuniores* (p. 319) and to the *Antianenses* (p. 320).

² Amm., XXVI, 5, 1-4. The army was divided at Mediana, a suburb of Naissus (Nish, Yugoslavia), where Valentinian spent most of June 364 (*C. Th.*, I, 6, 2, etc.).

³ Cf. E. Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* (1930), especially pp. 140-1; and note 21 below. Valentinianic propaganda stresses imperial unity, by shared coin-types and legends (*CONCORDIA* is conspicuous by its absence), and in panegyric: Themistius, 76AB; Symmachus, *Or.*, I, 13.

had probably just left the army in which he had served over ten years, in the east, in Gaul, and on the Persian expedition. In retirement, whether he was travelling or living in Antioch and Rome, he must have added many eye-witness accounts to his own experiences. In his lifetime, he witnessed the struggle to maintain Roman frontiers against almost continual attack. He recorded the great achievements of Constantius II, Julian, and Valentinian; Julian's foolish invasion of Persia; and the crowning disaster of Adrianople (378) with which his History ends. Part was published by 392, and the whole by *ca.* 395 (the exact date is unknown).⁴ When Theodosius died in 395, the Empire was divided between his two sons. The eastern frontier was secured by an agreement with Persia, but the Danube had been lost for ever, the Rhine was held almost by courtesy of Franks and Alamanni, and Roman authority was receding from Britain. The Goths could roam the Balkans at will, brigandage and heresy were endemic, and a disaffected peasantry was ready to rebel, or at least to collaborate with invaders. The Empire's precarious stability largely depended on the army, whose *limitanei* would not usually go far from their fortified bases along the frontiers and lines of communication, but whose "field armies" (regiments *palatini* and *comitatenses*) were concentrated strategically ready to move fast and far in emergency. The latter regiments are the subject of this paper, for only they carry (sometimes) the supplementary title of *seniores* or *iuniores*.⁵ Ammianus names over thirty, but is explicitly aware of

⁴ A *terminus ante quem* of 396 is "conceded" by R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (1968), p. 18, in a critical review of O. J. Maenchen-Helfen, *A. J. P.*, LXXVI (1955), pp. 384-99. A slightly earlier date is not proven.

⁵ The only 4th century exceptions are the obsolete *milites iuniores Italici* (note 38 below), and the three *equites Stablesiani* in Raetia. Now the Raetia chapter (*Occ.* 35) is unique among the Danubian ducates in showing "Stilliconian" revision: its senior officials are drawn from the offices of the *magistri militum praesentales*. Also it lacks the many *cunei equitum* and *auxilia* of the other ducates, the *Stablesiani* being the only cavalry unit of post-*ala* type. They were probably drafted in from the field armies, to remedy the frontier's weakness in cavalry (Amm., XVIII, 8, 2 for a Mesopotamian instance): a practice well-attested in the 5th century East, *C. J.*, XII, 35, 18 (492) and, earlier, Synesius, *Ep.* 78, but how far it was followed in the West is uncertain (see E. Stein, *BRGK.*, XVIII [1928], pp. 92 ff.). This may have hap-

this distinction only once. He is almost unique among fourth century writers in actually naming regiments. As a retired officer, he may have respected their *esprit de corps*. He does, however, have a literary-minded historian's distaste for "unclassical" military terminology.⁶ *miles quondam et Graecus*.

The *Notitia Dignitatum*, as a catalogue of high offices in east and west, incidentally names with full title the regiments of the various field armies. It was probably compiled soon after 395.⁷ The eastern lists show no sign of later revision, but the western have been kept "up to date" until ca. 420. Both, however, incorporate obsolete material, including the titles of long-dead regiments.⁸ Western regiments are listed twice: first as

opened late in the 4th century: the strategic road-centre of *Pons Aeni*, from which the *equites Stablesiani iuniores* have been posted, had already had two previous garrisons in the 4th century—a cavalry regiment in 310, *comitatenses* as it happens (*C.I.L.*, III, 5565), and the *Pontinenses* (or *Pontennenses*), now *pseudocomitatenses* in Italy.

⁶ Averil and Alan Cameron, *O. Q.*, n. s. XIV (1964), p. 326. Ammianus' inexact terminology is exhaustively surveyed by A. Müller, *Philologus*, n. s. XVIII (1905), pp. 574 ff. Even in regiment-titles he is not always explicit: neither he (XXIV, 1, 2) nor Zosimus (III, 14, 1) specifies the 1500 troops screening the Roman army's advance down the Euphrates, which were in fact drawn from the *Lanciarrii* and *Mattiarrii* (Malalas, ed. Dindorf, p. 330, 2 ff.). Libanius, however, can relate Julian's military career without naming a single regiment (*Or.* 18), and Julian himself names only the pair which made him Emperor (283B).

⁷ A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (1964), III, pp. 347 ff. I owe much to his note (pp. 356-7) on the division of the *comitatus* in 365 (*sic*).

⁸ The regiments *per lineam valli* surveyed by S. Frere, *Britannia* (1967), pp. 230 ff., need not be the only "ghosts." Other chapters actually contain newly-added regiments side by side with dead ones. Thus the army of the *comes Africae* (*Occ.* 7, 140 ff., 179 ff.), while containing *Honoriani*, also contains two regiments destroyed in 373, the *equites iv sagittarii* and the *Constantiaci*. The *dux Mesopotamiae* (*Or.* 36), whose chapter contains a "Theodosian" item (*ibid.*, 20), is credited with the *legiones* I and II *Parthica*, destroyed in 359. Yet V *Parthica*, another casualty of that year, has been deleted. The rubric *item pseudocomitatenses* (*Or.* 7, 48) is the earliest instance of this title (*pace* A. H. M. Jones, *L.R.E.*, II, p. 609), for the *legio* II *Armeniaca* (*ibid.*, 50) had been lost in 359, while its companion I *Armeniaca* (*ibid.*, 49) survived 363 (Malalas, p. 332, 9). *Legio* I *Isaura sagittaria* was not added before 354 (Amm., XIV, 2, 14 with *Or.* 29, 7-8), nor the *ballistarii Theodosiaci* before 379.

infantry or cavalry under the appropriate *magister* at Court (*Occ.* 5 and 6); and second (*Occ.* 7), again as infantry or cavalry, under the appropriate field army commander, in Italy, western Illyricum, Gaul, Spain, Tingitania, Africa, and Britain. The two lists were kept up independently, and so serve as some check on each other; they also show discrepancies, sometimes only in the wording of a title, but more often because of cross-postings and insertion of new regiments.⁹ The eastern order of battle is less centralised. Two armies (*Or.* 5 and 6), both of infantry and cavalry, are attached to the Court, recently drawn from separate armies of infantry and cavalry like the western.¹⁰ The other regiments are divided among three field armies, *per Orientem* (*Or.* 7), in Thrace (*Or.* 8), and in eastern Illyricum (*Or.* 9). Each regiment is named only once.

Independent record survives of two armies concentrated in north Italy at the end of the fourth century. The poet Claudian ingeniously names seven regiments which campaigned against Gildo in 398.¹¹ Like Ammianus, he eschews the unpoetical detail of whether they were *seniores* or *iuniores*, but all seven may be identified in the *Notitia*. Only four, however, are certainly in north Italy; a fifth is in Gaul, and the other two in Spain. Yet two of this trio were once in north Italy, for they occur among the regiments known at Concordia (just west of Aquileia). The epitaphs of its early Christian cemetery include a remarkable group of 38, which name between them 22 regi-

⁹ Tabulated in A. H. M. Jones, *L.R.E.*, III, p. 361.

¹⁰ As late as 388, Theodosius still followed Valens in having a *magister peditum praesentalis* and a *magister equitum praesentalis* (Zos., IV, 45, 2; cf. *C.Th.*, IV, 17, 5 [386]), but by 391 had adopted the system of two *magistri militum praesentales* (*C.Th.*, VII, 1, 13; cf. Zos., IV, 27). See Mommsen, *Ges. Schriften*, IV, pp. 550-1.

If the lists of the two eastern praesental armies are laid side by side, it is at once obvious that many "pairings" have been broken, which we know once existed, either from Ammianus, or by analogy with the western lists: e.g. the *equites Promoti seniores* (*Or.* 5, 28) with the *Comites seniores* (*Or.* 6, 28), cf. Amm., XV, 4, 10 and *Occ.* 6, 43-4 = 7, 159-60.

¹¹ *Bellum Gildonicum*, I, 415-23. The regiments named (with their probable identification) are the *Ioviani* and *Herculiani* (*seniores*, Italy); *Nervii* (*sagittarii Nervii*, Spain/Concordia); *Felices* (*seniores*, Italy); *legio Augusta* (VIII *Augusta*, i.e. *Octavani*, Italy); *Invioti* (*seniores*, Spain); *Leones* (either *iuniores*, Italy; or *seniores*, Gaul/Concordia).

ments, almost all of field army rank. These may represent an army cantoned there by Theodosius in winter 394/5, or perhaps a longer accumulation from units active in northeastern Italy, from the 380's into the early fifth century.¹²

Other evidence is slight, but valuable in confirmation. A few inscriptions survive, mostly scattered epitaphs of *comitatenses*, brief, and generally undatable. The crack regiment of the *Ioviani* is best represented, with corpses at Trier, Arles, Milan, Aquileia (a man from Sirmium), Concordia, and Antioch.¹³

Late-Roman regiment-titles show a certain pleasing imagination, but it is limited. Many express military function or armament (*balistarii*, *clibanarii*, *catafractarii*), trailing off into the ornamental (*insidiatores*, *propugnatores*) and optimistic (*victores*, *invicti*). Ethnic titles are common as in the Principate, deriving from the original source of recruitment (*Atecotti*, *Eruli*, *Brisigavi*). Others recall a frontier-station, whether the regiment there has been promoted to the field army (*Seguntienses*, *Acincenses*) or provides a detachment named by the parent-legion's nickname (*Divitenses*, *Moesiaci*).¹⁴ Other legionary detachments keep their parent's number (*Septimani*, *Octavani*). Regiments can only be dated if named after an emperor (presumably on recruitment, though sometimes perhaps to honour an existing unit): the famous *Ioviani* and *Herculiani* were named by Diocletian and Maximian after their tutelary gods,¹⁵ and the lists are full of *Constantiniani*, *Valentinianenses*, *Theodosiani*, *Honoriani*, etc. Regiments often bear titles formed by combining elements: *sagittarii Nervii*, *comites Arcadiaci*, etc. When the suffix *seniores* or *iuniores* occurs, it always supplements the title, coming last word, as in *Ascarii Honoriani*

¹² Published accurately for the first time, with ample commentary, by D. Hoffmann, *Museum Helveticum*, XX (1963), pp. 22-57. His date of 394/5 is open to doubt (Appendix ii).

¹³ Appendix iii.

¹⁴ E.g. *Seguntienses*, C. E. Stevens, *Arch. Journal*, XCVII (1940), p. 134. *Divitenses*, *I. L. S.*, 2346 and 2777.

¹⁵ Zos., III, 30, 2; cf. Sozomen, VI, 6, 4 (ed. Bidez, p. 244, 4). Vegetius says (I, 17), however, that they were originally two legions of *Mattiobarbuli* in Illyricum, honoured by Diocletian and Maximian. Earlier legions certainly gained dynastic titles during their career, usually for loyalty in time of rebellion, and so a 4th century dynastic title is not necessarily sure criterion of date of recruitment.

seniores. A few regiments, mostly *iuniores*, have gained an extra geographical suffix, evidently from service within the region named, like the *Victores iuniores Britannici* in Britain.¹⁶

The *seniores*—*iuniores* suffix distinguishes two regiments that would otherwise have been homonyms, as is obvious from the *Notitia* indices. At Concordia, 27 sarcophagi name regiments we know from the *Notitia* to have had homonyms, and in 20 cases a suffix is duly added. It is added without exception in the seven epitaphs of men from the *Batavi superiores*; and, significantly, in those of two men from the *Mattiaci superiores* and two veterans of the *Mattiaci iuniores*. Ammianus uses the suffix only once, however, to speak of the *Divitenses Tungreicanosque iuniores* who proclaimed Procopius. At their second appearance, the *Divitenses* are unqualified.¹⁷ At this very time, a “brigade” of *Divitenses*—*Tungrecani* was operating in Gaul, and it is only from the *Notitia* that we can deduce they were the *seniores*. Other pairs of homonyms lurk in Ammianus’ narrative. The distinction seems official, for it is observed in the “Army List” and in a cemetery where soldiers buried their comrades, but ignored by literary-minded people like Ammianus and Claudian. Even the *Notitia* shows a late-Roman tendency to abbreviate regiment-titles (as in the illustration-captions), and, where homonyms served in different armies, the distinction would be unnecessary in day to day usage.

The *Notitia*’s homonyms tend to fall into *seniores*—*iuniores* pairs, rather more than fifty basic titles being so distinguished, but the pattern is hard to follow. Some *seniores* or *iuniores* have lost their complement, no doubt because it has been destroyed. This is clearly true of the lone *Divitenses*—*Tungrecani superiores*, whose missing *iuniores* must have been disbanded by Valens for treason. Sometimes there are two *seniores* or two *iuniores* (or both), but never such that there is a pair of exact homonyms, suffix and all, of equal rank within the same half of the Empire.¹⁸

¹⁶ Appendix iv.

¹⁷ Ammianus’ characteristic omission of *iuniores* (XXVI, 7, 14) led Clark to insert a comma between *Divitenses* and *Tungreicanosque* XXVI, 6, 12). The *Notitia* (cf. Appendix v) confirms that this was a pair of *iuniores*.

¹⁸ Apparent exceptions are due to duplication of regiments in *Ooc.*, 7 because of cross-postings (n.9 above), or due to slight variations in title between *Ooc.* 5/6 and 7.

It cannot be coincidence that homonyms fall mostly into pairs of regiments of equal rank.¹⁹ This is surely because each derived from a unique regiment that pre-existed them. Appendix v summarises the careers of five brigades known from Ammianus, despite his confusing habit of speaking of a regiment always as if it were the only one of the name. All ten regiments, we know from the *Notitia*, were divided into *seniores* and *iuniores*. We know from Ammianus that the *Ioviani—Herculiani*, the *Celtae—Petulantes*, and probably the *Iovii—Victores*, were not divided before 364; the *Eruli—Batavi* not before 361 (if not 363). The *Divitenses—Tungrecani* and *Eruli—Batavi* were divided by 365; and the *Iovii—Victores* by 367. The *scolae* of the *Gentiles* and *Scutarii* had already been divided by Constantius II with his junior colleagues, but not necessarily by *seniores—iuniores* division. A third *scola* and seven other regiments so divided in the *Notitia* are named by Ammianus, but without adequate evidence of division.

The *Notitia* offers only a confused picture of how regiments were divided geographically,²⁰ for it is a rather later document, when "twins" have been destroyed, and regiments transferred to new groupings. At least 11 have been divided between east and west, 9 (and probably all) securely pre-364 in origin. Well over 20 have been divided within the west, rather fewer in the east, precise totals being impossible. Of these latter, 12 are securely post-364. This is corroborative evidence of the date of division.

The division of regiments might be expected to coincide with the definitive division of the army between east and west in 364. This date fits the evidence of Ammianus very well. Crack regiments like the *Ioviani* are divided with *seniores* in the west, *iuniores* in the east; the reverse is almost unknown. This surely reflects the division of the Empire between Valentinian, the

¹⁹ The *Ioviani* and *Herculiani* and several *scolae* have closely similar shields in *Or.* and *Occ.*, but this is unusual. The *Promoti* are unique in being divided into two palatine *seniores* and two comitatensian *iuniores*. A few legions like II *Augusta* and VII *Gemina* have furnished detachments of both *comitatensis* and *pseudocomitatensis* rank, the difference being due to the date at which they were drafted from the frontier.

²⁰ Appendix vi.

senior Augustus of the west, and his junior colleague in the east.²¹ The first *iuniores* appear at Procopius' proclamation in September 365 (there is no earlier instance of *seniores*—*iuniores*), and three inscriptions earlier than the *Notitia* confirm that the suffix was soon current. Flavius Nuvel, a retired commander of the *equites Armigeri iuniores, filius Saturnini viri perfectissimi ex comitibus*, dedicated a basilica at Rusgunia (near Algiers). The place, and his hereditary rank, would fit the petty king Nubel, who died shortly before 372. The family was pro-Roman when it suited them: Nubel's sons included the fiercely pro-Roman Zammac, the usurper Firmus and his ally Mascezel, the rebel Gildo and (again) his enemy Mascezel.²² At some date between 370 and 375, a regiment of *seniores* (probably *Balistarii*) left record of its activities in the Crimea.²³ Not long after Valentinian's death (375), to judge by associated coins, a soldier of the *Mattiaci seniores* was buried at Bordeaux.²⁴ Negative evidence is provided by a tombstone from near Antioch of a soldier of the *Ioviani* with an Illyrian name. Its date is 364/5, and the *Ioviani* carry no suffix. The man may well have been discharged when Jovian struggled back to Antioch in summer, 363, and have died soon after.²⁵ It is unfortunate

²¹ Ammianus' summary description of Valens as *participem quidem legitimum potestatis, sed in modum apparitoris morigerum* (XXVI, 4, 3) is largely correct. The untheological Ausonius compares Valentinian with the Father of the Trinity, *omnia solus habens, atque omnia dilargitus* (*Versus Paschales*, 28), cf. note 3 above.

²² *C. I. L.*, VIII, 9255; Amm., XXIX, 5, 2 Nubel *velut regulus per nationes Mauricas potentissimus*. His son Zammac (or Salmaces) owned an estate at Petra (XXIX, 5, 2 and 13), the other side of the Grande Kabylie about 100 miles to the east, where a metrical inscription proclaimed his loyalty to Rome (*I. L. S.*, 9351). Claudian, *R. Gild.*, I, 389 ff. and Zos., V, 11 (Mascezel). Firmus was powerfully aided by his sister Cyria (Amm., XXIX, 5, 28); it was she, or perhaps another of Nubel's daughters, that ended her days in the odour of sanctity in Constantinople, with her niece Salvina, Gildo's daughter and widow of Theodosius' nephew Nebridius (Jerome, *Epp.* 79 and 123, 17; Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Iohannis Chrysostomi*, ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton, p. 61).

²³ *A. E.*, 1908, 178.

²⁴ *I. L. S.*, 9215, first published in *R. E. A.*, XII (1910), pp. 67-72. Two coins are of Valens, one of Valentinian, two "Valentinianic," and one apparently of Valentinian II. Style and lettering suit a late 4th century date.

²⁵ *A. E.*, 1940, 214.

that Flavius Memorius' epitaph at Arles²⁶ is not dated: this distinguished officer served *inter Iovianos* 28 years, 6 as *protector*, and 3 as commander of the *Lanciarrii seniores*, before becoming a general. The division of regiments clearly fell during those years as *protector*.

The date, let us say, was 364. How were the regiments divided? The question has been ignored.²⁷ *seniores* and *iuniores* cannot be perfunctorily divided into regiments of "old soldiers" and of "recruits,"²⁸ for the history of some stretches from the third century (undivided) into the fifth at least. The men of the *Mattiaci iuniores* buried at Concordia were veterans, while the men of the *Batavi seniores* were all ages from 25 to 60. A retired tribune of the *Ioviani seniores* had served 40 years in the regiment, no doubt from recruitment.²⁹ Soldiers' ages have nothing to do with regimental titles, even if *seniores* enjoy the primacy traditionally accorded the old. Thus the first fifteen regiments of the élite army of Italy are all *seniores*, which elsewhere rank above their *iuniores*, should they occur in the same list. The association of *seniores* with the senior Augustus has already been noted. In fighting quality, however, no dif-

²⁶ *I. L. S.*, 2788. Memorius retired as *comes Tingitaniae* with the rank only of *vir perfectissimus*. From 372, *comites rei militaris* ranked with *proconsulares* (*C. Th.*, VI, 14, 1), but as late as 398, frontier *comites* (except *per Africam*) and *duces* were still *clarissimi* (*C. Th.*, I, 7, 3). Despite Amm., XXI, 16, 2, the *dux Valeriae* at least was still *perfectissimus* in 365/7 (*I. L. S.*, 762) and as late as 372 (brick-stamps from the Visegrád *burgus*, S. Soproni, in *Studien zu den Militär-grenzen Roms* [Köln, 1967], pp. 138-43); so the change in status seems to have been gradual (the *dux Scythiae* being *clarissimus* in 369, *I. L. S.*, 770). The *comes Tingitaniae* may not have attained the *clarissimate* until 372, which would place Memorius' command of the *Lanciarrii seniores* in 364-367. Earlier than this, they seem to have been undivided (Appendix v). Memorius' career, it must be admitted, if his retirement-rank has been correctly stated, is hard to reconcile with all the other evidence of *seniores* and *iuniores*.

²⁷ By R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte* (1920), and even in A. H. M. Jones, *L. R. B.*, ch. xvii. Pauly-Wissowa and the standard dictionaries are aware of the distinction, but do not explain it.

²⁸ "Au Bas-Empire, la distinction entre *seniores* et *iuniores*, entre *anciens* et *conservés*, est courante," J. Carcopino, *Syria*, VI (1925), p. 131 (citing regiment-titles). The only explanation known to me.

²⁹ *I. L. S.*, 2789.

ference is apparent: Valens reinforced the crucial Danube frontier with a pair of *iuniores* (who nearly made Procopius emperor), while two pairs of *seniores* were being humiliated by the Alamanni in Gaul.³⁰

seniores—*iuniores* first distinguishes regiments only in 364, but elsewhere the distinction is common, usually with military overtones. Servius Tullus traditionally divided the people into *iuniores*, men aged between 17 and 46 fit for military service, and *seniores*.³¹ Thus the Republican equivalent of draft files were the *iuniorum tabulae*, and the emperor Tiberius could describe himself as *iam senior* when too old for soldiering.³² Rather more precisely, *iuniores* is used to mean "recruits" in the Principate, and commonly in the Theodosian Code and Vegetius. The anonymous author of a pamphlet submitted to Valentinian and Valens uses it to describe the 50 or 100 young men who will be attached to a regiment, to fill vacancies as they occur.³³ This is not so far removed from the sense of *iuvenes* in Italian towns of the early Empire, young men undergoing pre-military training. In 245, the *iuniores vici* of Bitburg (near Trier) actually build some sort of tower.³⁴ In the fourth century, at least, *senior* and *iunior* are used also in a non-military sense which might, however, suggest a possible relationship between two regiments: father and son. Besides appearing on tombstones, the usage is found on coins and in the Theodosian Code to distinguish Valentinian II from Valentinian I his father; in Claudian, to distinguish Count Theodosius from his son the Emperor.³⁵

³⁰ The *Divitenses*—*Tungrecani* and *Eruli*—*Batavi* (Appendix v).

³¹ Cicero, *De Republica*, II, 39 (22); Livy, I, 43, 1, cf. Censorinus, *De Die Natali*, 14, 2 (citing Varro).

³² Livy, XXIV, 18, 7 (who often uses *iuniores* in the sense of "men of military age"); Tacitus, *Ann.*, III, 47, 4.

³³ *C. I. L.*, VIII, 7036 (Hadrianic); VI, 31747 (3rd century). Twenty instances in O. Gradenwitz, *Heidelberger Index zum Theodosianus* (1925); in *C. Th.*, VII, 13, 6 as a synonym for *tirones*. Symmachus, *Ep.*, VI, 58. In Vegetius (ed. C. Lang, 1885) nearly always of recruits undergoing basic training, but p. 37, 3 is a parallel to *De Rebus Bellicis*, V, 5 (E. A. Thompson, *A Roman Reformer and Inventor* [1952], p. 97).

³⁴ R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (1963), pp. 135-7, especially n. 52 and n. 59. *C. I. L.*, XIII, 4131.

³⁵ *I. L. O. V.*, 1506a (a *Dassianus senior* for his son *Dassianus iunior*).

iuniores alone is occasionally used of regiments in the early third century in Africa, apparently to show that they were drafted from a parent-body. A *numerus Emesenorum iuniorum* and the *Osdroeni iuniores* are attested from the Severan frontier of Mauretania by fragmentary inscriptions: it is plausible that they are drafts from the well-known *cohors milliaria Hemesenorum* of Intercisa (now Dunaújváros, Hungary) and its companion *numerus Osroenorum*, sent to north Africa for training in a congenial climate.⁸⁶ Also in the early third century, a tribune of the Urban Cohorts was transferred to the command of the *equites itemque pedites iuniores Mauri* with *ius gladii*.⁸⁷ Obviously a responsible post, his duty being perhaps to reduce a large draft of *Mauri* to Roman discipline. The *Notitia* offers only one example of this type of title, *iuniores* preceding an ethnic element: the *milites iuniores Italici* at Ravenna, a limitanean title, and an obsolete item. (Ravenna had been the imperial headquarters since about 402.⁸⁸) They are not a formation like the eight palatine *iuniores Gallicani* or *iuniores Britannici* in the western field armies, most of which exist independently of the well-attested *seniores—iuniores* pairs of the same title, and are plausibly detachments once drawn from the parent-unit during a term of service in the region named. Conversely, some regiments of *iuniores* have gained the suffix by being drafted to the field armies from a frontier unit, like the *Secundani iuniores* in Britain from the old *Legio II Augusta*.⁸⁹

Valentinianus iunior, *cos.* 376: *C.Th.*, VI, 4, 24; *I.L.S.*, 4152 and 4268. J. W. E. Pearce, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, IX (1951), p. 319. *Valentinianus senior* (posthumously): *C.Th.*, VII, 4, 22; X, 5, 1; XV, 1, 33. (*Theodosius*) *senior*, Claudian, *B.Gild.*, I, 224.

⁸⁶ As suggested by J. Carcopino, *Syria*, VI (1925), pp. 129-34 (cf. note 28 above), publishing an inscription with the conjectural restoration *numerus Emesenorum iuniorum*, and restoring *C.I.L.*, VIII, 9829. Intercisa, *I.L.S.*, 2540.

⁸⁷ *I.L.S.*, 1356, the career of T. Licinius Hierocles, *praeses Mauretaniae Caesariensis* (in 227, *C.I.L.*, VIII, 9334).

⁸⁸ Honorius' constitutions are regularly from Ravenna after December 402 (*C.Th.*, VII, 13, 15). The introductory *milites* is typical of limitanean titles, though it is borne later by two (field army?) regiments which build the Golden Gate: the *milites Cornuti iuniores* and the *milites primo sagittarii Leones iuniores* (*I.L.S.*, 9216). The *Notitia* knows them not.

⁸⁹ Appendix iv, with other examples.

The unique title, *equites Scutarii iuniores scolae secundae*, of a regiment in the African field army, is the clearest illustration of a Court unit "fathering" one in the provinces. The occasion may be guessed. In 365, to forestall an invasion of Africa, Valentinian sent three officials there, who included the *scutarius* Gaudentius, an old acquaintance he could trust. Valentinian had been tribune of the second *scola*, so this was probably Gaudentius' too; in his important mission, he might have been given command of a small detachment of *scutarii*, which later formed the nucleus of a locally-recruited cavalry regiment.⁴⁰ The Gothic regiments formed by Valens had *rectores Romanos omnes*, according to Ammianus: perhaps more than just officers, if we recall that his predecessor Tacitus had used the same word *rectores*, in a similar context, of Roman legionaries drafted into a newly-raised cohort *ad tradendam disciplinam*.⁴¹

If *iuniores* could be used to describe a regiment drawn from another, then we might expect the parent-regiment to be called *seniores*. I suggest that Valentinian divided regiments into two cadres, not necessarily equal in numbers, age, or experience, which were then filled out with recruits who would mature more quickly side by side with old soldiers than if drafted into new regiments. This makes far better military sense than to suppose Valentinian cut vital regiments like the *Ioviani* into half, simply to share them with his brother.⁴² By building from cadres, he could expand the field army rapidly, to compensate for Julian's losses in Mesopotamia, and to meet the fresh round of barbarian invasions that threatened him.⁴³ Harsh recruiting was necessary. Both Valentinian and Valens promptly reasserted the rule that soldiers' sons were to follow their fathers into the army. Deserters were hunted down. Gallic peasants, and Germans from

⁴⁰ Amm., XXVI, 5, 14; XXV, 10, 9.

⁴¹ Amm., XXXI, 16, 8 and Tacitus, *Agr.*, 28, 1. Ammianus continued the *Histories* (XXXI, 16, 9), and echoes Tacitean language (G. B. A. Fletcher, *Rev. de Phil.*, XI [1937], pp. 389-92). He does, however, commonly use *rector* of a regimental commander or field officer.

⁴² Constantius had proposed as much with Julian's Gallo-German regiments (*lectos ex numeris aliis trecentos*, Amm., XX, 4, 2). The result, whether intended or not, would have been to cripple the Gallic field army (Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 90 ff.; Julian, 282D).

⁴³ *post procinctus Parthici clades*, Amm., XXX, 8, 8, cf. Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 280. The crisis of 364: Amm., XXVI, 4, 5-6.

across the Rhine, were pressed into the army. In Gaul, men cut off their thumbs to avoid the draft. They were forced to do alternative service. Later, Valentinian ordered that they be burnt alive (a typical gesture).⁴⁴ The direct result was a cruel increase in taxation, which Valentinian and his sympathisers justified by reference to the military crisis.⁴⁵

Division of regiments into *seniores* and *iuniores* continued throughout the fourth century, to judge by the Theodosian and post-Theodosian date of some, and also because the great majority are divided within their own *comitatus*. If "division" is in fact *doubling*, then the *Notitia* lists betray an unsuspected increase in army numbers during the later fourth century. Its extent cannot be calculated, because we do not know how many regiments have disappeared from the *Notitia*, nor how many are "ghosts." The lists have also been swelled with promoted *limitanei*. Disregarding these *pseudocomitatenses*, we find 143 field army regiments in the eastern armies; 48 of them *seniores* or *iuniores*, representing 32 original titles. This suggests a total original establishment of 127 titles, increased by about 30 regiments.⁴⁶ The apparent increase of nearly one-quarter was, in fact, greater still, since some divided regiments were raised *in toto* after 364. The corresponding figures in the west (by collating *Occ.* 5 and 6 with *Occ.* 7) are 159 field army regiments, 87 *seniores* or *iuniores* (from 51 original titles). This suggests an original establishment of 123 titles, increased by about 50, or about two-fifths.

These figures are offered only to suggest a new analysis of the *Notitia* lists. They are most unlikely to be accurate, in view of the difficulty of determining any "original establish-

⁴⁴ Soldiers' sons: *C.Th.*, VII, 1, 5 (364); 8 (365); VII, 22, 7 (Valens, 365). Deserters: *C.Th.*, VII, 18, 1 (365). Evasion: *C.Th.*, VII, 1, 10 (367). Thumbs: *C.Th.*, VII, 13, 4 (367); 5 (368 or 370). Recruitment of Gauls and Germans: Zos., IV, 12, 1.

⁴⁵ Zos., IV, 16, 1. Valentinian's sympathisers felt he was forced to be harsh, after inheriting an empty Treasury, like Aurelian (*Amm.*, XXX, 8, 8, cf. Jerome, *Chron.*, a. 365). Petronius Probus' harsh exactions ruined Illyricum "before the barbarians did" (Jerome, *Chron.*, a. 372, cf. *Amm.*, XXX, 5, 4 ff. and *C.Th.*, IX, 42, 7).

⁴⁶ 95 regiments carry no suffix (143 minus 48), to which add the 32 regiments later doubled, to make an "original establishment" of 127 increased to about 160. Similarly for the West.

ment" when the western armies have plainly suffered heavy losses. (The army of Gaul has been torn to shreds). The eastern army, we know, was shattered at Adrianople. Evidence remains, however, in the ubiquitous *seniores* and *iuniores*, of a substantial increase in the army's establishment during 364-395. Its consequences, a spiralling taxation, and the growing military arrogance deplored by Ammianus,⁴⁷ are not peculiarly late-Roman.

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Appendix i: Regiments named by Ammianus Marcellinus

Frontier units (b) are included for completeness, since Clark never finished his promised volume of Indices. Regiments' status is not given by Ammianus, but for field army units can usually be recovered from the *Notitia*. Conjectural rankings in brackets.

(a) Field armies

Armaturae	<i>scola pal.</i>	XIV, 11, 21; XV, 4, 10; 5, 6; 33; XXVII, 2, 6,
Ascarii	<i>aux. pal.</i>	XXVII, 2, 9
Ballistarii ¹		XVI, 2, 5
Batavi	<i>aux. pal.</i>	XVI, 12, 45; XX, 1, 3; 4, 2; XXVII, 1, 6; 8, 7; XXXI, 13, 9
Bracchiiati	<i>aux. pal.</i>	XV, 5, 30; XVI, 12, 43
Candidati ²		XV, 5, 16; XXV, 3, 6; XXXI, 13, 14; 16; 15, 8; 9
Catafractarii ¹		XVI, 2, 5; 12, 63
Catafracti ¹		XVI, 10, 8; 12, 38; XXVIII, 5, 6
Celtae	<i>aux. pal.</i>	XX, 4, 2; 20; 5, 9; XXI, 3, 2; XXII, 12, 6; XXXI, 10, 4
Comites	<i>vex. pal.</i>	XV, 4, 10
Constantiani	<i>leg. com.</i>	XXIX, 5, 20; 22
Cornuti	<i>aux. pal.</i>	XV, 5, 30; XVI, 11, 9; 12, 43; 63; XXXI, 8, 9
Divitenses	<i>leg. pal.</i>	XXVII, 1, 2

⁴⁷ Amm., XXVII, 9, 4: . . . *hunc imperatorem* (Valentinian) *omnium primum in maius militares fastus ad damna rerum ausisse communium*. Cf. *voracis militarium fastus* (XXX, 7, 10), and XXI, 16, 2 and XXVII, 9, 1. Not that Valentinian and his *seniores* were entirely to blame, for before his accession Ammianus had already satirised the *ferox in suos illis temporibus miles et rapax* (XXII, 4, 7); a commonplace in Aurelius Victor, writing under Constantius (*Liber de Caesari-bus*, 11, 9; 18; 26, 5; 35, 11).

D. iuniores (<i>leg. pal.</i>)	XXVI, 6, 12; 7, 14
Domestici Protectores	XV, 3, 10; 5, 22; XVIII, 3, 6; 8, 11; XXI, 16, 20; XXVI, 5, 14
Domestici	XXV, 5, 4; 10, 9
Protectores	XIV, 7, 9; 12; XV, 3, 11; XVIII, 5, 1; 9, 3; XXV, 5, 8; XXVI, 10, 1; XXX, 7, 3
Comes Domesticorum	XIV, 10, 8; 11, 14; XX, 4, 21; XXVI, 8, 7; XXXI, 7, 4; 10, 6
—commands D. Protectores	XVIII, 3, 6
—commands Domestici	XIV, 11, 19; XXI, 8, 1
Eruli/Heruli/Aeruli	XX, 1, 3; 4, 2; XXV, 10, 9; XXVII, 1, 6; 8, 7
(Flavia) <i>leg. I and II</i>	XXIX, 5, 18
Gentiles <i>scola pal.</i>	XIV, 7, 9; XV, 5, 6; XVI, 4, 1; XX, 2, 5; 4, 3; 8, 13; XXVII, 10, 12
Herculiani <i>leg. pal.</i>	XXII, 3, 2; XXV, 6, 2
Ioviani <i>leg. pal.</i>	XXII, 3, 2; XXV, 5, 8; 6, 2; XXVII, 10, 10; XXIX, 3, 7
Iovii <i>aux. pal.</i>	XXV, 6, 3; XXVI, 7, 13; XXVII, 8, 7
Laeti ²	XXI, 13, 16
Lancearii <i>leg. pal.</i>	XXI, 13, 16; XXXI, 13, 8
Mattiarrii <i>leg. pal.</i>	XXI, 13, 16; XXXI, 13, 8
"numeri Moesiaci"	XX, 1, 3
Petulantes <i>aux. pal.</i>	XX, 4, 2; 18; 20; 5, 9; XXI, 3, 2; XXII, 12, 6; XXXI, 10, 4
Primani (<i>leg. pal.</i>)	XVI, 12, 49
Promoti <i>vex. pal.</i>	XV, 4, 10; XXXI, 13, 18
Reges (<i>aux. pal.</i>)	XVI, 12, 45
cohors iv Sagittariorum <i>vex. com.</i>	XXIX, 5, 20
sagittarii ¹	XXX, 1, 11; XXXI, 12, 2; 16
Scutarii <i>scola pal.</i>	XIV, 7, 9; XV, 4, 9; XVI, 4, 1; 6, 2; 12, 2; XX, 4, 3; 8, 13; XXI, 8, 1; XXVI, 5, 14; XXVII, 10, 12; 16; XXIX, 1, 16; XXXI, 10, 20; 12, 16

¹ These titles "express military function or armament," but Ammianus seems usually to have had specific regiments in mind.

² The Emperor's immediate bodyguard, probably drawn from the *scolae*, for which Ammianus has several non-technical terms. *armigeri*: XXXI, 10, 3; 21 (actually in the *Petulantes*); XXXI, 13, 8. *imperatorius comitatus*: XXXI, 10, 14. *cohors praetoria*: XVII, 13, 10; cf. XVI, 12, 49 (*castra praetoria*). The Praetorians enjoyed a literary after-life, cf. Symmachus, *Or.*, 1, 23.

³ Also used of a German raiding-party (XVI, 11, 4), and of Germans settled in Gaul by the Roman government (XX, 8, 13).

trib. Scutariorum	XIV, 10, 8; 11, 11; 14; XVI, 11, 6; XVII, 10, 5; XIX, 11, 16; XX, 2, 5; XXX, 1, 11; XXXI, 8, 9
trib. scolae I	XXII, 11, 2; XXVI, 1, 4
trib. scolae II	XXII, 11, 2; XXV, 10, 9; XXVI, 1, 5
Tertiarii (ves.)	XXV, 1, 7
Thebaeae legiones	XIV, 11, 15
Tungrecani ⁴ leg. pal.	XXVII, 1, 2
T. iuniores (leg. pal.)	XXVI, 6, 12
Victores aux. pal.	XXIV, 4, 23; XXV, 6, 3; XXVI, 7, 13; XXVII, 8, 7
Zianni (leg. com.)	XXV, 1, 19

(b) Frontier armies

Alamannorum numerus	XXIX, 4, 7
Areani ⁵	XXVIII, 3, 8
leg. II Armeniaca ps. com.	XX, 7, 1
Comites Sagittarii ⁶	XVIII, 9, 4
legg. Constantiacae ⁷	XXI, 11, 2
Decentiaci ⁷	XVIII, 9, 3; cf. XIX, 5, 2
Decimani	XVIII, 9, 3
Diogmitae	XXVII, 9, 6
leg. I Flavia	XX, 6, 8
leg. II Flavia	XX, 7, 1
Fortenses	XVIII, 9, 3
Gothi	XXXI, 16, 8
"indigenarum turma" (Amida)	XVIII, 9, 3
ex Illyrico duae turmae ⁷	XVIII, 8, 2
Magentiaci ⁷	XVIII, 9, 3; cf. XIX, 5, 2
Martenses milites	XXVI, 6, 7
leg. Moesiaca	XXIX, 6, 13; 14
leg. Pannonica	XXIX, 6, 13; 14
leg. I Parthica	XX, 6, 8
leg. II Parthica	XX, 7, 1
leg. V Parthica	XVIII, 9, 3
Praeventores	XVIII, 9, 3
sagittarii "cohors"	XXI, 11, 2; (another) XXIX, 6, 11

⁴ V reads *tunc grecani* as in the *Notitia* and *C. I. L.*, XIII, 5190. This spelling is preferable to Clark's *Tungricani* (G).

⁵ Not a regular unit. For a defence of the MS reading (and a possible explanation), see C. E. Stevens, *Latomus*, XIV (1955), p. 395.

⁶ A field army title, but in Amida for the siege, perhaps by accident.

⁷ If technically *limitanei*, nonetheless "mobile," since they were freely drafted from one frontier to another. Many limitanean units took refuge in Amida (XVIII, 9, 3), and the *dux Osrhoenae* took part in the Persian expedition (XXIV, 1, 2), which suggests *limitanei* might operate away from their bases.

Saracenorum cuneus	XXXI, 16, 5
Superventores	XVIII, 9, 3
Tricensimani (<i>ps. com.</i>)	XVIII, 9, 3
sagittarii Zabdiceni	XX, 7, 1

Most are from the Mesopotamian frontier, of which Ammianus had personal knowledge. Only barbarian contingents which formed part of the Roman army are included (though the *Saraceni* are doubtful).

Appendix ii: The cemetery of Concordia¹

In 1873 an early Christian cemetery was discovered outside the Roman town of *colonia Iulia Concordia*. When excavation ended in 1875, 270 sarcophagi had been uncovered, many with epitaphs inscribed upon them. They were of uniform type, and the language and lettering are fairly uniform also. Internal evidence showed that the cemetery was in use some time after 362/3 (the date of a re-used inscription) and before 452 (the sack of Concordia by the Huns, when the cemetery seems to have been disturbed). Three epitaphs are actually dated: one to the consulship of Arcadius and Honorius (394, 396, or 402), and the others to 409/10 and 426/7. Unfortunately, the cemetery could not be preserved *in situ*, and no record seems to have been kept of its exact layout. Nor have the epitaphs all been published in a single group, though many were collected by Mommsen in *C.I.L.*, V (1877), pp. 1058 ff.²

The epitaphs name between them 22 regiments of the late Roman army (nearly all *palatini* and *comitatenses*), and form its most important epigraphic source. Intensive study of these 36 epitaphs, culminating in their definitive publication by Dr. Hoffmann (in *Museum Helveticum*, XX [1963], pp. 22-57), has given a misleading impression of the site as being a "military cemetery."³ In fact, also buried there are two *praepositi* and four variously-ranking *fabricenses* from the local arrow factory (cf. *Occ.* 9, 24); at least nine Syrian immigrants (and probably the four other *Aurelii*); and over a dozen civilians, usually with their wives.⁴ They include an *archiater*, a *cohortalis* from Dacia Ripensis, a *principalis* from Mursa. Not published by Hoffmann are a *domesticus* and his wife (V, 8738), and a *veteranus* and his wife (8749). Only the local bourgeoisie could afford these substantial stone coffins (*de prop(r)io suo* usually); almost every soldier and *fabricensis* is an NCO. There

¹ P. L. Zovatto, *Antichi Monumenti Cristiani di Iulia Concordia Sagittaria* (1950), cited in n. 5 as Zovatto. G. Brusin and P. L. Zovatto, *Monumenti Romani e Cristiani di Iulia Concordia* (1960).

² Bibliography in Hoffmann, *Museum Helveticum*, XX (1963), p. 26.

³ "Concordiae in militum sepulcreto" (Diehl).

⁴ The actual figure may be more. *Soldatengrabschriften* are collected by Hoffmann, but I have not been able to trace all the civilians' sarcophagi.

is no apparent difference between soldiers' and civilians' sarcophagi, whether in language, style, or position in the cemetery. To all appearances, they were buried side by side, just as (it is tempting to suppose) they were in life. "... il sepolcreto era commune a tutta la cristianità di Concordia (earthly goods permitting, one might add), non era speciale dei militi della truppa di guarnigione o di passaggio. . . ."⁵

Hoffmann, however, claims "eine Reihe von Anzeichen" (*op. cit.*, p. 25) show that the soldiers came from an army drawn from eastern and western units, cantoned in Concordia by Theodosius after his victory at the Frigidus (i.e. winter 394/5). From his commentary, the "Anzeichen" seem to be the eastern origin of half the 22 regiments. Which is dubious. The *Batavi seniores*, the *Mattiaci seniores* and *iuniores*, are said to have returned from the east on no better evidence than their appearance in both eastern and western field army lists in the *Notitia*. These lists, however, post-date the division of the Empire in 395, and these are simply examples of homonymous regiments in both *partes imperii* (cf. the *Promoti*, *Regii*, etc.). The *Armaturae*, *Ioviani*, and *Fortenses* Hoffmann allows may be either eastern or western, but he prefers to see the eastern *iuniores* in the *Brachiiati* (rather than the *seniores* of Italy, or the *iuniores* of Gaul), because of the Gothic names of the two NCO's who bury the dead man. However, Gratian like Theodosius came to terms with the Goths (the Ostrogoths seem to have been allowed to settle in nearby Pannonia), and it is unreasonable to suppose the western empire, desperate for recruits, would have confined itself to Gauls and Germans. The *numerus primae Martiae victricis* Hoffmann identifies, surely correctly, with the *Martii*, a *leg. com.* in east Illyricum (probably the *leg. I Martia* active on the Danube under Valentinian). The *comites seniores sagittarii* are unknown to the *Notitia*, and their station during the 390's cannot be inferred from the presence of *comites sagittarii iuniores* in *Or. 5*. The *Regii Emeseni Iudaei* are likewise unknown to the *Notitia*, and their identification with the eastern *Regii* supposes that someone deleted their full title after reading *C.Th.*, XVI, 8, 24 (418), Honorius' edict banning Jews from military service. In no other place is there evidence the eastern lists have been modified after ca. 395. There is some chance, in fact, that the *Regii* are Ammianus' *Reges*.⁶ We certainly cannot be sure whether the eastern or western *Regii* are meant: *Emeseni* had served in the west before. The presence of the *Iberi* (= the *Hiberi* in *Or. 5*) depends on emendation and interpretation of a difficult inscription, for which Hoffmann makes out a convincing case.

⁵ Zovatto (see note 1), p. 17.

⁶ The *Batavi seniores* and the *Regii* occupy complementary positions in the lists of *Or. 5* and *Or. 6* (cf. text above, note 10); Amm., XVI, 12, 45, *Batavi venere cum regibus, formidabilis manus*.

Only two regiments (2 sarcophagi out of 36) are, in my opinion, certainly eastern. Eight can be identified with units placed by the *Notitia* in Italy; 5 with Gallic units (one of these, *Leones seniores*, may be the *Leones* of Claudian); 2 in Spain (the *sagittarii Nervii* are probably Claudian's *Nervii*); 1 in western Illyricum, and 4 uncertain. The army (397-8) listed by Claudian as sent from Pisa to north Africa (*B. Gild.*, I, 415-23) offers similar discrepancies with the *Notitia*.⁷

Internal evidence does not suggest the army which swept Theodosius through the Balkans to victory in 394. Several are buried by their colleagues (Hoffmann, I, 5, 12, 14), a brother (5), a son and a kinsman (8, *instantibus collegis*). But Vassio (20), who was 60, and had served 35 years in the *Batavi seniores*, is buried by the wife "who lived with him 22 years." Flavia Optata (36) stands in some unspecified relationship to a soldier of the *Regii Emeseni Iudaei*. Fandigildus, *protector de numero Armigerorum* (11), had the foresight to purchase his sarcophagus *vivo suo*. This may well be his retirement-rank (*C. Th.*, VII, 20, 12 [400], cf. VII, 20, 5; 8 and XIII, 1, 7); compare Alatanus, a *domesticus*, who was buried with his wife, with the provision that "no one of our family, or anyone else, be laid in this grave" (*C.I.L.*, V, 8738).⁸ He seems as settled in Concordia as the veteran Gidnadius, buried nearby with his wife (V, 8749). Why not also the two veterans from the *Mattiaci iuniores* (28, 29), one of whom (28) intended the grave for himself and his son, with the usual sanction against violation *post obitum eorum*? Some such sanction is repeated on all the military sarcophagi, and usually also the claim that they were bought by the deceased *de proprio suo*. The civilians say exactly the same. As a precaution, Mansuetus (31) entrusted his grave to the protection of "the veterans." Three other soldiers (11, 14, 35), like Alatanus, entrusted their graves to the protection of the Church of Concordia.

What sort of striking force is this, which includes veterans and 60-year-olds (not to mention their wives), a girl (daughter or mistress?), a civil servant (38), and a petty magnate from Mursa (39)? If this was a temporary cantonment, why did Mansuetus believe there would be veterans to look after his grave? Could Dassiolus have expected his son to share his grave—and would Alatanus need to fear his family's avarice? The soldiers buried their dead side by side with the local bourgeoisie. Ties of friendship developed: Vettius Serenianus (10), *hospes et heres eius*, buried the NCO billeted upon him, and inherited his property.

Some may have died in transit: perhaps the two easterners (12, 35), although we might note that Concordia was the home of

⁷ Cf. text, above, n. 11.

⁸ Alatanus' wife and family suggest that he was elderly or retired; his rank as *domesticus* is indecisive (Carpilio [16] is a 30-year-old example, *de numero Batavorum seniorum*).

numerous Syrians. Field army units passed through Concordia, or were billeted there, when Maximus advanced to Aquileia (388), and Eugenius stood on the Frigidus (394). Honorius made a lengthy excursion to Patavium and nearby Altinum in 399. The regiment-pair of the *Batavi seniores* and the *Eruli seniores* must have been based on Concordia for some time, for they provide 11 inscriptions between them (8 of them NCO's). This would not be Concordia's first experience as an army base: a papyrus of the later third century attests a *cohors IV Concordiensium*.⁹ By 406, Stilico's army was based at Ticinum, where it mutinied against him in 408 (Zos., V, 26 4; 32, etc.). The army stationed there in 405/6 amounted to 30 *ἀριθμοί* (Zos., V, 26, 4), rather fewer than the 44 *numeri* allocated to Italy by Occ. 7. This list is later, and one would not expect Stilico's army was any smaller. (If anything, the reverse: 7 *vexillationes* is very few.) Thus considerable forces may have been stationed at other strategic points of north Italy besides Ticinum, one of which was Concordia. Other cemeteries may await discovery. That of Concordia is an epigraphic document of the co-existence of soldiers and civilians in the last century of the western Empire comparable with Eugippius' *Life of Severinus*.

Appendix iii: Epigraphic evidence of regiments with the supplementary title *seniores* or *iuniores*

Ten such regiments are known from Concordia (Appendix ii). This appendix collects others from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*; Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*; and *Année Epigraphique*. A few titles have been restored or brought into conformity with *Notitia* usage. Selections may be found in *I.L.S.*, III, pp. 471-4, and in Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, nos. 436 ff.

scola Armeniorum	prima V, 6726 (Vercellae)
equitis seniorum	
equites Armigeri iun.	VIII, 9255 (Rusgunia, Algeria)
Balistarum sen.	<i>A.E.</i> , 1908, 178 (the Crimea)
equites Batavi sen.	Concordia
Batavi sen.	Concordia
equites Bracchiati sen.	Concordia
equites Catafractarii sen.	Concordia; XIII, 1848 (Lyon)
Comites sagittarii sen.	Concordia
Cornuti sen.	VI, 32963 (Rome)
milites Cornuti iun.	<i>I.L.S.</i> , 9216 (Constantinople)
Hemeseni iun.	<i>Syria</i> , VI (1925), p. 129 (Algeria)

⁹ A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* (2nd ed., B. Dobson, 1967), pp. 185-7, the career of Traianus Mucianus.

Heruli sen.	Concordia
Ioviani sen.	XIII, 3687 (Trier); <i>I.L.S.</i> , 2789 (Milan)
(unspecified)	III, 10232 (Sirmium); <i>I.L.S.</i> , 2788 (Arles); <i>A.E.</i> , 1940, 214 (Antioch)
Iovii iun.	Concordia
Lanciarrii sen.	<i>I.L.S.</i> , 2788 (Arles)
Lanciarrii iun.	<i>A.E.</i> , 1927, 169 (Ladik, N. E. Turkey)
milites Lanciarrii iun.	<i>A.E.</i> , 1922, 71 (Ulmetum, in the Dobrudja)
Leones sen.	Concordia
milites felices Leones sen.	<i>A.E.</i> , 1937, 254 (Üskeles, Turkey)
milites primo sagittarii	<i>I.L.S.</i> , 9216 (Constantinople)
Leones iun.	
Mattiaci sen.	Concordia; <i>I.L.S.</i> , 9215 (Bordeaux); <i>I.L.S.</i> , 9481a (Nicopolis, E. Turkey)
Mattiaci iun.	Concordia
equites itemque pedites	<i>I.L.S.</i> , 1356 (Caesarea, Algeria)
iuniores Mauri	
Osdroeni iun.	VIII, 9829 (Algeria), <i>Syria</i> , VI (1925), p. 134
Tungrecani sen.	XIII, 5190 (N. W. Switzerland)

Appendix iv: Some peculiar *iuniores* without complementary
seniores: their possible origins¹

a) *iuniores* with regional suffix

i. *iuniores Britannici*

Excultores (*Occ.* 5), cf. *E. seniores* (Italy); *E. iuniores* (Spain)
Invicti (Spain), cf. *I. seniores* (Spain); *I. iuniores* (E. Illyricum)
Victores (Britain, *Occ.* 7), cf. *V. seniores* (Italy, *Occ.* 7); *V. iuniores* (Spain); *Honoriani V. iuniores* (W. Illyricum)

ii. *iuniores Gallicani*

Atecotti (Gaul), cf. *Honoriani A. seniores* (Gaul); *Honoriani A. iuniores* (Italy)
Felices (*Occ.* 5), cf. *F. seniores* (Spain); *F. iuniores* (Italy)
Iovii (Gaul), cf. *I. seniores* (Italy); *I. iuniores* (W. Illyricum)
Mattiaci (Gaul), cf. *M. seniores* (Italy); *M. iuniores* (Gaul); *M. Honoriani Gallicani* (W. Illyricum)
Salii (Spain, *Occ.* 7), cf. *S. seniores* (Gaul); *S. Gallicani* (*Occ.* 5)²

¹ Western regiments are attested in both *Occ.* 5 and *Occ.* 7 (occasionally with slight differences in title) unless stated; appearance in one list only implies a late addition.

² The *Salii Gallicani* are probably the *Salii iuniores Gallicani*, an example of a *iuniores* gaining a regional suffix.

iii. In the eastern praesental armies:

Sagittarii iuniores/seniores Gallicani

Sagittarii iuniores/seniores Orientales

Eq. armigeri seniores Gallicani, cf. *eq. armigeri seniores Orientales* (Or. 7)

b) *iuniores* from the *limitanei*

equites Catafractarii iuniores (Britain, Occ. 7), cf. *eq. Catafractarii, Morbio* (Occ. 40, 21)

Cursarienses iuniores (Gaul, Occ. 7), cf. *milites Ursarienses, Rotomago* (Occ. 37, 21)³

Defensores seniores (Gaul) and *iuniores* (Gaul, Occ. 7), cf. *numerus Defensorum, Braboniac* (Occ. 40, 27) and *milites Defensores, Confluentibus* (Occ. 41, 24)

Secundani iuniores (Britain, Occ. 7), cf. *legio secunda Augusta, Rutupis* (Occ. 28, 19); *secundani Britones* (Occ. 7) = *secunda Britannica* (Occ. 5) (Gaul)

*Septimani iuniores*⁴ (Gaul), cf. *legio septima Gemina, Legione* (Occ. 42, 26)

Superventores iuniores (Gaul), cf. *milites Superventores, Mannatias* (Occ. 37, 18)

The units in (b) are *pseudocomitatenses*, with the exception of the *Catafractarii*, and thus typical of many drafted from Britain and the Rhine frontier into the field armies after 406. This rare use of *iuniores* may indicate that the parent-unit remained in being (as would certainly be true of *Leg. II Augusta* and *VII Gemina*). By contrast, the legionary detachments which had been in the field armies since Gallienus, the *secundani Italiciani*, *Octaviani*, *Decima gemina*, etc., never carry a supplementary *iuniores*.⁵

Appendix v: Movements and divisions of some palatine regiments in Ammianus Marcellinus

Several times during 364-378, Ammianus records what is apparently the same regiment in both east and west. This never happens in 353-363, with the natural exception of the imperial bodyguards and the regiments which Julian took from Gaul to the east. After the division of 364, no further interchange of regiments between east and west seems to have occurred in 364-378. In the crisis of

³ Not from the *Cursarienses* (*leg. com.* in Gaul). The identification is guaranteed by the bloc of regiments from Occ. 37 drafted to Occ. 7.

⁴ There is another *Septimani iuniores* in Tingitania (Occ. 7), rank uncertain, but also distinct from the *leg. com. seniores—iuniores*.

⁵ Numismatic evidence of Gallienus' field army: M. Alföldi, in *Limes-Studien: Vorträge des 3. internationalen Limes-Kongress in Rheinfelden/Basel 1957* (1959), pp. 13-18.

Procopius' usurpation, Valens received no direct military assistance from Valentinian (XXVI, 5, 13; cf. Symmachus, *Or.*, 1, 17 ff.); nor did Valentinian draw on the east for his great invasion of Germany (XXVII, 10, 6). When military assistance was requested by Valens, Ammianus notes it (XXXI, 7, 3; 10, 3). The western empire was reluctant to spare troops (XXXI, 7, 4, cf. 10, 6 *dispositio prudens*), and in the event, Valens was able (indeed willing) to proceed alone (XXXI, 12, 1; 7). So when Ammianus seems to record the same regiment in both east and west (the *Divitenses* — *Tungrecani* simultaneously), he is in fact describing two homonyms.

No further division of the field army seems to have taken place, though small adjustments may have been made (in Illyricum, and in drafting Valens' *Iovii* — *Victores* to the west). The combined field army left by Theodosius in 395 was simply re-separated by Stilico into its western and eastern components (Claudian, *In Ruf.*, II, 6: *geminae exercitus aulae*, cf. 104: *utraque castra*; 217: *redeat iam miles Eous*; cf. 161-2, 389 [with *B. Gild.*, I, 430-1]).

1. *Ioviani* — *Herculiani*

Premier infantry regiments in both Ammianus and the *Notitia*, they were raised by Diocletian and Maximian (Zos., III, 30, 2), and jointly commanded by Magnentius in Gaul in 350 (II, 4, 2). Their officers attended the trials of Chalcedon (Dec. 361), and they served together in the Persian expedition (summer 363), undivided as yet, the *signifer* of the *Ioviani* deserting to the enemy. The *Ioviani* campaigned in Germany in 368.

The *Notitia* pairs *seniores* in Italy, *iuniores* in *Or.* 5.

2. *Divitenses* — *Tungrecani*

The *iuniores* proclaimed Procopius at Constantinople (Sept. 365), and cannot be the pair stationed in Gaul in Jan. 365, defeated by the Alamanni later in the year.

The *seniores* are paired in Italy; the *iuniores* are absent.

3. *Celtae* — *Petulantes*

Served with Julian in Gaul. Constantius' demand for them by name for the east (winter 359/60) made them proclaim Julian. They followed him to Antioch (362), where their indiscipline was notorious. Since the army combined units from Gaul and Illyricum with Constantius' field army, they must then have been the only regiments of the name. (This argument applies to other regiments mentioned by Ammianus in the Persian expedition.) They presumably served with Julian in Mesopotamia (363). They defeated the Lentienses in Raetia in Feb. 378 (where they seem to have been cantoned before, in winter 360/61).

The *Notitia* pairs the *seniores* in Italy; the *Celtae iuniores* are in Africa, and the *Petulantes iuniores* in eastern Illyricum.

4. *Eruli* — *Batavi*

The *Batavi* distinguished themselves at Strasbourg (autumn 357), and both regiments campaigned in Britain (winter 359/60). Constantius demanded them by name for the east at this time. The *Eruli* served on the Persian expedition (363), and the *Batavi* were perhaps the 500 Gauls and Germans, men used to swimming the Rhine from childhood, who swam the Tigris in spate (XXV, 6, 13-14 with 7, 3). They formed half an army defeated in Gaul in 365, before Valentinian arrived. (Ammianus does not say whether they had returned from the east, travelling ahead of Valentinian [who moved slowly, and wintered 364/5 in Milan], or were a detachment left behind by Julian.) They served in Britain in 367/68. The *Batavi* were held in reserve at Adrianople (Aug. 378).

Zosimus says that Valentinian was nearly killed in a mutiny of the *Batavi* at Sirmium (III, 35, 2, i. e. 363), and that for cowardice in Gaul (365?) he nearly sold them into slavery. He seems to have muddled his source, and what he says conflicts what is known of Valentinian's movements from the *C.Th.*, so his statements should be rejected.

The *seniores* are paired in Italy. The *Batavi iuniores* are in Gaul; the *Eruli iuniores* are absent. A second *Batavi seniores* is in *Or. 5*.

5. *Iovii* — *Victores*

First appear on the Persian expedition (363), fighting bravely alongside the *Ioviani* — *Herculiani*, and like them, apparently the only regiments of the name. Valens sent them against Procopius (Oct. 365) to whom they defected. They campaigned in Britain in 367/68 with the *Eruli* — *Batavi*, surely a second pair.

The *seniores* are paired in Italy; the *iuniores* had been paired (*Occ. 5*), but now (*Occ. 7*), the *Iovii iuniores* are in western Illyricum, the *Iovii iuniores Gallicani* in Gaul, and the *Victores iuniores* in Spain. They may have been transferred to Britain as the *Victores iuniores Britannici*.

Lancearii — *Mattiarii*

The spearhead of Constantius' advance against Julian (361), and screen of Julian's advance down the Euphrates (Malalas, ed. Dindorf, p. 330, 2 ff.). Malalas, who drew on accounts by members of the Persian expedition, refers to them jointly as an ἀριθμός. When the Roman army collapsed at Adrianople (378), they stood their ground.

The *Notitia* divides the palatine *seniores* and *iuniores* between *Or. 5* and *Or. 6*. To judge by Ammianus and Malalas, they were not so divided in 363.

Gentiles — *Scutarii*

Palatine *scolae* regularly associated together by Ammianus. Con-

stantius shared them with his junior colleagues Gallus and Julian, and the *Scutarii* at least were shared by Valentinian with Valens. Until his accession (364), there were only two *scolae* of *Scutarii* attached to a sole Emperor, the First and the Second.

The *Notitia* attaches a First and Second *scola* of *Scutarii* to each *comitatus*. The *Gentiles* are divided into *seniores* and *iuniores* in the east; the west has *iuniores* only.

Six more regiments found as *seniores*—*iuniores* appear in Ammianus, but without evidence for (or against) division. They are (with dates of appearance in parenthesis) the *Armaturae* (354, 366), *Ascarii* (366), *Brachiati* (355, 357), *Cornuti* (355, 357, 377), *Primani* (357), and *Promoti* (355, 378).

Appendix vi: Regiments divided by *seniores* and *iuniores*¹

1. Between	WEST	and EAST	
	<i>sen.</i>	<i>iun.</i>	(9)
Armaturae	Herculiani Ioviani Pannonici	Petulantes	
Divitenses	Tungrecani Iovii Victores ²		
	<i>sen. iun.</i>	<i>iun.</i>	(4)
Eq. Batavi	Eq. Brachiati Brachiati Invicti		
	<i>sen. iun.</i>	<i>sen. iun.</i>	(3)
Ascarii	Mattiaei Eq. Promoti		
	<i>sen.</i>	<i>sen. iun.</i>	(3)
Batavi	Cornuti Gentiles		
	<i>iun.</i>	<i>sen.</i>	(2)
Germanici	Primani		
	<i>iun.</i>	<i>sen. iun.</i>	(1)
Mattiaei			
2. Within the WEST ³			(21)
Eq. Armigeri	Armigeri propugnatores Atecotti Honoriani		
Brisigavi	Celtae Eq. Cetrati Eq. Cornuti Defensores		
Excubatores	Felices Gratianenses Eq. Honoriani Leones		
Honoriani	Marcomanni Mauri Honoriani Mauri Tonantes		
Propugnatores	Eq. sagittarii Parthi Salii Eq. Scutarii		
Septimani			

¹ Each regiment is named only once, although some would qualify for inclusion under more than one rubric.

² These four regiments (*Divitenses* . . . *Victores*) on the authority of Ammianus.

³ Usually, but not always, in simple *seniores*—*iuniores* pairs. The "lone" *seniores* and *iuniores* are mostly survivors of such pairs.

- Lone *seniores* (7)
 Armigeri defensores Eq. constantes Valentinianenses Heruli
 Menapii Moesiaci Eq. sagittarii Eq. Stablesiani
- Lone *iuniores* (cf. Appendix iv) (5)
 Eq. Catafractarii Cursarienses Superventores Valentinianenses
 Secundani
3. Within the EAST³ (7)
 Arcadiani Balistarii Felices Honoriani Lanciarii
 sagittarii Gallicani sagittarii Orientales Eq. Theodosiaci
- Lone *seniores* (7)
 Eq. Armigeri sen. Gallicani Eq. Armigeri sen. Orientales
 Britones Constantini Martenses Solenses Eq. Germaniciani
- Lone *iuniores* (4)
 balistarii Theodosiani felices Theodosiani
 comites Catafractarii Bucellarii Eq. comites Sagittarii

NOTE: This paper was planned and written before I could study the monumental survey by D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum* (*Epigraphische Studien*, VII: I [1969] and II [1970]). Fuller and sometimes different treatment of much that is discussed here, and in particular of the chronology of the *Notitia's* eastern field armies, will be found in its more than 800 pages.

MENANDER'S SOLDIERS: THEIR NAMES, ROLES, AND MASKS.

The origins and early treatment of the comic soldier are obscure, and much has been written about the evolution of the type in Old and Middle Comedy.¹ In New Comedy the soldier is established along with the hetaira, the cook, and the parasite as a "professional" type who appears frequently. In Roman Comedy the soldier has been described as "the braggart warrior . . . a caricature rather than a character."² Until quite recently there has not been enough Menander material available to allow distinctions between his soldiers and those of other Greek and Roman comic poets, but now, with the publication of new fragments of the *Aspis*, *Karchedonios*, *Kolax*, *Misoumenos*, *Sikyonios*, and several unnamed plays, which all have soldiers in their casts, it is possible to ask certain questions and reach tentative conclusions about Menander's use of the type without depending too heavily on Roman adaptations of his plays. The essential question is that with which Webster concerned himself twenty years ago: What is the range of characterization, i. e., does Menander work entirely within a tradition of stylized characterization or does he start from such a tradition and go his own way, satirizing stereotypes and developing individualized characters? "Menander uses the braggart soldier in his traditional form in the *Kolax*, but Polemon in the *Perikeiromene* is idealised."³

Soldiers are recognizable in the fragments of eleven plays

¹ O. Ribbeck, *Alazon* (Leipzig, 1882). H. Wisk, *Die Gestalt des Soldaten in der griechisch-römischen Komödie* (Auszug) (Giessen, 1921). T. B. L. Webster, *Studies in Later Greek Comedy*² (Manchester, 1970), p. 64. E. Constantinides, *The Characters of Greek Middle Comedy* (University Microfilms, Inc., 66-1654, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1966), pp. 75 f.

² G. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (Princeton, 1952), p. 264. The author goes on to distinguish Thraso in the *Eunuchus*, Terence's only soldier, from the examples found in Plautus' *Bacchides*, *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Miles*, *Poenulus*, and *Truculentus*, but only with respect to the basis of his conceit, not the quality itself.

³ T. B. L. Webster, *Studies in Menander* (Manchester, 1950), p. 164.

and information is extractable, to some extent, on six points of importance: age, social status (citizenship), wealth, romantic interest, participation in plot (intrigue and recognition), and general characteristics. The masks these characters wore can be determined only upon external evidence, primarily that of Pollux (*Onomasticon*, IV, 147) who describes two masks under the general heading of young men which seem to have been restricted to military characters:

τῷ δ' ἐπισείστω, στρατιώτῃ ὄντι καὶ ἀλαζόνι καὶ τὴν χροῖαν μέλανι καὶ μελαγκόμῃ, ἐπισείονται αἱ τρίχες, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐπισείστω, ἀπαλωτέρῳ ὄντι καὶ ξανθῷ τὴν κόμην.

(The two masks are described in sequence because of the similarity in hair style and only the first is specifically assigned to the soldier, but Pollux' entire list is arranged according to type—slaves, old men, young men, etc.—and it is possible to see the two *episeistos* masks as a sub-category of soldiers under the general heading of young men.) Cornford's interpretation of the label *episeistos* is attractive in that it shows development of the masks which parallels development of the type. He speaks of Lamachos in the *Acharnians*, whom he calls the prototype of the *miles gloriosus*: "A terrific crest of plumes ('boastard's feathers?' queries Dikaiopolis [589]) nods over his helmet, and the emblem on his shield is the Gorgon's head."⁴ Later, he describes the *miles* as one "whose special characteristic is the hair which nods in a crest over his brow, giving the mask its technical name, 'Shaken-over' (*episeistos*)."⁵ (One can accept this theory without following the further suggestion that the *miles* mask "developed directly from the Gorgon mask," and that *episeiein* can be associated with apotropaic rituals).⁶ The scholars who have examined in detail Pollux' list of masks, the extant examples in terracotta, and those depicted in paintings, reliefs, and mosaics⁷ do not make such a connection between

⁴ F. M. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy* (edited by T. H. Gaster, New York, 1961), p. 135.

⁵ Cornford (*supra*, note 4), p. 151.

⁶ Cornford (*supra*, note 4), p. 265, n. 70.

⁷ C. Robert, *Die Masken der neueren attischen Komödie* (25 Hall. Winkelmannsprogram, 1911); M. Bieber, "Maske," *R.-M.*, XIV, cols. 2070-2105; A. Simon, *Comicae Tabellae* (Amsterdam, 1938). T. B. L. Webster, *Greek Theatre Production*² (London, 1970), pp. 73-96.

the *episeistos* masks and military characters, and assign the second *episeistos* to various non-military characters,⁸ while refusing the first *episeistos* to Polemon,⁹ whose military experience is shown to be the most formative influence on his personality. In analyzing each appearance by a military character in Menander one must consider what effect his wearing a mask traditionally associated with the established military type, the *miles gloriosus*, would have upon Menander's audience, i. e. granted that the *miles gloriosus* was established in Old and Middle Comedy and inherited by Menander, did this inheritance include traditional masks, and, if it did, was Menander as free to vary the masks he used for characters as he was to vary these characters themselves? Knowing the masks that were available for Menander one can then only base one's attribution of them to the individual characters upon the similarities and differences among those characters.

Menander follows a different convention in naming soldiers from his convention in naming old men and slaves. Old men named Smikrines, Laches, and Demeas appear again and again in the fragments, as do slaves named Daos, Parmeno, Pyrrhias, etc.¹⁰ Among other, non-military, young men, Moschion appears in ten plays and Gorgias in four.¹¹ Of the eleven sure appearances of soldiers in the fragments, no two bear the same name. Three names derive from the same adjective: Thrason, Thra-

⁸ E. Roth (*Novae comoediae adolescentes, amatores, senes, servi quomodo congruant cum Iulii Pollucis personis* [Diss. Leipzig, 1903]) gives the second *episeistos* to the Moschions in Menander's *Samia* and *Perikeiromene*. Simon (*supra*, note 7), p. 68, assigns it to Chaireas in Terence's *Eunuchus*, derived from Menander's *Eunouchos* and *Kolax*. Webster (*supra*, note 7), p. 81 adds to the list Alcesimarchus in Plautus' *Cistellaria*, based on Menander's *Synaristosai*.

⁹ Simon (*supra*, note 7), p. 71 follows Roth in proposing for Polemon the *oïlos* mask, described by Pollux as being "red in complexion with wooly hair, raised brows, and one wrinkle on the forehead." This is thought to have distinguished Polemon from such *milites gloriosi* as Pyrgopolinices in Plautus' *Miles*, but Webster (*supra*, note 7), p. 81 rightly hesitates in accepting this: "Menander may have wanted to contrast appearance and character."

¹⁰ W. T. MacCary, "Menander's Old Men," forthcoming in *T. A. P. A.*, CII (1971), and "Menander's Slaves," *T. A. P. A.*, C (1969), pp. 277-94.

¹¹ See W. T. MacCary, "Menander's Characters," *T. A. P. A.*, CI (1970), pp. 286-9.

sonides, Thrasyleon; one is from an appropriate noun: Bias; and three derive from war-related nouns: Polemon, Stratophanes, Kleostratos.¹² The names of the others cannot be determined.

Polemon in the *Perikeiromene* is the most fully developed character in the fragments; he is as central to the action of his play as is Knemon to that of the *Dyskolos*. The prologue speaker Agnoia is anxious to characterize him carefully lest there be any confusion between him and other military characters; in fact, there is a clear distinction made between Moschion's natural violence and Polemon's externally motivated wrath:

- 30 ἐν γειτόνων δ' οἰκοῦσα τὰδελφοῦ τὸ μὲν
πρᾶγμ' οὐ μεμήνυκ' οὐδ' ἐκείνον βούλεται
εἶναι δοκοῦντα λαμπρόν εἰς μεταλλαγὴν
ἀγαγεῖν, ὄνασθαι δ' ὣν δέδωκεν ἡ Τύχη.
ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου δ' ὀφθεῖσ' ἵπ' αὐτοῦ θρασυτέρου
ὥσπερ προείρηκ', ὄντος ἐπιμελῶς τ' αἰ
φοιτῶντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἔτυχ' ἐσπέρας
πέμπουσά ποι θεράπαιναν.¹³

Moschion is described by the adjective from which the names of three Menandrean soldiers' names are derived — *θρασύς*. Agnoia continues with a description of the action which illustrates this aspect of Moschion's character:

- ὥς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις
35 αὐτὴν γενομένην εἶδεν, εὐθὺ προσδραμὼν
ἐφίλει, περιέβαλλ', ἣ δὲ τῷ προειδέναι
ἀδελφὸν ὄντ' οὐκ ἔφυγε, προσίων δ' ἄτερος
ὄρᾳ. τὰ λοιπὰ δ' αὐτὸς εἶρηχ', ὃν τρόπον
ὃ μὲν ᾤχετ' εἰπὼν, ὅτι κατὰ σχολὴν ἰδεῖν
40 αὐτὴν ἔτι βούλεθ', ἣ δ' ἐδάκρυ' ἐστῶσα καὶ
ᾠδύρεθ', ὅτι ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐλευθέρως ποιεῖν
ἔξεστιν αὐτῇ.

ἄτερος refers to Sosias, who must have delivered a monologue in the lost first scene of the play. He would have spoken disparagingly of Glykera, just as does Parmeno of the title character in the opening scene of the *Theophoroumene*. Then it

¹² For a fuller discussion see K. Gatzert, *De nova comoedia quaes-tiones onomatologicae* (Diss. Giessen, 1913), pp. 54 f., 63 f.

¹³ Text and numbering of lines based on A. Koerte, *Menander: Reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1938).

was necessary for Agnoia to set things straight, explaining Glykera's behavior, just as Tyche sets things straight in her speech in the *Aspis*, which follows the opening monologue of Daos and his brief encounter with Smikrines. It is this function of correcting misapprehensions on the part of human characters which explains the delayed appearance of divine prologues in Menander's plays.¹⁴ Glykera's complaint that she has not been treated "in a noble manner" by Polemon — Sosias has described how Polemon cut off her hair — is a direct attack upon his character and Agnoia defends him, in the process explaining her own part in the action:

πάντα δ' ἐξεκάετο
ταῦθ' ἔρεκα τοῦ μέλλοντος, εἰς ὀργὴν ἵνα
οὗτος ἀφίκητ' — ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤγον οὐ φύσει
45 τοιοῦτον ὄντα τοῦτον — ἀρχὴν δ' ἵνα λάβῃ
μηνύσεως τὰ λοιπά, τοὺς θ' αὐτῶν ποτε
εὐροίειν.

Tierney has discussed Polemon's action in the context of Aristotelian ethics, pointing out the importance of the stipulation οὐ φύσει for categorizing the act not as a *ἀμάρτημα* but as an *ἀτύχημα*.¹⁵ Agnoia has motivated Polemon to perform this ignoble deed "for the sake of what is about to happen" so that there can be some beginning of understanding in the future and they "can find out about their relatives," i. e. Moschion and Glykera be recognized as children of Pataikos.¹⁶

¹⁴ Cf. Webster (*supra*, note 3), p. 7 who thinks that first scenes give dramatic atmosphere and introduce characters, the following prologue speeches being necessary for giving facts. It was not, however, essential for Menander to introduce his characters since they were readily recognizable masks. Note that neither an opening monologue spoken by a human character nor a subsequent divine prologue ever provides names for the characters. It is probable that certain names were associated with certain masks, and that unique names were established in dialogue. See MacCary (*supra*, note 11).

¹⁵ M. Tierney, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, XLIII (1936), p. 248. For a similar discussion of Knemon's behavior in the *Dyskolos* see W. Görler, *Hermes*, XCI (1963), pp. 268-87. On Moschion in the *Samia* see H. J. Mette, *Hermes*, XCVII (1969), pp. 432-9.

¹⁶ Cf. Tyche's motivation in the *Aspis*: she has arranged the false report of Kleostratos' death so that Smikrines—

μᾶτην δὲ πράγμαθ' αὐτῷ καὶ πόνους
πολλοὺς παρασχὼν γνωριμώτερόν τε τοῖς

Polemon is, then, not a *miles gloriosus*, but rather a soldier who is favorably contrasted to a young man in the *Perikeiromene* who has more attributes of the *miles gloriosus* than does Polemon himself. Sosias, Polemon's slave, does try to encourage him to violence but the rational and sympathetic Pataikos convinces him to proceed differently; Moschion, on the other hand, is persuaded, with no difficulty, by his slave Daos to attempt a deed which, if not exactly violent, is at least morally reprehensible: seduction of Glykera while she is under the protection of Moschion's adoptive mother Myrrhine. Polemon is probably young and the contrast between him and Moschion is similar to that developed in the *Sikyonios* between Stratophanes and Moschion — the noble young soldier who is deeply in love with his mistress as opposed to the arrogant young man-about-town who lusts after her and tries to steal her. Polemon is a Corinthian citizen (*Perikeiromene*, 9). He is known to be wealthy from the quantity of gifts he has given to Glykera (266 ff.). This wealth is probably newly acquired. The only intrigue in the *Perikeiromene* is the unsuccessful attempt by Moschion on Glykera; there is no intrigue at all in the *Dyskolos* or the *Samia*: all three are plays concerned with the correction of misunderstanding rather than with trickery. Glykera is recognized as a free-born Corinthian, so Polemon can marry her; thus, Agnoia's manipulation of events brings about an improvement in the status of the young girl, just as does Pan's in the *Dyskolos*.

Polemon would probably have worn the first *episeistos* mask, for although the only example of his actually bragging about anything is his description of his rich gifts to Glykera (266 ff.), other aspects of his personality — his being quick to anger (42 ff.), the epithets *σοβαρός* and *πολεμικός* which Sosias applies to him (52) — suggest that the appellation *ἀλαζών* is not inappropriate. Since the contrast between Polemon and Moschion is an important feature of the play, it is not unreasonable to suppose that this was illustrated in the masks. Moschion seems to have worn the *hapalos* mask in all his appearances¹⁷ and this

πᾶσιν ποιήσας αὐτὸν οἷός ἐστ' ἀνὴρ
ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τάρχαϊα

(143-6, C. Austin, *Menandri Aspis et Samia* [Berlin, 1969]).

¹⁷ MacCary (*supra*, note 11).

is described by Pollux as νεώτατος, λευκός, σκιατροφίας ἀπαλότητα ὑποδηλῶν, so that the first *episeistos* mask — τὴν χροιάν μέλανι καὶ μελαγκόμῃ — would present the necessary contrast.

Thrasonides in the *Misoumenos* has a great deal in common with Polemon: he seems to be young; he is wealthy and thus able to shower gifts on his mistress (403);¹⁸ her name is Krateia and she is recognized as a free and marriageable girl; he loves her deeply and is undone by her rejection of him; he is a bit of a braggart (fr. 1, 3 Koerte), but altogether a sympathetic character. It is unclear whether or not he is contrasted with the young man named Kleinias who lives next door and takes an interest in Krateia's welfare. Is Kleinias to be considered the equivalent of Moschion in the *Perikeiromene*, i. e. does he have romantic designs upon Krateia? It is all but certain that he is recognized as Krateia's brother late in the play by means of the sword which is discovered in his house by Demeas and which has nothing to do with the recognition of Krateia.¹⁹ If he had made an attempt to seduce Krateia, it would have been the same kind of unconsciously incestuous attempt which Moschion makes on Glykera in the *Perikeiromene*. The only clue to the relations between Krateia and Kleinias is in his orders to the cook for a dinner at the end of Act III (?):

- 270 ξένος ἐστὶν εἷς, μάγειρε, κἀγὼ καὶ τρίτῃ
ἐμῇ τις — εἴπερ, νῆ Δί', εἰσελήλυθεν.
ἀγωνιῶ γὰρ καὐτός. εἰ δὲ μή, μόνος
ὁ ξένος. ἐγὼ γὰρ περιδραμοῦμαι τὴν πόλιν
ζητῶν ἐκείνην πᾶσαν. ἀλλὰ πάραγε σὺ
275 καὶ τοῦ ταχέως, μάγειρε, φρόντισον πάνυ.

"The Stranger" is obviously Demeas, but is the girl Krateia? Kleinias does not know at this point about the recognition that has taken place between Krateia and Demeas, nor, of course, that he himself is soon to be recognized by Demeas as Krateia's brother. On the evidence it seems safest to regard Kleinias as fulfilling rather the function of Pataikos in the *Perikeiromene* than that of Moschion in the same play: he is a mediator in a

¹⁸ Line references are to E. G. Turner, "Menander: *Misoumenos*," *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XXXIII (London, 1968).

¹⁹ Turner (*supra*, note 18), p. 56 and *B. I. C. S.*, Supplement No. 17, pp. 15-17.

situation in which he later finds himself intimately involved. Then, too, Demeas in the *Misoumenos* fulfils the function of Moschion in the *Perikeiromene*: he arouses suspicions on the part of Thrasonides' slave Getas by his interest in Krateia (216 ff.) and presumably Thrasonides himself was aware of this interest. One can also compare the situation in the *Sikyônios* where the soldier Stratophanes is in love with Philoumene but a young man Moschion has tried to seduce her. Moschion and Stratophanes are recognized as brothers. Moschion plays similar roles in eight other plays,²⁰ and the possibility is at least worth considering that if Menander had created a character in the *Misoumenos* with romantic designs for a girl who was to be recognized as having some other relation with him that would prevent the fulfilment of these designs, then Menander would have named that character Moschion rather than Kleinias.

Because Thrasonides has so much in common with Polemon, it is likely that he wore the same mask, the first *episeistos*.

Stratophanes in the *Sikyônios* is finally recognized as an Athenian citizen, having been raised by a Sikyonian and his wife. He is probably young and thus not the *ἡγεμών* referred to by the prologue speaker (9)²¹ as the man who purchased Philoumene in Caria many years before the action of the play. This *ἡγεμών* is, then, most likely, Stratophanes' adoptive father, who was, as his adoptive son became, a soldier.²² Stratophanes is

²⁰ See MacCary (*supra*, note 11).

²¹ Line references are to R. Kassel, *Menandri Sicyonius* (Berlin, 1965).

²² This interpretation raises problems with fr. 1 Kassel = fr. 371 Koerte:

ἄβραν γὰρ ἀντῳρούμενος
ἐρωμένην ταύτη μὲν οὐ παρέδωκ' ἔχειν,
ἔτρεφε δὲ χωρὶς ὡς ἐλευθέρῃ πρέπει.

Lloyd-Jones (*Emerita*, XXXIV [1966], p. 142) reads *ἐρωμένη* and thinks the *ἄβρα* is Malthake, whom Stratophanes bought for Philoumene and educated before giving her over; Malthake would then be an appropriate wife for Stratophanes' parasite Theron, and it is known that Theron did marry at the end of the play (fr. 9 Kassel = fr. 377 Koerte). Lloyd-Jones understands *ἄβρα* to signify "Lady's maid," though he cites Athenaeus (585 f.) for Malthake as a hetaira's name. In each of three occurrences of this term in the fragments of Menander and in the scholiastic comment thereon, a definite connection between this particular kind of slave girl's relation to her mistress and her entirely

newly rich (285 ff., fr. 3) and accused of being εἰλωτόδότης (fr. 2), but emerges in the well-preserved account of a debate with Moschion as a just and considerate man (176 ff.). The messenger who gives this account distinguishes between Moschion (μειράκιον . . . λευκόχρων ὑπόλειον ἀγένειον [200 f.]) and Stratophanes (ὅψει τις ἀνδρικός πάνυ [215]) in such a way as to suggest the contrast between the masks suggested above for Moschion and Polemon in the *Perikeiromene*, the *hapalos* and the first *episeistos*.

Like Polemon and Thrasonides, Stratophanes gets his girl in the end. Like Polemon he is the victim of an intrigue directed against him for possession of his girl by a character named Moschion. In all three of these plays which feature a soldier, recognitions take place which enable the soldier to marry the girl whom he loves but whose citizenship status must be established before marriage is possible. In the *Perikeiromene* and

different relation to her master is apparent. From the *Apistos* is preserved the comment (fr. 58 Koerte) —

ῥῆμην, εἰ τὸ χρυσίον λάβοι
ὁ γέρων, θεράπειαν εὐθὺς ἡγορασμένην
ἄβραν ἔσεσθαι.

and from the *Pseudherakles* a piece of information which reads like a part of a prologue (fr. 453) —

μήτηρ τέθνηκε ταῖν ἀδελφαῖν ταῖν δυνεῖν
ταῦταιν. τρέφει δὲ παλλακὴ τις τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτάς, ἄβρα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν γενομένη.

ἀβρά, the adjective, is close in significance to μαλθακή. Habrotonon is established as a hetaira's name in Menander's *Epitrepontes* just as is Malthake in Athenaeus. Whether the noun ἄβρα was first used to refer to a lady's maid or to a master's mistress is uncertain and perhaps the two significances developed together. It is certain that the ploy of buying a pretty young girl as a maid for a married woman, so as to provide an available mistress for the woman's son or father, was established in New Comedy. In the *Mercator* of Plautus, based on the *Emporos* of Philemon, the slave Acanthio tells the father Demipho that the girl Pasicompa has been bought by the son Choricus as a maid for the mother (200 ff., 260 f., 390 ff.). Plautus uses the colorless *ancilla* where Philemon might have used ἄβρα. One wonders if Moschion is not the subject of the sentence in the *Sikyoniotes* and Philoumene the object; this would explain the plight of Philoumene which led her to seek refuge at Eleusis: she had been sold at auction in Stratophanes' absence and bought by a young man on the pretext of providing a maid for his mother, but for the real purpose of keeping her as his mistress.

the *Misoumenos* there is ill-feeling between the soldier and the girl which is cleared up after the recognition. Whether Philoumene flees to Eleusis because of such ill-feeling towards Stratophanes in the *Sikyonios* or because she fears Moschion's advances, is uncertain. The lacunose passage in which Philoumene's feelings seem to be described is open to either interpretation:

97 δ]έδοικε, φησί, δεσπότην ξένο[ν
τρίτον τ' ἐρῶντ', ἐγγύς τε τω[...] ρα[

The three references could all be to the same person, and this could be Stratophanes if the speaker is Athenian, or Moschion if the speaker is Stratophanes' parasite Theron.²³ The important point in each of these plays, though, remains the same: the soldier is a sympathetic character. He might be slightly *gloriosus* but he is redeemed, in different ways in different plays, through love and understanding.

This is also true in the *Aspis*. Very little of the last two acts of the *Aspis* survive and it was at this point in the action that Kleostratos appeared. He had been mistakenly reported dead by his slave Daos in the opening scene of the play, this mistake being immediately corrected by the prologue speaker Tyche. What others say about him, however, in the well-preserved fragments and what little is intelligible of his entering monologue and dialogue with Daos (491 ff.)²⁴ suggest that he

²³ Lloyd-Jones in Kassel (*supra*, note 21), *ad loc.* cites *Antinoopolis Papyrus*, 55 fr.(d) r 39.

πρῶ]τον μὲν, ἔστι κούριός σ]ον. δεύ[τερον,
....]τος <τὸ> τρίτον, ἐπαί.

Closer to the *Sikyonios* passage is the *Misoumenos* passage (270 f.) —

ξένος ἔστιν εἰς, μάγειρε, κάρῳ καὶ τρίτῳ
ἐμῇ τις —

Here, three different people are referred to and if this is the case in the *Sikyonios* passage, then Philoumene must have been bought by a third party, perhaps the Boeotian who was Stratophanes' father's creditor and for whom Merkelbach (*M. H.*, XXIII [1966], p. 174) reconstructs a part. He would have taken her from Sikyon as part of the debt Stratophanes' adoptive father owed him, to sell her in Athens. There Moschion would have fallen in love with her and be in the process of trying to buy her when Stratophanes arrived. Thus, the stranger would be Stratophanes and the lover Moschion.

²⁴ Line references are to C. Austin, *Menandri Aspis et Samia* (Berlin, 1969).

is a conscientious young man who, though perhaps not suited for war, served as a mercenary to provide a dowry for his sister (8 ff.) and considered this military service a temporary cure for his poverty; that he is devoted to his uncle Chairestratos (502 ff.) and to Chairestratos' daughter, whom he intends to marry. Like the soldiers in the other plays discussed he has a rival for this young girl's hand; in the *Aspis* it is the miserly old Smikrines who has designs on the soldier's beloved, hoping to gain control of her inheritance. (Daos has convinced Smikrines that Chairestratos is dead so that Smikrines will want to marry Chairestratos' daughter, giving up his plan to marry Kleostratos' sister for the sake of the booty which Daos delivers along with his false report of Kleostratos' death.) Kleostratos' unexpected arrival — the audience knows from the prologue to expect this — puts an end to Smikrines' plotting and a double marriage ends the play: Kleostratos marries Chairestratos' daughter and Chairestratos' stepson Chaireas marries Kleostratos' sister. Kleostratos is not the main character in the play: Smikrines is. Tyche points this out in her prologue speech; after outlining Smikrines' machinations she foretells their outcome:

143 μάτην δὲ πράγμαθ' αὐτῷ καὶ πόνους
πολλοὺς παρασχὼν γνωριμώτερόν τε τοῖς
πᾶσιν ποιήσας αὐτὸν οἷός ἐστ' ἀνὴρ
ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τὰρχαῖα.

This gives the impression that Tyche is more interested in the punishment of Smikrines than in the happiness of the other characters, which explains her intervention in their affairs to begin with: if she had left things as they were the same double marriage would have taken place, but without the discomfiture and exposure of Smikrines. In this she differs from Agnoia in the *Perikeiromene* and Pan in the *Dyskolos*, without whose help recognitions and marriages could not have come about. (It is true, of course, that Knemon suffers at the end of the *Dyskolos*, and, in fact, he, like Smikrines in the *Aspis*, is the center of attention in his play.)

It is difficult to assign a mask to Kleostratos. He bears a military name and is a soldier, so he probably wore one of the *episeistos* masks. (He is not a make-believe soldier like Moschion

at the end of the *Samia*.) There is no clue to his reaction to the scurrilous behavior of Smikrines; in some lost portion of the last two acts he might have taken up arms against the villain, thus showing some streak of that potential for violence which characterizes Polemon, Thrasonides, and perhaps Stratophanes. One would then be inclined to assign him the first *episeistos* mask; however, if he was restrained even in those circumstances, then the more appropriate mask would have been the second *episeistos*, described as ἀπαλώτερος.

There is one more play in which a soldier seems to be involved with a free-born girl, the *Karchedonios*. The fragments consist of six one- or two-line segments and two lexical citations (Koerte, 226-33) and now about fifty badly preserved lines in *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus*, 2654.²⁵ Between lines 30 and 40 of the new fragments, a conversation is preserved which has affinities with Plautus' *Poenulus* and Menander's *Misoumenos* and *Sikyonioides*:

- 30 (A?) [ῆ]κιστα· [...] πρόσσειν[...][...][φ
 (B) βέλτιστ[ε, σ]αυτὸν ἀγνοῶν ἐλήλυθας.
 (C) οὐκ οἶομαι γε. (B) καὶ τίς ἐστί σοι φράσον
 [μ]ῆ[τ]ῆρ; (C) ἐμοί; (B) νή. καὶ τίνος πατὴρὸς λέγε.
 τοὺς δημό[τ]ας νόμιζε ποιεῖν ἐγγραφάς.
 (C) θυγατὴρ Ἀμίλκου τοῦ στρατηγού, δραπετά,
 Καρχηδονίων ἐμή'στι μητὴρ. τί βλέπεις;
 (B) ἔπειτ' Ἀμί[λκου] θυγατρίδους ὦν πράγματα
 ἡμῖν παρ[έ]χε[ις] οἷε τε λήψεσθαι κέρην
 ἀστὴν; [C?] ἐπειδ[άν] [γ' ἐγ]γραφῶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους
 40 (B) ἀλλ' ἀγν[] ὁ κῆρυξ αὐτόθι.

It is clear that the Carthaginian (C) is establishing his family background, not altogether to the satisfaction of A and B. The reasons for this involve a young girl who is a citizen of the town in which the action takes place. What is the relationship between the Carthaginian and this young girl? The word λήψεσθαι (38) is the key; it is often used in Menander for marriage (cf. *Aspis*, 185 f., *Samia*, 586, *Epitrepontes*, 394) and would seem a strange way of describing a father's attempt to locate or ransom his daughter (cf. *Misoumenos*, 297 f.: τὴν ἐμαντοῦ σ' ἀξιῶ / ἦκω[ν] ἀπαλυτροῦν ὦν πατὴρ). (Also, it would be a strangely inverse recognition if the father rather than the daughter had to estab-

²⁵ E. G. Turner, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XXXIII (London, 1968), pp. 1-8. Lines 7-8 Turner = fr. 228 Koerte.

lish his citizenship.) The only alternative, then, to taking the Carthaginian as a young man trying to establish his citizenship so as to be able to marry a free-born girl (cf. Stratophanes in the *Sikyonios*) is to construe the passage as similar to that in the *Sikyonios* where Kichesias, in reality Philoumene's father, is asked to masquerade as Philoumene's father. Both these passages would then be comparable to *Poenulus*, 1086 ff. and could be construed as new evidence for taking Menander's *Karchedonios* as Plautus' original.²⁶ The use of *λήψεσθαι*, however, is against this, and it seems best to rely on the analogy of the *Sikyonios* with respect to Stratophanes, rather than to Kichesias. The Carthaginian would then be a soldier; his connection with Hamilcar (37) offers some support for this.²⁷ He would

²⁶ Webster (*supra*, note 3), pp. 132-9 gives full bibliography for the discussion prior to the publication of the Oxyrhynchus fragments. He was then (1950) of the opinion that Menander's play was Plautus' original. Now (*supra*, note 1), p. 207, he thinks this cannot have been the case, as the new fragments do not fit the Plautine plot. Arnott (*Rh. M.*, CII [1959], pp. 252-62) argued for Alexis as author of Plautus' original on the basis of similarities between Alexis, fr. 393, 263 (Kock) and *Poenulus*, 522 ff. With the new evidence he still maintains that Menander is not Plautus' source (*Arethusa*, III [1970], p. 53) and promises a full discussion soon in *Dioniso*. The similarities between *Poenulus*, 1086 ff. and *Sikyonios*, 343 ff. have been noted by Lloyd-Jones (*G. R. B. S.*, VII [1966], p. 147) and similarities between *Poenulus*, 1296 ff. and *Misoumenos*, 216 ff. by several commentators (see Koerte, II [1953], p. 88).

²⁷ L. Koenen published *P. Colon.*, 5031 as "Wartetext 9: Menander, Fabula Incerta" (*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, IV [1969], pp. 171 f.). E. W. Handley and E. G. Turner then compared the fragment to *P. Oxy.*, 2654 and determined that both were from the same roll. Koenen published this finding in "Nochmals zu Menander" (*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, V [1970], p. 60). The Oxyrhynchus fragments are from the *Karchedonios*, so the Cologne fragment is fixed for that play. It consists of one- and two-word bits of twenty lines and contains a reference to marriage and what appears to be a doublet of a passage in Menander's *Kolax*:

.... α]κολουθήσω φέρ[ω]ν
 κ]ώδι[ον]
 θώρακα σάγμα θ]ύλακον πήραν κρίνος (col. I, 6-8),
 ἀλλ' ὅδ' ὁ διμοιούτης φέρων αὐτός ποτε
 θώρακα, σάγμα, σαύνιον, πήραν, κρίνος,
 ἀσπίδα, σιγύνιον, διαβολίαν, κώδιον —
 νῦν πάντα ταῦθ' ὁ δυστυχῆς ὄνος φέρει (*Kolax*, 29 ff.).

probably be young, rich, deeply in love, and finally successful in his attempt to marry his mistress, perhaps against the plot of another young man to seduce her. In these respects he would have a great deal in common not only with Stratonphanes in the *Sikyonios*, but also with Polemon in the *Perikeiromene*, Thrasonides in the *Misoumenos*, and Kleostratos in the *Aspis*.

A character whose name might begin with the letters ΘΡΑΣ — the Θ and the Σ are conjectured on the slightest of traces in the papyrus — appears in the fragment of a play of New Comedy which is preserved in *Antinoopolis Papyrus* 55.²⁸ Author and title are disputed.²⁹ This character refers to a girl who has been raped and has then given birth (fr. b *verso*, 4 ff.) and either he or someone else says that Moschion will have something to do with some girl (14 f.). Other bits involve the discovery of a tablet, inscribed with a legal challenge, on an altar (b *recto*, a *verso*) and an attempt by a slave Dromo to come up with a plan (a *recto*, d *verso*, d *recto*). The character in the discussion of the rape may be Thrason, a soldier, but the moral tenor of the dialogue recalls more the attitude of an irate father or a pedagogue than that of a rival in love.

Webster and Ludwig³⁰ have established the relationship which exists between the *Eunuchus* of Terence and Menander's *Eunouchos* and *Kolax*. There was a soldier in Menander's *Eunouchos* who was a rival to the young man (Phaedia in Terence) for the love of Chrysis (Thais in Terence); Terence replaced the scenes involving this soldier with scenes from the *Kolax* of Menander involving the soldier Bias (Thraso in Terence). The essential difference between the two plays is clear from the fragments of the *Kolax*: Pheidias in Menander's *Kolax* married the girl at the end so that the soldier could not

²⁸ The complete text is found in J. W. B. Barns, *Antinoopolis Papyri*, II (London, 1960), pp. 8-29, with subsequent editions by H. J. Mette in *Menanders Dyskolos* (Gottingen, 1961), pp. 60-4 and *Lustrum*, X (1965), pp. 186-91. (Beware of Mette's emendations.)

²⁹ See Mette, *Lustrum*, X (1965), for bibliography (p. 180) and brief discussion (p. 191). Add now Webster (*supra*, note 1), p. 207.

³⁰ Webster (*supra*, note 3), pp. 67-76; W. Ludwig, "Von Terenz zu Menander," *Philologus*, CIII (1959), pp. 1-38. For full bibliography see H. J. Mette, *Lustrum*, X (1965), p. 139.

have shared her as he does at the end of Terence's *Eunuchus* and probably did at the end of Menander's *Eunouchos*. There must have been a recognition scene in Menander's *Kolax* as it is clear that the girl has been in the possession of a pimp and thus would be unmarriedable unless she were discovered free-born.

There are numerous passages in the fragments of the *Kolax* and in the scenes of the *Eunuchus* which Terence has adapted from the *Kolax* which prove the *miles* Bias to be *gloriosus* (see especially Terence, *Eunuchus*, 391 ff. and Menander, *Kolax*, fr. 2, 3, 4 Koerte). He is newly rich (*Kolax*, 27-54), violent (*Kolax*, 105 ff.) but whether he is very much in love with the girl he is trying to buy can be doubted: Menander seems never to have thwarted true love, especially not where a soldier is involved. The same might be said of the soldier in the *Eunouchos*, except for the fact that he is given an opportunity to share the courtesan's affections at the end of the play and this is hardly the sort of innovation one would expect Terence to have made. Webster compares Plautus' *Bacchides*, taken from Menander's *Dis Ecapaton*, where two fathers and two sons share two courtesans.⁸¹

Obviously the soldier had a more important role in Menander's *Kolax* than in his *Eunouchos*; otherwise Terence would not have been tempted to contaminate. The roles were different in that Bias in the *Kolax* loved and lost a free-born girl while in the *Eunouchos* the soldier loved and was allowed to share a courtesan. Since they are both professional soldiers associated with violence—though there was probably no siege scene in Menander's *Eunouchos*—they are likely to have worn the first *episeistos* mask.

Cleomachus is a minor character in Plautus' *Bacchides*, which is known to have been adapted from Menander's *Dis Ecapaton*. He appears in one scene of altercation with Nicobulus and Chrysalus (842-924) where he assumes a *gloriosus* posture and threatens violence (845-9):

non me arbitratur militem sed mulierem,
qui me meosque non queam defendere.
nam neque Bellona mi umquam neque Mars creduat,

⁸¹ Webster (*supra*, note 3), p. 9.

ni illum exanimalem faxo, si convenero,
nive exheredem fecero vitae suae.

How much of this scene is Plautine expansion or how much Menander Plautus has left out is impossible to determine: neither the old book fragments (109-14 Koerte) nor the new papyrus fragments³² make any reference to the soldier. It would seem, however, that there was a soldier's part in the *Dis Exapaton* similar to that in the *Eunouchos*: both would have been rivals of young men for the love of a courtesan, an essential difference being that the *Eunouchos* soldier was included in the courtesan's plans for the future while in the *Dis Exapaton* the soldier is paid off and sent away.

Two papyrus fragments, *Antinoopolis*, 15 and *Berlin*, 13892, have been joined by some scholars on the basis of common names.³³ *Antinoopolis*, 15 has a list of characters consisting of Lysippos, Kantharos, Gorgias, Philinos, and a *therapaina*; the name of the author is restored with certainty as Menander and *Apistos* has been suggested as the name of the play on the basis of barely discernible traces of ΤΟΣ.³⁴ A young man delivers a monologue in which he says that he has been married for five months and has been faithful to his wife; a *therapaina* enters with recognition tokens and the man's wife is thereby discovered the mother of an exposed child. He would, then, become the "untrusting" man of the reconstructed title and come to realize only late, as does Chaireas in the *Epitrepontes*, that he himself is the father of the child.

The Berlin fragment consists of a conversation between a soldier and his slave Kantharos about a sword; they are joined by a *therapaina* and speak of "rust," someone who is "newly rich," a "buyer," and a "possessor" and the necessity of guarding "my property" against someone who would make it "his own."

³² E. W. Handley, "Menander and Plautus: A Study in Comparison, An Inaugural Lecture delivered at University College London, 5 February 1968." Further discussion and complete text forthcoming in *B. I. C. S.*, Supplement no. 22, and a future volume of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

³³ See Mette, *Lustrum*, X (1965), p. 180 for bibliography. J. W. B. Barns and H. Lloyd-Jones (*J. H. S.*, LXXXIV [1964], pp. 21-34 do not accept the arguments for joining the two fragments.

³⁴ C. Austin, *C. R.*, XVII (1967), p. 134.

It is difficult to reconcile these two situations: more likely that the Antinoopolis fragment is from a domestic drama, perhaps the *Apistos*, similar to the *Epitrepontes*, and the Berlin fragment from a soldier play of indeterminate plot. It is impossible to tell whether the soldier in the latter is *gloriosus* — the fragment could be from a conversation like that between Pyrgopolinices and Artotrogus (*Miles*, 1 ff.) in which the braggart demands that his shield be made *clarior quam solis radii* — or sympathetic — the soldier could be threatened with respect to his possessions as Stratophanes seems to be by Smikrines in *Sikyonios*, 162 ff.

Menander's *Thrasyleon* is named for a soldier. Webster has reconstructed the outline of the plot from fragments of the original and of the adaptation by Turpilius.⁸⁵ The action follows that of the *Kolax*: the young man wants to marry the girl whom the *leno* has promised to Thrasyleon; the slave comes up with a stratagem and presumably the soldier loses out in the end. Plutarch compares Thrasyleon to Thrasonides in the *Misoumenos* with reference to boisterousness (*Moralia*, 1095 D); Julian calls him *ἀνόητος* (*Misop.*, 440, 11 Hert.).

Propertius (IV, 5, 41 ff.) refers to the Thais of Menander's play of the same name and advises courtesans to follow her example:

Nec te Medae delectent probra sequacis
 (Nempe tulit fastus ausa rogare prior),
 Sed potius mundi Thais pretiosa Menandri,
 Cum ferit astutos comica moecha Getas.
 In mores te verte viri: si cantica iactat,
 I comes et voces ebria iunge tuas.
 Ianitor ad dantis vigilet: si pulsat inanis,
 Surdus in obductam somniet usque seram.
 Nec tibi displiceat miles non factus amori,
 Nauta nec attrita si ferat aera manu,
 Aut quorum titulus per barbara colla pependit,
 Cretati medio cum saluere foro.

Koerte warns against reconstructing the lost play according to this passage: *sed Propertium in lenae disciplina IV. 5 Menandri vestigia non tam arte pressisse puto*. It is not, however, unlikely that a soldier appeared.

⁸⁵ Webster (*supra*, note 3), pp. 148-9.

Three plays of Plautus which involve a soldier cannot be assigned with certainty to individual authors of New Comedy: *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, and *Miles Gloriosus*. In the *Curculio* Therapontigonus is a *miles gloriosus* who tries to purchase a young girl from a *leno* only to find out finally that she is his sister; a marriage is thus arranged for her with the young man who has been the soldier's rival. This plot is the exact reverse of the *Perikeiromene*, where the young girl is discovered sister of the young man and marries the soldier. Therapontigonus, like Polemon, is susceptible to violence, but is redeemed in the final scenes of his play. The unnamed soldier in the *Epidicus* is denied his *gloriosus* pretensions in meeting with the old man Periphanes, who himself was a famous soldier in his youth and threatens to overwhelm the stranger in a contest of braggadocio (442-52). The *miles* plays no large part in this play.

The *Curculio* and the *Epidicus* have much in common and one is tempted to attribute both originals to Menander, since only he would seem to have worked with such intricate variations on conventional themes and characters and situations. There is, however, internal evidence for dating late the original of the *Epidicus*, and Webster attributes it to Apollodoros of Karystos, a close imitator of Menander.³⁶

The *Miles Gloriosus* presents the most extravagant caricature of the soldier type, Pyrgopolinices. He brags not only of his prowess in battle but also of his success with women. His self-deception is so complete and so overwhelming that one could pity him if he were only believable. Webster is probably right in assigning the original to Diphilos, since the play falls into a series of dramatic tableaux, and this feature is recognizable in the *Rudens* and *Casina*, which are known to derive from originals by Diphilos. Lysidamus in the *Casina* can be described as a caricature of the *senex libidinosus* and Gripus in the *Rudens* as a caricature of the surly slave, so it is difficult to say whether the extravagant portrayal of Pyrgopolinices in the *Miles* is due to Plautine expansion or the inspiration of Diphilos.³⁷

³⁶ Webster (*supra*, note 1), pp. 222 ff.

³⁷ Webster (*supra*, note 1), p. 183. Cf. Friedrich (*Euripides und Diphilos* [Munich, 1953]), p. 258 and Leo (*Plautinische Forschungen*)²

There are four titles of lost plays by Menander which suggest that military characters were involved in the action: *Xenologos*, *Hippokomos*, and *Stratiotai* because of their technical significance; *Rhapizomene* because it recalls *Perikeiromene*.

Of Menander's plays involving soldiers, the five best preserved present the soldier in a sympathetic manner: Polemon in the *Perikeiromene*, Thrasonides in the *Misoumenos*, Stratophanes in the *Sikyonios*, Kleostratos in the *Aspis* (and perhaps the unnamed soldier of the *Karchedonios*) all love free-born girls and are redeemed by this love from the violence to which they are susceptible; they are rewarded by marriage. Thrasyleon in his play seems to have lost his love to a young man and she was probably recognized as free-born. *Antinoopolis Papyrus*, 55 cannot be attributed with certainty to Menander, and it is unclear what the character ©PΑΣ has to do with the young girl whom Moschion raped and whether this character is a soldier. Bias in the *Kolax*, the unnamed soldier in the *Eunouchos*, and the unnamed soldier in the *Dis Exapaton* all seem to have lost out in their rivalry with a young man for the love of a courtesan. Berlin, 13892 is from a play which involves a soldier, but nothing can be determined of his role.

It is clear then that Menander did not use the soldier in a consistently stereotyped manner. All of his soldiers probably had an element of the *gloriosus* about them, but this traditional element was just the starting point for Menander's characterization: he was much more concerned with the behavior of a potentially violent man under the influence of love than he was with presenting a laughing-stock such as Pyrgopolinices. This use of inherited types as raw material for characterization is evident in Menander's slaves and old men, his rustics and city youths,

[Berlin, 1912]), pp. 115 ff., who think the original was written by an imitator of Menander, since it resembles Menander's plays but is not so good. Gaiser (*Poetica*, I, 4 [1987], pp. 436 ff.) thinks it was written by Menander and given a double title, *Ephesios* or *Alazon*. The double disguises he posits to explain the difference between Menander's original and Plautus' adaptation are awkward, and the philosophical contrast between Pyrgopolinices and Periplectomenus finds no support in the Plautus play or the Menander fragments. The influence of Euripides on the original of the *Miles* is as much an argument for Diphilos as author as for Menander.

as well. In each category Menander has created many individualized characters; all they have in common are their conventional names and masks and some major trait — all else is improvisation.

The more Menander one knows from new texts the more inadequate the old critiques of his art become. It is clear now that one cannot speak of certain conventions as being operative in both Greek and Roman comedy nor discuss the creative production of Menander in the terms appropriate for Plautus or Terence. What seem confining conventions in Menander — plots based on recognition and intrigue; characters from the Athenian middle class with their slaves, pimps, and money-lenders; all plays ending in marriage, etc. — are in fact only the bare essentials of his drama, with which he dispenses by means of stylized prologues and conventional masks, to go on with the real business of his drama, characterization. A soldier would have been immediately recognizable in the Theatre of Dionysus by his *episeistos* mask; his past history, present predicament, and future happiness were expounded by the prologue speaker; the action of the play then showed his own individualized responses to new circumstances as they arose. It is this action, this characterization, which Menander handled in a manner unparalleled by his predecessors, his contemporaries, or his Roman successors.

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THE PEDITES SINGULARES PANNONICIANI IN MAURETANIA.

The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* contains in volume VIII under the number 21453 a somewhat mutilated inscription from Aquae Calidae in Mauretania Caesariensis (Hammam Righa/Algeria). The text is given in this form:

M
D
12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 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2020. 2021. 2022. 2023. 2024. 2025. 2026. 2027. 2028. 2029. 2030. 2031. 2032. 2033. 2034. 2035. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2040. 2041. 2042. 2043. 2044. 2045. 2046. 2047. 2048. 2049. 2050. 2051. 2052. 2053. 2054. 2055. 2056. 2057. 2058. 2059. 2060. 2061. 2062. 2063. 2064. 2065. 2066. 2067. 2068. 2069. 2070. 2071. 2072. 2073. 2074. 2075. 2076. 2077. 2078. 2079. 2080. 2081. 2082. 2083. 2084. 2085. 2086. 2087. 2088. 2089. 2090. 2091. 2092. 2093. 2094. 2095. 2096. 2097. 2098. 2099. 2100. 2101. 2102. 2103. 2104. 2105. 2106. 2107. 2108. 2109. 2110. 2111. 2112. 2113. 2114. 2115. 2116. 2117. 2118. 2119. 2120. 2121. 2122. 2123. 2124. 2125. 2126. 2127. 2128. 2129. 2130. 2131. 2132. 2133. 2134. 2135. 2136. 2137. 2138. 2139. 2140. 2141. 2142. 2143. 2144. 2145. 2146. 2147. 2148. 2149. 2150. 2151. 2152. 2153. 2154. 2155. 2156. 2157. 2158. 2159. 2160. 2161. 2162. 2163. 2164. 2165. 2166. 2167. 2168. 2169. 2170. 2171. 2172. 2173. 2174. 2175. 2176. 2177. 2178. 2179. 2180. 2181. 2182. 2183. 2184. 2185. 2186. 2187. 2188. 2189. 2190. 2191. 2192. 2193. 2194. 2195. 2196. 2197. 2198. 2199. 2200. 2201. 2202. 2203. 2204. 2205. 2206. 2207. 2208. 2209. 2210. 2211. 2212. 2213. 2214. 2215. 2216. 2217. 2218. 2219. 2220. 222

firms the text of the *Corpus*, including the second but last letter of the third line which is clearly an E. This makes it impossible to read *exp[l(oratoris)] d(omo) ---*, and calls for a different interpretation.

I should like to suggest that this soldier came from Lower Pannonia as a member of the governor's infantry guard, the *pedites singulares*.² The text would then have to be expanded this way: *D(is) M(anibus) [...]icus Bel[I]ici, mil(es) exped(itibus) sing(ularibus) Pan(n)o(nicianis)*³ *Pann(oniae) inf(erioris) ---*. The above reading is in accordance with the traces of lines that can be made out on the squeeze. While the two middle letters of the word *sing(ularibus)* cannot be traced on the squeeze with certainty, at least the space available fits them perfectly. The last letter of this word, read by the editors of the *Corpus* as C could just as well be read as a G.⁴

One may doubt our reading on the grounds that Pannonia thus would be mentioned twice. Yet such doubts are dispelled by a similar inscription from Numidia (*C. I. L.*, VIII, 18290): *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum), Aurelius Nigrinus, miles Moes(iacus) provinci(a)e {Me} M(o)esi(ae) superioris, stupendorum V, vivit annis XX, Aurelius Ursinus fratri suo bene merenti posuit*. An inscription from Thracia (*C. I. L.*, III, 14207, 10) mentions an even closer parallel, a *n(umerus) expl(oratorum)*

² For *pedites singulares* see E. Stein, *Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland* (Wien, 1932), pp. 73 ff. Also Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 ff. Pertinent texts from North Africa are *C. I. L.*, VIII, 2911 (Lambaesis): *Memoriae C. Iul(ii) Nepotis, domo Amm(a)edara, ped(es) sing(ularis) ---*; VIII, 3050 = 18164: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) Aur(elio) Celso, eq(uiti) ex sin(gularibus) pro(vinciae) M(o)es(iae) sup(erioris), interf(ecto), ---*; VIII, 9393 (Caesarea Mauretaniae) = Dessau, 2589: *D(is) M(anibus) Vereius Victor, miles o(o)h[o]rtis quart(a)e Sucambrorum, pedis sing(ularis), centuria Flori, ---*.

³ The adjective *Pannoniciani* rather than *Pannonici* is chosen in analogy to the *pedites singulares Britanniciani* (*C. I. L.*, XVI, 54 with this *lectio difficilior* is some five years older than *C. I. L.*, XVI, 57 with the reading *Britannici*). This particular ending denotes the province to which one belongs, rather than the ethnic origin, cf. *C. I. L.*, III, 3228: *vevill(ationum) leg(ionum) [G]ermaniciana[r(um)] e[t] Britan(n)ician(arum)*; cf. *C. I. L.*, III, 1919 and *A. E.*, 1926, 79.

⁴ It is clear from the squeeze that this letter is not E, as Domaszewski-Dobson, *loc. cit.*, read it. Dr. J. Marcillet-Jaubert informs me that having seen the stone he reads **SNG**, i. e. *sing(ularibus)*.

[G]er[m]anicianorum G[e]r(maniae) inf(erioris). The fact that on these inscriptions, too, a general indication of origin is followed by a more specific one, shows that our reading conforms with the usage of other texts.

The heirs of this Pannonian *singularis* are also soldiers, as is clear from their titles *signifer* and *optio*. Since they do not mention a different unit, they, too, may have been *pedites singulares Pannoniciani*. If so, this is the first evidence for the existence of the ranks of *signifer* and *optio* among the *pedites singulares*. Up to now nothing was known about the *principales* in such units.⁵

Assuming that the *pedites singulares* of Lower Pannonia were indeed transferred from the Danube to Africa, one would like to know the date and purpose of their transfer as well as the further fate of the unit.

In dating our inscription, the division of Pannonia in A. D. 106 gives us a *terminus post quem*. The name of the deceased, --[i]cus Bel[i]ici, on the other hand, shows that this soldier did not possess Roman citizenship, and since practically no peregrine soldiers are known from tombstones in the Danubian regions after Hadrian,⁶ the inscription very likely dates from the first half or from the middle of the second century.

In the search for what became of these *singulares* one's attention is attracted by the *cohors I Aelia singularium*, the name of which implies that it was formed from *singulares*. This cohort is known only from five inscriptions found at Auzia in Mauretania Caesariensis.⁷ From its name *Aelia* it follows that it was formed under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. As it happens, we have proof that the first soldiers of this cohort came from the

⁵ Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 35, n. 8.

⁶ See K. Kraft, *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau* (Bern, 1951), p. 78. The formula *H. S. E.* also points to the early second century, yet there are exceptions, e. g. *C. I. L.*, VIII, 3164 (Lambaesis) from the time of Caracalla.

⁷ *C. I. L.*, VIII, 9047; 9054; 9055; 9058; 20753. For this cohort see C. Cichorius, "cohors," *R.-E.*, III (1900), cols. 332 f. and R. Cagnat, *L'Armée romaine d'Afrique* (Paris, 1913), pp. 246 f. The latest of these inscriptions, *C. I. L.*, VIII, 9047 = Dessau, 2767, dates from A. D. 260. It hardly refers to the *cohors Syngambrorum* as Domaszewski-Dobson, *op. cit.*, p. 243 assume, because when the name of this cohort is abbreviated, the letter b is always retained.

Danubian area. The inscription *C.I.L.*, VIII, 9054 reads: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) Dassio Albini bene merenti Arsus posuit (ex) coh(orte) si(n)g(ularium), an(norum) L.* The deceased bears an undoubtedly Illyrian name⁸ and therefore must have come from a Danubian province. And because he is a non-citizen, his tombstone, too, will not date much later than from the middle of the second century. The coincidence of time, place, and name leads one to the conclusion that not long after their arrival in Mauretania the *pedites singulares Pannonici* were recast to be the *cohors I Aelia singularium*.

Elsewhere in the Empire possibly one other *cohors singularium*⁹ and three *alae singularium*¹⁰ are known. They have long been thought to have originated from the *singulares* of provincial governors or army commanders, but only now do we have proof for such a process. Still, one cannot say whether entire units or only the core of them were made up of *singulares* since the strength of such governors' guards is unknown.¹¹

A well-known parallel to this transfer is furnished by the

⁸ See A. Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier* (Öst. Akad. Wiss., *Schriften der Balkankommission, Linguistische Abteilung*, XV [Wien, 1957]), pp. 112 f. *Arsus*, too, seems to be an Illyrian name: its female form *Arsa* is known from Dalmatia (A. and J. Šašel, "Inscriptiones Latinae," *Situla*, V (1963), no. 149 and cf. Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 60) and the name does not occur elsewhere in Africa.

⁹ *A.Æ.*, 1964, 271 from near Scupi/Moesia superior: ---*mil(iti) co(ho)r(tis) singulari(um?)*; it could be that in *C.I.L.*, III, 7085 (Balikesri/Mysia) we have an *eques cohortis singularium*.

¹⁰ For the origin of the *ala I praetoria singularium c.R.* and the *ala I Flavia singularium c.R.* see G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen in der römischen Provinz Germania inferior* (Düsseldorf, 1968), pp. 30 f.; 33 f. The *ala I Flavia singularium c.R.*, however, came from Lusitania, witness *A.Æ.*, 1961, 358 and 359 with *A.Æ.*, 1967, 145. (Cf. A. García y Bellido, "El *exercitus Hispanicus*," *Arch. Esp. Arq.*, XXXIV [1961], pp. 138 f.). For the *ala I Ulpia singularium* see C. Cichorius, "ala," *R.-Æ.*, I (1893), col. 1262; add *A.Æ.*, 1911, 161 = Dessau, 9471; *C.I.L.*, XVI, 106 = Dessau, 9057; *A.Æ.*, 1933, 210 and 211.

¹¹ Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 36, not very convincingly, deduced the strength of the *singulares* of a governor from the very fact that they could be converted into an *ala*. Moreover, the inscriptions *C.I.L.*, V, 8660 and VIII, 21567 he adduces in this context may not refer to *singulares* at all. One wonders from where he derived his insight that only *singulares* transferred to another province could form new, permanent units.

pedites singulares of the governor of Britain. They were sent to the Danube to take part in the conquest of Dacia and afterwards were incorporated into the army of that province under the name of *pedites singulares Britannici*.¹² Their unit, it is true, remained a *numerus* for well over a hundred years and was probably never transformed into a cohort.¹³ Yet it must not be reckoned among the underprivileged national *numeri*, since its soldiers, just like those of regular cohorts, received military diplomas upon their discharge,¹⁴—understandably, since originally they had been selected from among the cohorts in Britain.¹⁵ The example of the British *pedites singulares* shows that it is not uncommon for the guard of a governor to be transferred to another province and there to become an independent, permanent unit. Similarly, the *equites singulares* of Upper Moesia were at some time transferred to Numidia,¹⁶ even though it is not known what became of them there.

The *pedites singulares Britannici* were removed from Britain perhaps because of a crime involving them and their governor Sallustius Lucullus: he had equipped them, it seems, with a new type of lances which he permitted to be called *Luculleae*. Domitian took this arrogance as a pretext to execute Lu-

¹² For this unit see W. Wagner, *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen* (Berlin, 1938), pp. 202 f. and *A. E.*, 1967, 410-12.

¹³ On the inscription *A. E.*, 1967, 411 from the time of Philippus Arabs, it is still described as *n(umerus)*.

¹⁴ *C. I. L.*, XVI, 54; 57; 107; 163.

¹⁵ *Pedites singulares* of a governor selected from cohorts: *C. I. L.*, VIII, 9393; XIII, 6270; 8188; *P. Dura*, 100, XXV, 23; 101, XIII, 21; XXVIII, 22; XXVIII, 26. No *singulares* selected from among the *numeri* are known yet.

¹⁶ *C. I. L.*, VIII, 3050 = 18164 (Lambaesis/Numidia): *D(is) M(ani)bus s(acrum), Aur(elio) Celso, eq(uiti) ex sin(gularibus) pro(vinciae) M(o)es(iae) sup(erioris), interf(ecto), posu(erunt) Aur(elii) Estea(?) et Pris(cus) et Long(inus) et Cl(audius) Faustin(us). Po(suerunt) frat(ri) merito. V(isit) ann(os) XXXVI.* R. Cagnat, *op. cit.*, p. 115, n. 3, rightly assumes this man came from Moesia and died in Africa. The editors of the *Corpus* had concluded from the difficultly read *Estea(?)* that four sisters had put up this tombstone for a soldier from Lambaesis who died in Moesia. Yet it is far more likely that these four "brothers" are comrades from the same *numerus equitum singularium Moesiae superioris* that came to Lambaesis.

cullus.¹⁷ It is doubtful whether the Pannonian *singulares*, too, had to leave their province because of any misconduct of their governor. Our list of Pannonian governors in the time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius is rather scanty and it does not reveal any cases of misconduct or punishment.¹⁸ But one need not assume any irregularity. A demand for outside troops to quell a Moorish uprising is sufficient to explain the transfer.

Such situations occurred in the early years of Hadrian and again under Antoninus Pius, when a war was raging against the Moorish tribes from about A.D. 145 to 150.¹⁹ The latter will be the likeliest occasion for the *pedites singulares Pannoniciani* to have been transferred to North Africa, for then vexillations of the Pannonian legions and *alae* were called to Mauretania,²⁰ and the *pedites singulares*—or a vexillation of them—may have joined the expeditionary force.

After the war was over, the other troops returned to the Danube to guard the Pannonian frontier at their assigned posts. The *singulares* had no such posts to guard. So if there was a need to leave some troops behind in Mauretania, they could best be spared. Besides, as a well trained unit ²¹ *singulares* made an

¹⁷ Suetonius, *Dom.*, 10, 2-3: *Complures senatores, in iis aliquot consulares interemit—Sallustium Lucillum Britanniae legatum, quod lanceas novae formae appellari Luculleas passus esset.* Lucullus governed Britain between A.D. 85 and 96 (cf. A. Birley, "The Roman Governors of Britain," *Epigraphische Studien*, IV [Köln, 1967], p. 68); the *pedites singulares Britanniciani* are first attested on the Moesian diploma of A.D. 103/106 (*C.I.L.*, XVI, 54). The suggestion that they were removed because of Lucullus' crime was made by E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* (Kendal, 2nd ed., 1961), p. 22.

¹⁸ The latest list: A. Dobó, *Die Verwaltung der römischen Provinz Pannonien* (Amsterdam, 1968).

¹⁹ For troops sent from other provinces to Mauretania (Tingitana) under Hadrian see H. Nesselhauf, "Zur Militärgeschichte der Provinz Mauretania Tingitana," *Epigraphica*, XII (1950), pp. 34-48. For the war under Antoninus Pius cf. J. Baradez, "Les nouvelles fouilles de Tipasa et les opérations d'Antonin le Pieux en Maurétanie," *Libyca*, II (1954), pp. 89-147, and P. Romanelli, *Storia delle province Romane dell' Africa* (Rome, 1958), pp. 351-60.

²⁰ For the legions see E. Ritterling, *legio, R.-M.*, XII (1924), cols. 1294 f.; for the *alae* see also the works cited in note 19.

²¹ Since the *equites singulares Augusti* and the *equites singulares* of provincial governors were especially well trained (cf. M. Speidel, *Die*

excellent core for a new cohort. It may have been for these reasons that they were recast as *cohors I Aelia singularium* and were permanently entrusted the fort at Auzia, one of the strategic places assigned to the Pannonian expeditionary force during the war.²²

If this is indeed the correct date for the transfer of the *pedites singulares Pannoniciani Pannoniae inferioris*, then it becomes apparent for the first time that the garrison of Mauretania Caesariensis, like that of Tingitana,²³ was permanently strengthened as a result of this war. The new cohort would be the first unit with the name *Aelia* that we can ascribe to Antoninus Pius rather than to Hadrian, as is done invariably with all other units bearing that name. In fact, this will be the first regular army unit (aside from *numeri*) that we know to have been founded by Antoninus Pius. Its serial number implies that even more units were created—or planned—at the time, though not necessarily of *singulares*. It would seem, therefore, that in Africa as well as in Britain and Germany Antoninus Pius' long range defense planning was quite adequate.

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Equites Singulares Augusti [Bonn, 1965], pp. 55-60), one may assume the same for the *pedites singulares*. I do not believe the *singularis* from Tipasa (VIII, 20857 = 9292) belonged to this unit. Since he was a *duplicarius* he will have belonged to a cavalry unit.

²² Baradez, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 f.

²³ *O.I.L.*, XVI, 181 (A.D. 157) has two new units in Mauretania Tingitana: *cohors III Gallorum felix* and *cohors IV Tungrorum (vesilatio)*. Cf. Nesselhauf, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

APULEIUS AND METAMORPHOSIS.

Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* is today more commonly entitled *The Golden Ass*, and while the Greek title is generally regarded as the correct one, the second is the name by which it has appeared in translations since the Renaissance.¹ Ancient testimony about this title is itself ambiguous; Augustine refers explicitly to "the work which Apuleius entitled *The Golden Ass*," but Fulgentius in his summary of the Cupid and Psyche story is equally clear in naming it the *Metamorphoses*.² *Asinus aureus* bespeaks a story of the highest quality,³ while *metamorphoses* implies a number of stories dealing with changes in form.⁴

In spite of this dual tradition, there are sound reasons for holding *metamorphoses* to be the preferred title, for in addition to the evidence of the manuscripts,⁵ the opening sentence recalls the thematic statement typical of an epic poem.⁶ A theme of

¹ See Elizabeth H. Haight, *Apuleius and his Influence* (New York, 1927), pp. 111-34 and P. G. Walsh, *The Roman Novel* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 224-43.

² Cf. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, XVIII, 18 *med.*: ". . . Apuleius in libris quos asini aurei titulo inscripsit"; Fulgentius, *Myth.*, III, 6 *init.*: ". . . Apuleius in libris metamorfoseon."

³ Walsh (above, note 1), p. 143, n. 1 translates *aureus* in this colloquial sense as "the prince of the ass stories," but "ass stories" is somewhat misleading, since it infers from *asinus* a literary genre which was unrecognized in antiquity, and which has been apparent only since the work of Carl Bürger in the late nineteenth century; cf. *R.-E.*, VI (1909), cols. 626-76, s. v. "Esel."

⁴ B. E. Perry, "The Significance of the Title in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*," *C. P.*, XVIII (1923), pp. 229-38, especially p. 229.

⁵ Cf. *T. L. L.*, VIII, 875, 14: as a title, it may have been either "Libri xi metamorphoseon" or simply "Metamorphoses."

⁶ E. g. *μῆνιν* or *ἄνδρα* in Homer, *παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν* in Apollonius Rhodius, or the *arma virumque* of Vergil. Such a thematic statement is not the usual opening in Greek romances, to judge from such authors as Xenophon of Ephesus (*ἦν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀνὴρ τῶν τὰ πρῶτα ἐκεῖ δυναμένων Λυκομήδους ὄνομα*) or Achilles Tatius (*Σιδῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλις Ἀσσυρίων ἢ θάλασσα κ.τ.λ.*). The Pseudo-Lucianic *Λούκιος ἢ Ὀνος* likewise opens informally with *ἀπῆεν ποτὲ ἐς Θερραλίαν*, with only *ποτὲ* as an indication that a story is beginning (*L. S. J.*,⁹ 1454, s. v. *πότε*, III. 1); cf. Apuleius' *Thessaliam* . . . (I, 2).

change is explicitly defined without mention of *asinus* or *aureus*.⁷ But the meaning of *μεταμορφῶσις* poses some difficulty, for Helm, Perry, and others have with some reason pointed out that what it implies does not seem at all borne out by the story.⁸

In a discussion of Photius' summary of the "Metamorphoses of Lucius of Patrae," Perry noted that Apuleius' title must have a different meaning from the one we expect from reading the metamorphoses in Ovid: "Metamorphoses is intended, not in a concrete sense as referring to different stories of change, but in a *generic* sense implying some reflections upon and illustration of the general subject. We need not expect a number of stories of change in Apuleius any more than we should expect to find a number of ghost stories in Ibsen's play. In both cases the plural title is used only to suggest an important motif."⁹ This special meaning of *μεταμορφῶσις* is plausible, provided we can agree that there are not many metamorphoses in Apuleius, and that he had nothing specific in mind when he so entitled his work. It is not clear, however, that there are so few changes as Perry maintains. Moreover, how could *μεταμορφῶσις* be used in such a loose, figurative sense?

If the theme of the *Metamorphoses* is in fact that of several metamorphoses, it cannot mean metamorphoses in the literal sense of a "change of form." True, there are the transformations of the narrator Lucius at the beginning and end, but such literal changes rarely occur after Book III.¹⁰ But if we follow

⁷ *At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram auresque tuas benevolas lepido susurro permulceam—modo si papyrus Aegyptiam argutia Nilotici calami inscriptam non spreveris inspicere—figuras fortunasque hominum in alias imagines conversas et in se rursum mutuo nexu refectas ut mireris.* See P. Scazzoso, *Le Metamorfosi di Apuleio* (Milano, 1951), pp. 7-41 for an exhaustive analysis of this sentence and the prologue.

⁸ Cf. Perry (above, note 4), p. 230; Richard Helm, *Apuleius, Florida* (Leipzig, 1959), pp. vi-vii; Erich Burck, "Zum Verständnis des Apuleius," *Vom Menschenbild in der römischen Literatur* (Heidelberg, 1966), p. 403; D. S. Robertson and P. Vallette, *Apulée: Les Métamorphoses* (Paris, 1940), p. xxiv.

⁹ Perry (above, note 4), p. 238.

¹⁰ An obsession with the idea of metamorphoses (likewise in *Lucius or the Ass*) in the first three books is intensified by those passages which appear in Apuleius, but do not occur in the Greek author; for a discussion of this aspect of the *Einlagen*, cf. P. Junghanns, *Die*

Apuleius' statement of his theme, *Metamorphoses* may yet prove to be the appropriate title. By speaking of *fortuna* in his prologue, he gives a broad scope to his story, since any aspect of a man's life may be affected. It is necessary to see first how such a theme is apparent in the course of the narrative, and then how *μεταμορφώσεις* acquired so broad a meaning for Apuleius.

Multiple changes in *figura* appear throughout the narrative in many ways. For example, Lucius is transformed into an ass as a punishment for his lust and *curiositas*;¹¹ likewise his hostess Pamphile changes into an owl to fly to her latest young man.¹² Victims of witches' lust and vengeance are often punished by metamorphoses,¹³ and various inanimate things are given life for an evil, more rarely for a good purpose.¹⁴ Clearly changes in *figura* are far more extensive than has been assumed heretofore.

Another kind of change entails a variation of the *Scheintod* so typical of the Greek Romances.¹⁵ There Xenophon of Ephesus or Achilles Tatius makes use of this device to gratify his audience's love of a dramatic turn in fortune, whereby people are miraculously delivered from a hopeless situation by some contrivance or other. Thus in Apuleius a young boy seemingly murdered by his wicked stepmother is revived by the providence

Erzählungstechnik von Apuleius' Metamorphosen und ihrer Vorlage (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 161 ff.

¹¹ Cf. III, 24; XI, 13, and the remark of the priest at XI, 15: . . . *curiositatis inprosperae sinistrum praemium reportasti*.

¹² Cf. II, 5 and III, 9.

¹³ E.g., the victims of Meroe (I, 9); Socrates (I, 5-9); Thelyphron (II, 30). Cf. especially the description of their powers at II, 22: . . . *quippe cum deterrimae versipelles in quodvis animal ore converso latenter adrepant, ut ipso etiam oculos Solis et Iustitiae facile frustrentur; nam et aves et rursum canes et mures, immo vero etiam muscas induunt*. This use of metamorphosis was a common notion in antiquity; cf. Petronius, 61-3 and especially the Thessalian witch Erichtho in Lucan, VI, 507-830.

¹⁴ Cf. II, 32 and III, 18 (enchanted wine skins); II, 1 (Lucius' imagination sees his surroundings as men transformed into *lapides*, *aves*, *arbores*, *fontanos latices*, *statuas*, *imagines*, *boves*); II, 4-5 (Ac-taeon's metamorphosis); VI, 10-19 (an ant, reed, eagle, and tower are given the power of speech in the Cupid and Psyche story); VIII, 21 (an old man turns into a snake).

¹⁵ E.g., the "deaths" of Anthia (Xenophon of Ephesus), Leucippe (Achilles Tatius), and Chariclea (Heliodorus); cf. B. P. Reardon, "The Greek Novel," *Phoenix*, XXIII (1969), pp. 291-309, especially p. 300.

of a wise doctor, and men actually dead are resurrected by supernatural powers.¹⁶ Such sport with the earnest matter of life and death follows the theme of multiple changes in *fortuna*, and contrasts with the experiences of Lucius, who is reborn (*renatus*, XI, 16) in the service of Isis and even visits the kingdom of the dead (XI, 23).¹⁷

Finally, there are so-called "metamorphoses" which are nothing of the kind, but rather witty allusions to a process never accomplished in fact. For example, the bandit Thrasyleon is so convincing in his disguise as a bear that he is killed by spears and hunting dogs.¹⁸ A faithful wife Plotina eludes her pursuers by disguising herself as a man, just as the narrator of her story, Haemus, claims he once disguised himself as a woman.¹⁹ And on the level of mere word-play, such common turns of phrase as "turned to stone" acquire an unavoidably ironic tone in a work telling of metamorphoses.²⁰

Thus Apuleius' metamorphoses range from true changes in form, to religious conversion, to nothing more than a clever play on words which exploits the work's theme of metamorphoses. All these changes appear in a perplexing mixture of comic, tragic, and sadistic experiences which surpass even the colorful excesses of the Greek Romance.²¹ Eros in those works is a sentimental

¹⁶ Cf. X, 12 (the young boy), I, 17-19 (Socrates), and II, 28 (the dead husband at Larissa).

¹⁷ Cf. XI, 16 (his rebirth in Isis) and 23 (descent to Hades); this visit resembles the descent into Hell of Christ after the crucifixion, but it is not to be taken as a conferral of immortality *per se*: cf. Nilsson, *G. G. R.*,² II, p. 610.

¹⁸ Cf. IV, 15: . . . *fortissimum socium nostrum prorsus bestiam factam*. Note that *prorsus* is used elsewhere to describe metamorphoses. . . . *sed omnia prorsus ferali murmure in aliam effigiem translata* (II, 1).

¹⁹ Cf. VII, 6 (*ingenio masculo*, of Plotina) and 8 (*sumpta veste muliebri florida*, of Haemus). These disguises anticipate a similar "metamorphosis" of sex in the heroine Charite and her revenge on Thrasyllus; cf. VIII, 11 (*masculis animis*) and 14 (*efflavit animam virilem*).

²⁰ Cf. III, 10 (. . . *fiavus in lapidem steti gelidus nihil secus quam una de ceteris theatri statuis vel columnis*) and VI, 14 (. . . *sic impossibilitate ipsa mutata in lapidem Psyche*). Similar word-play seems involved in the puns on *testudo* at I, 12 and IX, 26.

²¹ For this question see B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 96-124 and Reardon (above, note 15), p. 294.

bond between hero and heroine.²² Occasionally it is more pathological, and it is this second aspect of love which overshadows the other in Apuleius—especially in the later books. Did he have in mind some precedent by which *Metamorphoses* would be not merely an adequate title, but one that would lend a significant interpretation to his work?

Such latitude as we seek in the meaning of this word is not to be found in any Greek author. Wherever the word appears, it means a "change of form" or "transformation," and nothing more complicated can be inferred.²³ Thus the transfiguration of Christ is described as a change in physical appearance,²⁴ and Christian authors invariably refer to it as his *μεταμορφῶσις*.²⁵ The word enjoyed some currency in writers of the first and second centuries, but it seems to have been used only in a literal sense; for example, we never read of a *μεταμορφῶσις* of *τύχη*.²⁶

It is only in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that there is a complexity of theme comparable to that in Apuleius; indeed, Ovid's story of world history from chaos to Augustus far exceeds the range of the later work, yet its title offered no apparent restriction on the kind of story he could tell.²⁷ Like the tales of Apuleius, most of his stories are concerned with the power of *amor* in the world. But not every story tells of a change in physical form;²⁸

²² Reardon (above, note 15), pp. 295-6.

²³ E. g., the changed appearance of an old man in Appian, *B. C.*, IV, 42 and Circe's transformations in Plutarch, *Moralia*, 52E are termed *μεταμορφώσεις*. The *Μεταμορφώσεων Συναγωγή* of Antonius Liberalis and the *Μεταμορφώσεων λόγοι* of Lucius of Patrae (cf. Photius, *Bibl. Cod.*, 129 and B. E. Perry, *The Metamorphoses Attributed to Lucius of Patrae* [Diss. Princeton, 1920]) have the same title as Apuleius' work.

²⁴ Cf. Mat. 17, 2 and Mark 9, 2: *καὶ μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν*.

²⁵ E. g. Chrysostomus, Migne, *P. G.*, LXI, 713-16 and 721-4. Paul's injunction to transform one's spiritual life in 2 *Cor.* 3, 18 (*τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα*) and *Rom.* 12, 2 (*μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοῦς*) are judged to be a "transformation invisible to the physical eye" in W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Chicago, 1957), p. 513.

²⁶ As implied at III, 9 (*quae fortunarum mearum repentina mutatio*); cf. the prologue's *fortunas . . . in alias imagines conversas et in se rursum reffectas*.

²⁷ See William S. Anderson, "Multiple Change in the *Metamorphoses*," *T. A. P. A.*, XCIV (1963), pp. 1-27 and Brooks Otis, *Ovid as an Epic Poet* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 45-90.

²⁸ Cf. Otis (above, note 27), p. 81: ". . . Ovid is not primarily con-

rather, in both *Metamorphoses* the passions of men can transform them as completely and irrevocably as any physical change ever could.²⁹ Byblis and Myrrha are both ruined by incestuous passions well before their transformations,³⁰ and Medea, who begins as an innocent only dimly aware of what love may be,³¹ ends famous only for her spectacular vengeance and cruelty.³² While she works many physical changes in others, she escapes any punitive change herself.³³ Most characters in Apuleius likewise suffer change in their life because of the lust or hatred of another person.³⁴ They may be humiliated or even murdered, but few of them are physically transformed.³⁵

cerned with the formal requirement that each and every episode be a true metamorphosis in the conventional, literal sense of the word."

²⁹ Cf. Anderson (above, note 27), p. 7: "Often . . . the transformation works first psychically, then physically."

³⁰ Cf. IX, 453-665 for the story of Byblis (physical transformation only at 663) and X, 311-502 for Myrrha (transformation at 499).

³¹ Cf. VII, 12-13: "*nescio quis deus obstat*," ait, "*mirumque, nisi hoc est, aut aliquid certe simile huic, quod amare vocatur*."

³² Cf. VII, 298-349 (Pelias and his daughters), 391-7 (murder of her children and Creusa), and 406-24 (Theseus and Aegeus).

³³ Ovid's Circe has similar powers; cf. XIV, 10-74 and 320-97, and see Charles Segal, "Myth and Philosophy in the *Metamorphoses*: Ovid's Augustanism and the Augustan Conclusion of Book XV," *A. J. P.*, XC (1969), pp. 257-92, especially pp. 270-3.

³⁴ This is particularly true of the characters in the latter half of the work; for a discussion of them see my essay "The Tales in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*," *T. A. P. A.*, C (1969), pp. 487-527, especially pp. 514-24.

³⁵ A psychic change is sometimes the only metamorphosis effected in a character, but is nonetheless decisive; e.g., the adulterer Thrasyllus (VIII, 3, *spectate . . . quorsum furiosae libidinis proruperint impetus*), a rich man crazed by his wealth (IX, 5, . . . *agrestis, verecundus alioquin, avaritia divitis iam spoliatus*), and especially Lucius' friend Pythias, who is changed by his *magisterium* into an officious, callous brute (I, 25, *qua contentus morum severitudine meus Pythias*); cf. Erich Auerbach's discussion of this puzzling scene in *Mimesis* (Princeton, 1953), pp. 62-3. Pythias is as furiously vindictive as the witch Meroe in his punishment of a fishseller; cf. I, 12 (*favo eum sero, immo statim, immo vero iam nunc . . .*) and I, 25 (*iam enim favo scias, quem ad modum sub meo magisterio mali debeant coherceri*). Lucius is as dumbfounded at this insane action of his friend as he is at a sudden change in his luck at the Risus Festival (cf. note 26, above): *his actis consternatus ac prorsus obstupidus*. Wonder and amazement are part of Apuleius' theme (cf. the *ut mireris* of the prologue), and

Lust, rage, and insanity abound in both works, but there is an important difference in the two authors' interpretation of human nature. Whereas Ovid sees *amor* as an inescapable condition of life, and a force with which men must reconcile themselves,³⁶ the final book of Apuleius shows no accommodation whatever with such a world.³⁷ *Amor* is as much a part of the human psyche in Apuleius as it is in Ovid,³⁸ but it is a weakness of the flesh which his narrator Lucius finally rejects altogether. Intervention by a supernatural power is the only solution for Apuleius, and for him, Isis is that power.

It must not be thought that Apuleius' narrative style or any significant part of his story derives from the earlier *Metamorphoses*. Only in so far as he characterizes his story as a series of metamorphoses is he following the example of Ovid. His work lies clearly in the tradition of the Greek Romance.³⁹ Even so, it is not entirely a comic romance, for the final book betrays a religious motivation greater than in any other author. The narrative of Greek romances usually centers on a pair of faithful lovers, but they are missing in both Apuleius and the Pseudo-Lucianic *Lucius or the Ass*. Only the sad couple Charite and Tlepolemus resemble the focal characters of Greek fiction,

there is a similar one in Ovid; cf. Anderson (above, note 27), p. 4: "Ovid regularly associates with his description of metamorphosis dramatic directions, by which he represents the amazement caused by the change in the individual and/or his companions, or through which he announces a story of change."

³⁶ See Otis (note 27, above), pp. 166 ff. on the "pathos of love." Recent scholarship tends to regard *amor* as a theme with which Ovid occupied himself from his first works to his last; cf. Segal (note 33, above), pp. 257-62, 267-74, and Karl Büchner, "Ovids Amores," *Gedenkschrift für Georg Rohde* (Tübingen, 1961), p. 57: "Wie ein Ferment aber wirken vor allem die Motive seiner drei Bücher Amores auch noch in den spätesten Werken."

³⁷ Cf. XI, 5 *fin.*, 15 *fin.*, and especially 30 *init.*; for further discussion on this point, see Willi Wittmann, *Das Isisbuch des Apuleius* (Stuttgart, 1938).

³⁸ Perhaps even more so, since the allegorical story of Cupid and Psyche occupies the central portion of the work.

³⁹ Cf. Reardon (note 15, above), p. 303, n. 32, who argues for a closer connection between Apuleius and the Greek Romance than allowed by Perry; cf. also Perry (note 21, above), pp. 183-5. Walsh (note 1, above), pp. 52-66 assumes such a connection and proves his point well.

yet they are disposed of in an uncompromising, pessimistic way.

As for the theme of metamorphosis, "endless change" is the simplest and most comprehensive statement of Ovid's theme,⁴⁰ and it would serve as well for Apuleius, who is indeed more explicit in his mention of endless *chance* as well. Ovid formed a view not only of his own time, but also of all history before him. Although Apuleius' scope was less ambitious, he also aimed to fashion a comprehensive idea of the mutability of the world, but with the very different goal of leading the narrator out of such a world altogether.⁴¹

It is not impossible that Apuleius took his title, as we assume he took part of his story, from the *Μεταμορφώσεων λόγοι* of Lucius of Patrae, but this question can never be resolved for certain. What we can conclude is that his greatest work as entitled *Metamorphoses* is appropriately named. The example of Ovid's poem may well have shown Apuleius a way of putting order on the chaos he saw in life, simply by defining that life as a thing of constant, unavoidable change.

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⁴⁰ Cf. Anderson (note 27, above), pp. 23-7.

⁴¹ The transformations of Lucius in Book XI correspond structurally to the concluding apotheoses in Book XV of Ovid, but it is not likely that Ovid is as serious at this point as Apuleius; cf. Segal (note 33, above), pp. 288-92.

THE AMBIGUITY OF THE SIMILES AND OF *FATALE MONSTRUM* IN HORACE, *ODE*, I, 37.

Central to the interpretation of this ode is a correct appreciation of the meaning and intent of the hawk/hunter similes of lines 17-21 and of the phrase *fatale monstrum*. While the latter has been discussed fairly extensively by critics, the similes are often ignored, scanted, or abused. Indicative of the way in which a misreading of the similes leads to a misunderstanding of the ode is the example of Nisbet¹ who terms the similes "trite and arrogant"² and describes the poem as a whole as "a splendid paean of victory [which] . . . shows no real compassion or understanding."³ He misses the rich but economical ambiguity of the similes and consequently the point of the ode.

The first simile is that of Octavian pursuing Cleopatra and the remnants of her fleet as a hawk does doves (17-18),

accipiter velut
mollis columbas

The economy of the phrase is seen in the absence of a verb (supplied or inferred from the preceding *adurgens*), its integration in the way it derives naturally from the *veros timores* and (especially) *volantem* of lines 15-16.

The hawk has two different but not necessarily mutually exclusive connotations: holiness and rapacity. Plautus (*Persa*,

¹ R. G. M. Nisbet, "Romanae Fidenae Lyrae: The Odes of Horace," pp. 181-221, in *Critical Essays on Roman Literature: Elegy and Lyric*, ed. by J. P. Sullivan (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1962).

² *Ibid.*, p. 207. Nisbet compounds the felony in his 1970 Oxford volume, *A Commentary on Horace's Odes, Book I* (with Margaret Hubbard) with the statement: "Horace's simile of the hawk and doves lacks both truth and humanity" (p. 408). It is intended to lack humanity; that is its point. The further statement (*re Aeneid*, VIII, 711 ff.) that "Vergil's poetry has a whole dimension that Horace's lacks" misses the point that both were saying basically the same thing in much the same way.

³ *Critical Essays*, p. 208. A similar sentiment is expressed by William Hardy Alexander (*U.C.P.C.P.*, XIII [1944], p. 194) who speaks of "Horace, superheated with Roman patriotism throughout this unpleasantly vindictive ode."

III, 3, 5) has the latter in mind when he uses the word *accipiter* to designate a rapacious pimp:

oh, lutum lenonium,
commixtum caeno sterculinum publicum,
impure, inhoneste, iniure, inlex, labes popli,
pecuniai accipiter avide atque invade,
procax, rapax, trahax

—hardly the most complimentary context.

But Homer (*Od.*, XV, 525-34) uses the hawk as an omen, good for Telemachus though bad for the suitors. Telemachus, just returned from abroad, is wondering whether the suitors will get their due before Penelope has to marry. Then a falcon or hawk (κίρκος), described as a messenger of Apollo, appears, holding a dove and tearing it to pieces. The omen is considered good for Telemachus because his family is the most royal on the island. The bird is thus associated with both Apollo and royalty.

"Ὡς ἄρα οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις,
κίρκος, Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἄγγελος· ἐν δὲ πόδεσσι
τίλλε πέλειαν ἔχων, . . .

That the Greek κίρκος and the Latin *accipiter* were considered the same is seen by Vergil's imitation of the passage in *Aeneid*, XI, 721-4.⁴

quam facile accipiter saxo sacer ales ab alto
consequitur pennis sublimem in nube columbam
comprehensamque tenet pedibusque eviscerat uncis;
tum cruor et vulsae labuntur ab aethere plumae.

Homer's portent, a κίρκος, becomes Vergil's simile of an *accipiter*.

The hawk is called *sacer*, presumably because auguries were taken from it and perhaps with reference to its other Greek name ἱέραξ (*ierós* = *sacer*). It is, then, itself a *fatale monstrum* (see discussion of the term below)—an omen that shows the will of fate.

Both Homer's portent and Vergil's simile are, with their vivid tearing, blood, and falling debris, basically cruel vignettes. By employing a hawk as counterpart to Octavian, Horace may be hinting at Octavian's cruelty,⁵ even though under the auspices of the gods (and especially Apollo at Actium), who favor royal

⁴ Cf. D'Arcy Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford, 1936), s. v.

⁵ Octavian's supposed cruelty was one of the principal points of attack in Antony's propaganda. Both sides propagandized strenuously, Oc-

lineage. The hawk, of course, is not in itself cruel; the pursuit of small game and birds is the natural activity of birds of prey and deserves no more moral censure in the natural world than our eating lamb chops. When, however, such a bird is compared to a human being, certain connotations are created or transferred—a consequence of man's tendency to sympathize with the weaker.⁶ Hawks pursuing doves are used by Aeschylus with uncomplimentary connotations (especially cruelty and rapacity) twice in connection with the sons of Aegyptus' pursuit of the daughters of Danaus.⁷ Horace may have had in mind one of these instances or *Iliad*, XXII, 139-44, where Achilles pursues Hector as a hawk pursues a dove, eager for the kill.⁸ While Homer's hawk—and Vergil's—catches the dove, Horace's only pursues and is out of sight immediately. This of course reflects the historical situation but might be an attempt to direct attention away from the bloodiness of the end of the pursuit⁹ by having it take place, as it were, offstage. Horace increases

tavian hitting at Antony's and Cleopatra's alleged drunkenness and Cleopatra's iniquitous and ruinous dominion over Antony (ruinous already to Antony and bound to prove so to Rome if not stopped) while Antony concentrated on Octavian's supposed weakness, cruelty, cowardice, and immorality (hetero- and homo-sexual). Many allegations passed as facts among their contemporaries and were transmitted to posterity as substance rather than as shadow. Suetonius, for example, reports numerous incidents of Octavian's alleged cruelty while also noting (51) that Octavian's affability and clemency were well-attested. Scott ("Political Propaganda of 44-30 B. C.," *M. A. A. R.*, 1933, p. 35) suggests that Octavian was "comparatively humane for the standards of his time." This ode uses the drunkenness charge as a unifying conceit, from Cleopatra's drunkenness which led to dementia, to her drinking of poison which led to her death, to the drinking that Horace now calls for by his friends.

⁶ Cf. the same pejorative equation of Aeneas with a snake in *Aeneid*, II, 378-82.

⁷ *Suppliants*, 223-5 and *Prometheus*, 856-9. Hawk/dove pursuit is a commonplace in both Greek and Latin. Cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, and *T. L. L.*, s. *vv.* for numerous examples.

⁸ In his Drusus Ode (IV, 4) Horace has an extended simile comparing Drusus to an eagle attacking a sheep and a lion attacking a kid. Whether these are genuinely honorific or somewhat slanted praise is another paper. For the various attributes of *accipiter*, including speed, see *T. L. L.*, s. *v.*

⁹ I presume more people enjoy the riding of a fox-hunt than the pack's tearing apart of the fox.

Homer's solitary dove to a whole flock of doves fleeing before a single hawk, perhaps intending to suggest the flying sails of Cleopatra's fleet (with its *contaminato grege*) as it tries to escape the pursuing Octavian.

The adjective *mollis*, well-suited to doves, seems a strange adjective to connect with Cleopatra ("the renown of her father"), the daughter of Ptolemaios ("war-like"), the woman whom Tarn characterizes as "perhaps the only one of all his [Alexander the Great's] heirs whom his fire had touched,"¹⁰ a woman who was "remorselessly bent to the pursuit of that one object, power."¹¹ How does Horace want us to take *mollis*, a word that seems at variance with the official view of Cleopatra that Octavian promulgated? Surely it does not mean "harmless," as Vergil speaks of the *mollis flamma* (*Aeneid*, II, 683-4) that engulfed the head of Ascanius (a *mirabile monstrum*, 680) at Troy's fall? That seems hardly appropriate to the propaganda language used to describe the dangerous queen. One could think of "lustful," of which there are a few examples in *T. L. L.* (s. v.), but most of the usages deal with men who are effeminate, a particularization possibly applicable to the eunuchs—or even to Antony, but hardly proper as a reproach for Cleopatra, on whom the simile surely must center.¹² Presumably

¹⁰ *C. A. H.*, X, p. 38.

¹¹ *C. A. H.*, X, p. 36.

¹² Horace uses *non molles viros* (= *fortes*) at *Epode*, I, 10; Catullus speaks of *molles Arabas* (11, 5) and, more pointedly, *cinaede Thalle*, *mollior cuniculi capillo* (25, 1). *Mollis* would be recited here with a long ultima. But initially the reader might wonder whether to take the adjective with *columbas* or with *accipiter* in view of Antony's charges of homosexuality, weakness, and cowardice against Octavian (cf. note 5 above), since Horace frequently uses balance and juxtaposition to suggest more than he says explicitly. *Contaminato* (9) goes syntactically with *grege* but is so placed that it could momentarily be taken with *imperio*—Octavian's regime already compromised. Similarly *saevis* (30) and *superbo* (31) go with other nouns but color Octavian by transfer of epithet. Just as *dementis* (7) syntactically modifies *ruinas* but logically applies to *regina*, so *superbo* to some degree colors Cleopatra (practically = *non humilis mulier*). Tarn ("The Battle of Actium," *J. R. S.*, XXI [1931], pp. 180-1 and note) maintains that at Actium Octavian did not fight on a flagship but darted about on a Liburnian as in his battle with Sextus Pompey. (Cf. also, perhaps, *Epode* I, 1.) If so, *saevis Liburnis* as a transferred epithet for Octavian has more point, though Horace can be cleared of editorializing by supposing that the adjective merely reflects Cleo-

the meaning is "weak," either absolutely (unlikely) or by comparison with Octavian's great strength.

Whatever the precise ramifications of the hawk/dove simile, it does certainly show a power/weakness contrast, stressing the implacability and relentlessness of Augustus and the (at least relative) timidity of Cleopatra. But Cleopatra's weakness is a momentary thing; it occurs only in the similes¹³ and can not be applied to her elsewhere in the poem. Her one moment of weakness, of womanness, comes here. Before, her strength comes from besotted frenzy; after, from deliberate, hard-eyed resolution. By showing her one moment of womanly fear and weakness the similes throw into higher relief her depiction in the rest of the poem as a *non humilis mulier*, which is practically the equivalent of *non mulier*; the contrast is striking.

The hunter/hare simile is much like the previous simile: a swift, purposeful predator follows a fleeing prey that it hopes to kill,¹⁴ though without accomplishment in the ode. In the event, Cleopatra escaped that pursuit by her suicide, showing that she was not *mollis*. From that refuge her pursuer could not recall her. The hare,¹⁵ as another symbol of timidity, flees across snowy Thessaly, the winter of the landscape perhaps prefiguring Cleopatra's impending winter/death, the same symbolism used in the Soracte ode (I, 9).¹⁶

patra's estimate of Octavian in somewhat the way that *saevus Hector* (*Aeneid*, I, 99) reflects how the Greeks felt about Hector despite the fact that the phrase comes from Aeneas. One could similarly view *superbo* and the similes as intended to be seen through Cleopatra's naturally prejudiced eyes.

¹³ If one excepts the possible double meaning of "impotens" (10): "unable to control herself," hence, "raging"; "incapable," hence "weak."

¹⁴ For the relentless *venator*, cf. *Odes*, I, 1 (25-8) where the *venator tenerae coniugis immemor* remains *sub Iove frigido* to pursue with his dogs a doe or a boar.

¹⁵ There is in *accipiter mollis columbas leporem citus venator* a triple chiasmus (ABCCBA), unbalanced by the fact that adjective B goes in the first half with C and in the second half with A. Perhaps *leporem* is intended to borrow some of the effect of *citus*. Note that, while the doves are plural, the hare is singular, marking the transition from Cleopatra accompanied to Cleopatra alone.

¹⁶ Horace may have felt a certain kindred sympathy for those put to flight if his own account of his flight from Antony at Philippi (*Ode* II, 7) is not more an Archilochian literary conceit than a real flight.

The exact connotations of the similes are debatable,¹⁷ but they certainly do function as a turning point in the poem. Before the similes the poet's and reader's feelings toward Cleopatra are markedly antipathetic. The change starts with stanza 4. After stanza 5 Cleopatra is sympathetically portrayed; the last part of the ode is virtual panegyric. As the similes mark this change, and to a great degree effect it, they can hardly be called trite or arrogant.

But, objects the reader, since in stanza 6 Cleopatra is denigrated as a *fatale monstrum* (21) the similes have marked no such change in the poet's attitude to her. Such an objection springs from a misunderstanding of the greatest ambiguity and word-play of the ode; ¹⁸ rightly apprehended, the phrase does not clash with the similes but is in fact the point at which the antagonism of stanzas 1-4 and the empathy of 5 fall into place as two parts of a unified conception, looking backward to *funus imperio* and forward to *non humilis mulier*. The complex phrase is generally rendered as "accursed monster" or the like, but this is an over-simplification if not an outright perversion of a loaded pair of words. If indeed *fatale monstrum* did mean "deadly monster," then it would be a ridiculous capping of the similes: the "deadly monster" Caesar wants to throw into chains—is a dove or a hare! If such a juxtaposition were accidentally ridiculous, then very definitely *quandoque dormitat*

¹⁷ One could argue that the reader confronting the ode for the first time does not feel the ambivalence in the similes immediately but sees them simply as a power/weakness symbol with no pejorative reflections on Octavian. Certainly, however, by the time the reader reaches the end of the ode and looks back, some such notion surely occurs to him, not only in regard to the similes but to some of the words now revealed as ambiguous. A similar, though more explicit, metamorphosis of a symbol takes place in the first chorus of the *Agamemnon*. Aeschylus starts the eagles sympathetically by showing them as bereft parents screaming in agony, but before the chorus ends they have become portents of the destruction of Troy, tearing apart a pregnant hare and thus eliciting Artemis' anger and our antipathy.

¹⁸ A minor, but possibly instructive, example of Horace's word-play is *asperas* (26), which seems intended to call up the word *aspis* ("asp"). If so, Horace suggests the kind of *serpentes* (27) in addition to characterizing the serpents as "rough" (to the touch? incorrect but a common belief) and "harsh" (in their function and nature). Cf. Commager, *Odes of Horace*, p. 302, on *puer/surpuerat* in *Odes*, IV, 13, though the pun there is more doubtful.

Horatius; if purposely so, then presumably it would be either to make Octavian look foolish (using a cannon on a flea) or to emphasize ironically that Cleopatra was not really at all like a dove or hare and thus act as a brake on our developing sympathies for the harassed queen.¹⁹ But such a juxtaposition need seem ridiculous only if we are tied to the "accursed monster" school of thought.²⁰ There are better possibilities for the meaning of the phrase. J. V. Luce²¹ quotes with approval Fraenkel's remark²² that *monstrum* would have meant to a Roman a "*portentum* or *prodigium*, something outside the norm of nature, something at which we look with wonder and often with horror." Luce then compares *Pro Caelio*, 12-14 in which Cicero is describing Catiline semi-sympathetically, balancing his good and bad qualities to explain why the revolutionary was able to attract followers like Cicero's client. Cicero sums up:

Neque ego unquam fuisse tale monstrum in terris ullum
puto, tam ex contrariis diversisque atque inter se pugnanti-
bus naturae studiis cupiditatibusque conflatum.

Monstrum here is something that one is puzzled and awed by. To many Romans Cleopatra must have seemed a *monstrum* in the religious sense, an ominous portent. Galinsky²³ suggests that Vergil wanted his reader to recall Horace's use here of the term *monstrum* when he himself used *monstra* at *Aeneid*, VIII, 697 in connection with Cleopatra.

Regarding *fatalis*, Luce cites from Horace's *Odes*, III, 3, 18-21 Juno's comment

. . . Ilion, Ilion
fatalis incestusque iudex
et mulier peregrina vertit
in pulverem . . .

¹⁹ It is a slight brake, a reminder of the pre-simile Cleopatra, as well as a break, a place to pause and reflect for a moment. The reader does so; the poet suggests that he also has done so.

²⁰ Even then one could say that "fatal monster" merely indicates in a kind of semi-indirect discourse what Octavian *claimed* she was (as *saevis* through Cleopatra's eyes in note 12 above).

²¹ In "Cleopatra as a *Fatale Monstrum*," *C. Q.*, XIII (1963), pp. 251-7.

²² *Horace*, p. 160.

²³ "Hercules-Cacus Episode in *Aeneid* VIII," *A. J. P.*, LXXXVII (1966), pp. 47-50.

and comments, "Paris is *fatalis* in that through the workings of divine justice his actions brought destruction on the Trojans. In the same way Cleopatra, like a latter-day Helen—*mulier peregrina*—was fated to engender civil war between Romans and to ruin the cause of Antony."²⁴ Galinsky (*loc. cit.*) cites the description of the wooden horse as *fatalis machina* (*Aeneid*, II, 237) in connection with the double meaning possible in *fatalis*.²⁵ As the examples of the Trojan horse and Paris show, something that is *fatalis* is carrying out the will of fate,²⁶ but the word can also mean "fatal,"²⁷ in the sense of deadly to others (the horse).²⁸

In the case of Cleopatra (and, for that matter, Paris) both apply; only Octavian's resolute action prevented her being fatal to Rome itself—at least as far as common opinion, fostered by Octavian's propaganda, was concerned. There is thus a twofold meaning for both *fatalis* and *monstrum*.

Monstrum can carry the notion of a monster, something ugly (the exact reverse of Cleopatra's effect on those who met her), but more so the sense of a prodigy, a portent, a marvel.²⁹ Octavian had intended her (perhaps) as a show for the Roman people as she marched in his triumph. As Shakespeare's Antony says to her (*Antony and Cleopatra*, IV, 12, 33-7)

Let him [Caesar] take thee,
And hoist thee up to the shouting of the plebeians,
Follow his chariot, like the greatest spot

²⁴ Luce, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-4.

²⁵ At *Aeneid*, II, 245 the horse is called a *monstrum infelix*.

²⁶ Cf. *Aeneid*, XI, 232: *fatalem Aeneas manifesto numine ferri*.

²⁷ Cf. *Aeneid*, XII, 919: *telum Aeneas fatale coruscat*—which includes both "fate-directed" and "death-bearing" notions.

²⁸ In the case of Paris and Cleopatra is there a third notion (not cited in *T.L.L.*) of "fate-doomed" (i.e., fatal to oneself)? In this connection one might compare *Epistle* II, 1, 11 in which Horace is talking about Hercules' *fatalis labor*:

. . . Diram qui contudit hydram
notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.

Here the basic meaning is "fate-imposed," but "death-bearing" is appropriate to many of the objects of that *labor*, and the labor itself creates or furthers Juno's *invidia*, which ultimately proves "fatal" to Hercules himself.

²⁹ Cf. the *mirabile monstrum*, an *innocua flamma* engulfing Ascanius' head at *Aeneid*, II, 680-3.

Of all thy sex. Most monster-like be shown
For poor'st diminutives.

—in other words like a freak in a side-show. But the fates saw otherwise; Cleopatra had in her own hands her *fatum* (*ibid.*, IV, 15, 23-6):³⁰

. . . not the imperious show
Of the full-fortuned Caesar ever shall
Be brooch'd with me, if knife, drugs, serpents have
Edge, sting, or operation.

Horace packs all these connotations into *fatale monstrum*, giving each of the words the same sort of duplicity as the similes³¹ and, in fact, as the ode as a whole—an ambivalence of meaning and attitude not unlike that of the *Aeneid*, whose hero might, in a certain sense, equally well be characterized as a *fatale monstrum*. A like ambiguity lies in *generosius* (21), ["seeking to die] more nobly." Than what? Than whom? Than her previous life had led one to expect? Than Octavian had intended for her to die? Than Octavian? And *privata superbo triumpho* could be "a queen no longer in the haughty triumph" or "deprived of her haughty triumph."³²

What is the point of all this ambiguity. How does it affect the poem as a whole? It seems to reflect Horace's own ambivalence toward Octavian and Cleopatra. Horace starts out denigrating Cleopatra as a mad drunkard; tempered, however, by the fire of the ships and the peril of the similes, the queen's

³⁰ Do these two passages suggest that Shakespeare had read *Ode* I, 37 in addition to Plutarch? For the evidence that Shakespeare had read at least some of the Odes, see T. W. Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke* (Urbana, 1944), pp. 497-525 of vol. II. (*Ode* I, 37 is not mentioned.)

³¹ If, as I suggest above, the hawk is in a sense a *fatale monstrum*, then one *fatale monstrum* is pursuing another.

³² Nisbet and Hubbard, *Commentary*, p. 410, wrongly speak of *privata* and *triumpho* as "precise and prosaic." Both words exude ambiguity. Their further comment (p. 420) on *triumpho* ("The poem of triumph suitably ends with this Roman word") corresponds to poetic truth only if one understands "suitably" to mean "ambiguously and ironically." Whose triumph is it? "Deprived of" would make it the triumph Cleopatra had hoped to celebrate on the Capitoline; "private citizen" would make it the triumph in which she was intended to march in chains. In the event, by her suicide she celebrates a triumph different from the one Octavian or she (originally) had intended for her.

dark qualities move to the background; her true nobility holds center stage. *Fatale monstrum* incorporates both sides of Cleopatra's nature, and even at the end her portrait is not without shadow (she is still *ferox* and *superbus*, ideally un-Roman attributes just as the asp is an un-Roman weapon)—but the resultant effect is not grey but *chiaroscuro* or darkness visible. It is Horace's realization that dark and light, bad and good, can co-exist, even in massive proportions, in the same person rather than mutually excluding one another or simply turning a common grey and the tension the poet develops between them that give Cleopatra and the poem its vital force. Beside such a towering creation Octavian appears at best a bright grey. Horace, like Vergil in the *Aeneid*, was steering a middle course. Refusing to see the situation as simple dichotomous black and white, he presents both sides of Cleopatra's nature and lets the reader grapple with them as best he can. *Ode* I, 37 does not allow us to forget Cleopatra's faults, but it does make us indelibly remember her grandeur.

The ode is not a merely static description of an action; it is itself an enactment. The reader must complete the entire ode before he can really understand what happens in any of the component parts. The poet seems to undergo a change in the course of the poem and concludes on a much different note from the *nunc est bibendum* on which he started. This, of course, is an artistic device, but one which Horace may well intend to reflect his own reaction to the historical situation. Cleopatra was feared while alive, but her death was a regrettable concomitant of Octavian's success. Horace raises the question, "Was the result worth the price?" Even if he concludes that, on balance, it was a necessary expense, raising the question at all gives a different tone to the ode than a patriotic paean might be expected to have. "You can't make an omelet without breaking eggs," goes the proverb³³—but it is open to question whether the saw makes a valid human point.

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³³ "On ne saurait faire une omelette sans casser des oeufs"—attributed, significantly, to Robespierre. Even if Horace accepted the end as justifying the means, he had no intention of letting his readers forget the price.

OLYMPIAN FIVE: A RECONSIDERATION.¹

Pindar's fifth Olympian ode, written to Psaumis of Kamarina for his victory in the mule race,² opens conventionally enough with an invocation of the victor's native city followed by the traditional request to receive the victor, who is named at the end of the first stanza. Naming of the victor leads to two stanzas of praise focusing on the victor's achievements at the games and then to two further stanzas describing the effect of these achievements on the victor's home. After a subsequent stanza of gnomic reflection, the poet in the next two stanzas invokes Zeus and prays that both he and the victor continue to enjoy divine favor. The ode ends with a stanza of *gnomai*.

There appear to be no obvious grounds for calling into question the authenticity of the ode, yet scholars are practically unanimous in rejecting it as spurious. Ever since von Leutsch in 1846 argued against Pindar's authorship of Olympian five,³ the ode has been under attack. From time to time defenders have come forth in reaction to renewed criticism but not in the last decades and not with appreciable effect.⁴ The most recent critic

¹ I should like to thank Professor John H. D'Arms for helpful criticism at various stages of this paper's composition. I, of course, bear full responsibility for the ideas here expressed.

² Although it was long disputed whether O.4 and O.5 were or were not written for the same victory, it is now generally agreed that O.5 was written for a mule victory and O.4 for an earlier chariot victory (see H. W. Garrod in *C.R.*, XXXVI [1922], pp. 101 f. and, most recently, C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* [Oxford, 1964], pp. 414 f., but see also note 4 below).

³ E. von Leutsch, "Ist die fünfte olympische ode von Pindar?" *Philologus*, I (1846), pp. 116-27. Von Leutsch mentions one François le Sueur (Sudorius) who earlier suspected the ode. Von Leutsch's article set the line of argument for future critics; most of what has been done since is elaboration.

⁴ The most recent defense, M. F. Galiano, "Psaumis en Las Olímpicas de Pindaro," *Emerita*, X (1942), pp. 112-48, unfortunately argues solely from the assumption that O.5 does not refer to the victory celebrated in O.4 and is therefore earlier than O.4. Whether O.4, with its difficult *ὄχλων* (11), refers to the chariot victory of Psaumis recorded in the scholia and the Oxyrhynchus list cannot perhaps be determined but in either case the list of victories in O., 5, 7 should cover the victory cele-

of the ode, C. M. Bowra, in his appendix on the question concludes that the author was:

a local Sicilian poet, who had mastered Pindar's manner with some skill externally, without being able to produce new and truly Pindaric results. He confines himself to fairly obvious effects. . . .⁵

Rather than taking the tempting but treacherous road of criticizing his criticism,⁶ I would like to present a new fact that I feel should play a role in future discussions of the ode's pedigree.

Critics have always assailed the meter of *O.5* for its simplicity and peculiarity,⁷ perhaps not without reason; yet the ode has a metrical ornament that, first, is in itself evidence of considerable skill and, second, is found also in *O.4*, composed for the same victor. Furthermore, the use of the ornament in *O.5* is more developed than in *O.4* and, finally, the ornament itself is so subtle as to have escaped notice in both odes and is certainly not one of the "obvious effects" to which Bowra alludes.

brated by *O.4* and so Galiano's thesis falls. A. Puech (*Pindare* [Paris, 1922], I, pp. 66-9) assumes the odes are both written for the same victory and his arguments, like Galiano's, suffer for this assumption. L. R. Farnell (*The Works of Pindar* [London, 1930-32], II, p. 35) attacks the scholium that precipitated the discussion and notes that another tradition, found in the Ambrosian manuscript, has a "better version." But this is as far as he goes (Galiano tries to make sense of the Ambrosian version but concludes that his rendering is not "muy verosímil," p. 142). These three, along with G. Hermann (*Opuscula* [Leipzig, 1877], VIII, pp. 99-110) who refutes von Leutsch's attack without much success, are the major defenders of the ode. Quite recently E. Thummer (*Die Isthmischen Gedichte* [Heidelberg, 1968-69], I, p. 69, n. 42) has expressed disapproval of Wilamowitz's argument (*Pindaros* [Berlin, 1922], p. 421) that the writer of *O.5* knew too much about Kamarina to be Pindar, but he says no more.

⁵ Bowra, p. 419.

⁶ He is open to it perhaps: *Ψαύμος* is in the genitive in both odes; the phrase beginning with *καλλῆ* (*O.*, 5, 13) is bold but makes more sense with Psaumis as subject (see G. Fraccaroli, *Pindaro* [Milan, 1914], I, p. 264, n. 3, and H. Jurenka, "Psaumidea," *Wiener Studien*, XVII [1895], pp. 16-18). Also the word is similarly metaphoric in *Ag.*, 1566 and *N.*, 7, 78. Finally, the two phrases he finds objectionable, *ἀκαμαντόποδος* and *μὴ πατεύσῃ θεὸς γενέσθαι*, as well as the supposed overemphasis on Kamarina, I discuss below.

⁷ Jurenka, p. 12, von Leutsch, pp. 124 f., Wilamowitz, p. 421, Bowra, p. 419 versus Puech, p. 68, Galiano, pp. 142 f., Hermann, p. 107.

First let us look at *O.4*. Most commentators stress the myth, trying to tie it in with the rest. I do not think they have been successful but, at any rate, one should note in addition the careful balance of strophe and antistrophe. Either begins with a full line of epithets, arranged noun-adjective-noun-adjective in the first and adjective-noun-adjective-noun in the second. This line of epithets is, in effect, explained by a *γάρ* clause that follows, with the *γάρ* in the same metrical position in both stanzas. This *γάρ* clause is, in turn, followed in either by an *ὅς* clause, attached in the strophe to Zeus⁸ and in the antistrophe to the victor, Psaumis. Hesychia in line 16 then balances Typhon in line 7. One final element of this balance is the placement of Psaumis in line 10 of the antistrophe in exactly the same position as Zeus in the strophe. It is this effect that is repeated and amplified in *O.5*. The balance can be diagrammed:

STROPHE

1. noun-adj-noun-adj
- 1b. Ζεῦ τεαῖ γὰρ (- υ - -)
6. (Κρόνον παῖ) ὅς
7. Τυφῶνος

ANTISTROPHE

10. adj-noun-adj-noun
- 10b. Ψαύμος γὰρ (- υ - -)
11. (Ψαύμος) ὅς
16. Ἑσυχίαν

The equation of Zeus and Psaumis is, of course, a great compliment to the victor and the idea is not uncommon in Pindar: the victor has by his achievement gained a bit of immortality.

We find the same positioning of god and victor in *O.5*⁹ but here it is heightened by invocation and used to articulate the movement of the ode. In each of the triads there is an invocation in a fixed metrical slot, the second line of the strophe, except that in the third triad, the slot is shifted to the second line of the antistrophe and it is the victor, not a god, who is invoked. This shift from strophe to antistrophe allows a binding of the whole ode by means of a double invocation at the beginning and at the end.

⁸ This is, admittedly, the second naming but the first naming was broken off before the request and a second naming is thus required to complete the invocation.

⁹ We might expect this from the repetition of ἀκαμαντιόδοος (*O.*, 4, 1; 5, 3). B. L. Gildersleeve notes this and other verbal parallels (*Pindar* [New York, 1890], p. 167) but leaves the conclusion to be drawn open: "The poet must have had his own ode in mind, or another . . . must have imitated his manner." Others are not so restrained.

The invocations are not only in the same line but also in about the same place in the line:

- (2) - - - υ υ / Ὀκεανοῦ θύγατερ (- υ υ - υ υ -) / - υ - υ - -
 (10) - - / ὦ πολιάρχε Παλλὰς (- υ υ - υ υ - υ) / υ - - υ - υ - -
 (21) - - - υ / Ὀλυμπιόνικε (υ - υ υ - υ) / υ - - υ - υ - -

The result of shifting the third invocation to the antistrophe is that the ode opens with an invocation in the second line of the strophe which is repeated in the first line of the next stanza and it ends with exactly the same pattern. The next-to-last stanza has an invocation in the same metrical position as the first and this is repeated in the first line of the final stanza. So each triad is articulated by an invocation of a particular metrical shape and the whole is ringed by a double invocation. It might be diagrammed thus:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|---|---|
| (2) | Ὀκεανοῦ θύγατερ | — | } |
| (4) | Καμάρινα | — | |
| (10) | ὦ πολιάρχε Παλλὰς | — | |
| | (17 Σωτήρ . . . Ζεῦ) | | |
| (21) | Ὀλυμπιόνικε | — | |
| (23) | Ψαῦμι | — | |

The intrusive invocation to Zeus in the third triad prevents the structure from being too rigid and also lessens the force of the victor's assumption of divinity.¹⁰ A similar limitation on the identification of god and victor is found in the final, very appropriate words: *μὴ ματεύσῃ θεὸς γενέσθαι*.¹¹

The metrical identification of god and victor in *O.4* is a passing compliment that is simply part of a general balance of strophe and antistrophe. *O.4* continues for another stanza after the identification; the epode introduces a whole new realm, that

¹⁰ Bowra prefers *I.*, 5, 14 where we find *Ζεὺς* instead of *θεός*, but Zeus here would be repetitive and too emphatic: Psaumis is not Zeus but a *θεός*. For a similar warning after implicit identification of god and victor see the end of *O.3*, and the numerous boundary motifs listed in Thummer (*I.*, p. 79).

¹¹ This intrusive invocation might also heighten the surprise produced by the invocation of the victor: the invocation of Zeus even though not in the same position as the earlier invocations would lead the audience not to expect any further invocation. When the invocation of the victor does come in the right metrical slot, that expectation is unexpectedly fulfilled.

of myth, in contrast to what has preceded. In *O.5*, on the other hand, the metrical ornament is reinforced by a striking repetition and doubling of vocatives. More important, the metrical complex has become the main element of articulation: the third triad¹² is welded to the other two formally and thematically. The definition of the victor becomes in *O.5* the climax of the ode's movement.

If *O.5* is the work of an imitator, he was a clever one, not only to recognize the ornament in *O.4* but also to be able to cap it in his own ode. It is much simpler to see this as the work of Pindar himself and one might then ask why *O.5* is so much more complicated than *O.4*. It is not only that *O.5* is a later work, for both odes are late, but that this ode in effect sums up the victor's achievements, and that this record was quite impressive. Instead of one event, as in *O.4* (ὀχέων, 11), the poet lists almost a full line of them (ἱπποῖς ἡμιόνοις τε μοναμπυκία τε, 7) and the amount of space devoted to unbroken praise of the victor is unparalleled in short odes of this type and perhaps in the whole corpus.¹³ The ode then reflects the achievement and, regardless of who wrote the ode, we can be sure that the victor was not dissatisfied with his purchase.

¹² All commentators note that the nine stanzas break easily into three parts in content as well as meter (Moschopoulos was evidently the first to realize the ode has nine not three stanzas, J. Irigoin, *Histoire du Texte de Pindare* [Paris, 1952], pp. 278 f.). A. Boeckh (*Pindari opera quae supersunt* [Leipzig, 1811-21], II, 2, p. 147) suggests a triple pomp, rightly rejected by von Leutsch (p. 123). F. Mezger (*Pindars Siegeslieder* [Leipzig, 1880], pp. 146-8), with considerable ingenuity, suggests a triple libation on the model of *I.6* and points to numerous verbal parallels between the two odes. Gildersleeve considers the form, if not the language, Pindaric (p. 167).

Yet the third triad is in several ways separated from the first two. The second epode is entirely gnomic and the extended praise of the victor is very carefully organized and so one might expect the ode to end after the second triad (especially since no myth has appeared, for non-myth odes are almost always very short). The invocation of Zeus at the very beginning of the final triad heightens the break.

¹³ Psaumis is to be preferred as subject of κολλᾶ (3) since he is obviously the subject of the following participle ἄγων (14). Thus the praise of the victor extends a full four stanzas. The only praise to rival this in length is that of *O.9*. Yet this has never been used as an argument against the ode's authenticity.

To imagine that an imitator could have perceived the ornament in *O.4*, which seems to have escaped all commentators, is difficult; to imagine an imitator who could then widen and deepen this motif and make it the basis of a whole ode but receive no fame for the accomplishment is, I think, impossible. At least this fact should demand a re-examination of the arguments on which condemnation of *O.5* rests.¹⁴

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¹⁴The scholium that touched off the dispute is obviously the place to start (Dr. 138, 21 f.):

Ἀντὴ ἡ ᾠδὴ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐδαφίοις οὐκ ἦν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
Διδύμου ὑπομνήμασιν ἐλέγετο Πινδάρου.

(Πινδάρου V; περὶ αὐτῆς τάδε A)

If doubt can be cast on it, the other arguments will recede. I note here only: (a) the reading of *A* does not support the critics but rather implies a lacuna which can be explained as the product of first an epitome and then a transfer of Didymus' commentary from a separate roll to the margins of the codex containing the odes (for the epitome see Irigoin, pp. 118 f. and for the transfer see Irigoin, pp. 119 f. and H. T. Deas, "The Scholia Vetera to Pindar," *H. S. C. P.*, XLII [1931], p. 49). It is much more likely that the *V* reading was an intrusive gloss on the *A* reading than the reverse. (b) Even the reading of *V* could mean merely that Didymus mentioned *O.5* in his commentary on Pindar. (c) *ἐδαφίοις* is unclear, as Farnell (p. 35) and Wilamowitz (p. 421) note. Von Leutsch does cite parallels but only to dismiss them. The word first occurs early in the third century A. D. (Alexander of Aphrodisias, in *Cat.*, I, 738, 17) and rather frequently in the next two (Dexippus, in *Cat.*, IV, 1, 29, 29 and 39, 5; Didymus Alexander, *Pat. Gr.*, XXXIX, 404a; Adamantius, *Pat. Gr.*, XI, 1865a) and then in Byzantine times (Tzetzes, IV, 202; Eustathius, 142, 47, for which see von Leutsch, p. 117). Only one of these uses is in the plural as is our scholium (Dexippus, IV, 1, 39, 5) and here it still means "the text." It never means "manuscript" or "text as opposed to margin" (so *L. S. J.* on the basis of *ἐδαφος* in Galen); nor does it mean "first edition" (so Irigoin, pp. 32 f. followed by Bowra, pp. 415 f.). The phrase *τοῖς ἐδαφίοις* in the scholium probably means only the text the person writing the note was reading (*ἀντὴ* then implies that the scholium went through several stages).

THE *LIBRI PUNICI* OF KING HIEMPSAL.

In the course of his geographical and ethnographical *excursus* on Africa in *Jug.*, 17-19, Sallust says that he will tell as briefly as possible who the earliest inhabitants were, who came later, and how they mingled with each other (17, 7). He says that, although his account varies from the accepted tradition, he will give it as it was translated for him *ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur*.

What were these *libri Punicis*? Syme clearly understands them to be books written in Punic by Hiempsal, the brother of Adherbal and (by adoption) of Jugurtha.¹ It need not be wondered at that a son of Micipsa should have had literary tastes, in view of what we know of Micipsa himself. Diodorus tells us that Micipsa sent for many educated Greeks, kept company with them, and devoted great attention to education, especially philosophy.²

However, when we consider this background of Greek education, it is surprising that the books were written in Punic, the language of the Carthaginians, as is clear from Sallust's reference to a special translation made for his use. It is, of course, probable that Hiempsal was familiar with the Punic tongue. Carthage had been the most civilizing influence in N. Africa, and even after the destruction of the city in 146 B. C., Car-

¹ R. Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley, 1964), p. 153. For the identification see Syme's index, p. 373.

² This much at least can be assumed from the rather confused passage in Diodorus, XXXIV, 35, where the author lists the sons of Micipsa, son of Masinissa, as Adherbal, the eldest (Ἀτάρβας), Hiempsal (Ἰάμψαμος) and Micipsa. It is to the latter that the remarks on his education refer. Since Masinissa also had three legitimate sons, Micipsa, Mastanabal, and Gulussa (Sallust, *Jug.*, 5, 6), Diodorus may easily have become confused in the generations of the Numidian royal house. Perhaps a better explanation would be to assume corruption in our text of Diodorus. Instead of reading . . . , μάλιστα δὲ προτετιμημένους Ἀτάρβαν τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν παίδων καὶ Ἰάμψαμον καὶ Μικίψαν, δς κ. τ. λ. we might read . . . , μάλιστα δὲ προτετιμημένους Ἀτάρβαν τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν παίδων καὶ Ἰάμψαμον. καὶ Μικίψα, δς κ. τ. λ., or καὶ Ἰάμψαμον <καὶ Ἰογόρθαν> καὶ Μικίψα, δς κ. τ. λ.

thaginian influence continued. The language of Carthage became the official one throughout N. Africa, and Carthaginian traditions lived on in the Numidian royal house.³ But, in spite of this, it would seem reasonable to assume that an author who knew Greek would write in Greek if he wished to reach a wider reading public.

Moreover, in our passage of Sallust, the tense is worth noting, *dicebantur*, not *dicuntur*. Hence the phrase would seem to mean "the Punic books which were said to be by King Hiempsal," or "the Punic books which used to be called King Hiempsal's." How are we to understand this? Was it believed that these books which were attributed to King Hiempsal were not in fact his? Does the genitive mean "written by King Hiempsal" or "belonging to King Hiempsal"?

As it happens, Sallust is not the only ancient source which refers to *libri Punici*. In Ammianus Marcellinus we read: *rex autem Juba, Punicorum confisus textu librorum, a monte quodam oriri eum (i. e. Nilum) exponit, qui situs in Mauritania despectat Oceanum, hisque indicibus hoc proditum ait, quod pisces et herbae et beluae similes per eas paludes gignuntur* (XXII, 15, 8 = *F. Gr. H.*, 275 F38b = 764 F19a).

Similarly in Solinus we find: *originem habet a monte inferioris Mauretaniae, qui Oceano propinquat, hoc adfirmant Punici libri, hoc Jubam regem accipimus tradidisse* (*Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 32, 2 = *F. Gr. H.*, 764 F19b).

In both these references, the *libri Punici* are linked with King Juba, who apparently used them as a source. This king of course is Juba II of Mauretania, the famous literary monarch, son of the Juba who fought on the side of Pompey against Caesar in the civil war.⁴ The father of Juba I was Hiempsal, son of the Gauda who succeeded Jugurtha on the throne of Numidia.⁵ This Hiempsal reigned over Numidia down to 60

³ See B. H. Warmington, *Carthage* (Pelican Books, 1964), p. 256.

⁴ See *R.-B.*, IX (1916), cols. 2384 ff., *F. Gr. H.*, 3A, 127 ff. (text) and 3a, 317 ff. (commentary).

⁵ On this family see *C. I. L.*, II, 3417: REGI IVBAE REGis IVBAE FILIO REGis IEMPSALIS N· REGis GAVdae PRONEPOTI REGis MASINISSae PRONEPOTIS NEPOTI. Hence the descent is: Masinissa — ? — Gauda — Hiempsal — Juba I — Juba II. The gap may be filled from Sall., *Jug.*, 65, 1, where we are told that Gauda was a son

B. C. and it is to him, rather than to the son of Micipsa, that the *libri Punici, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur* should be ascribed. This Hiempsal was clearly much better known than Jugurtha's unfortunate rival and almost certainly enjoyed a longer life.⁶

The identification of the Hiempsal mentioned in *Jug.*, 17, 7 as the son of Gauda rather than of Micipsa does not in itself bring us any closer to a solution of the problem posed by the phrase *libri Punici, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur*, but the link with Juba II may prove instructive.

It is clear from Sallust and the fragments of Juba that the *libri Punici* used by each of them were books of a geographical nature. From his source, Sallust took a description of the various peoples who inhabited N. Africa from the earliest times down to the historical period. Juba, in the fragments which mention the *libri Punici*, was writing about the source of the Nile, which he located on a mountain in Mauretania. Juba wrote many geographical works, including books on Africa (*Περὶ Αἰθίως* — see *F. Gr. H.*, 275 F5 and 6), and, according to Cary, had probably read the surviving Punic records of travel.⁷ There may well have been a collection of such works, although we know of but one by name, the *Periplous* of Hanno, which survives in a Greek translation.⁸ It is generally accepted that Hanno's voyage took place around 500-480 B. C.,⁹ but the Greeks and Romans seem to have had no knowledge of Hanno's *Periplous*, and presumably

of Mastanabal and had been made an heir in the second degree by Micipsa. Presumably he was half-brother of Jugurtha. The reason for the absence of Mastanabal's name in the inscription may well be the fact that he never reigned as a recognized king, as all the others did (cf. Gauda's desire for official Roman recognition, *Sall.*, *loc. cit.*). Gauda is described by Sallust as *morbis confectus et ob eam causam mente paulum imminuta* and presumably reigned only a short time. On Hiempsal see also Suet., *Jul.*, 71 (and the edition of Butler and Cary [Oxford, 1927; repr. 1962], p. 131).

⁶ In addition to the above see Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 12; *Mar.*, 40, 3; *Bell. Afric.*, 56; Cicero, *Leg. Agr.*, I, 10 and II, 58; Appian, *B. C.*, I, 62.

⁷ M. Cary and B. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (Pelican Books, 1963), p. 68.

⁸ See K. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* (Paris, 1855; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), I, pp. XVIII-XXXIII; 1-14.

⁹ See Cary-Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Pliny, *N. H.*, II, 169.

of other Punic geographical works, until after the fall of Carthage in 146 B. C. There is no mention of Hanno's account of his voyage by any early writer, a fact which has been noticed by Warmington, who, seeking to explain the lack of detail in Herodotus' account of the Phoenician circumnavigation of Africa (Herod., IV, 42), says ". . . the Phoenicians, commercially jealous, were always loath to publish accounts of their voyages, our one detailed report, that of Hanno, being a private dedication published to Western peoples apparently through the suggestion of Polybius several centuries after Hanno's voyage."¹⁰

The link with Polybius can be detected in a passage in Pliny (*N. H.*, V, 8-9). In *N. H.*, V, 8, Pliny refers to the existence of the *commentarii* of Hanno, which, he says, were followed by the majority of Greek and Roman writers. He goes on (V, 9) to tell how, after the capture of Carthage, Polybius received a fleet from Scipio Aemilianus to explore westwards beyond Mt. Atlas. It has been suggested by Cary that Polybius was inspired to make this exploration by the book of Hanno which he found at Carthage.¹¹ That Polybius could have commissioned a special translation is shown by the fact that Sallust actually did have a translation of *libri Punici* made for his personal use, and, even more to the point, the Roman senate, after the capture of Carthage, commissioned a special translation into Latin of the agricultural works of the Carthaginian Mago (Pliny, *N. H.*, XVIII, 22).

The work of Hanno was certainly known to Juba, and he may have been responsible for giving it general popularity, if we can judge from a passage in Athenaeus where, speaking of the citrus-fruit, he writes:

Αἰμιλιανὸς δὲ ἔλεγεν Ἰόβαν τὸν Μαυρουσίῳ βασιλέα, ἄνδρα πολυμαθέστατον, ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Λιβύης συγγράμμασι μνημονεύοντα τοῦ κυρίου φάσκειν αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῖς Λίβυσι μῆλον Ἑσπερικόν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ Ἡρακλέα κομίσαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ χρύσεια διὰ τὴν ἰδέαν λεγόμενα μῆλα. πρὸς τούτους ἀποβλέψας ὁ Δημόκριτος ἔφη· εἰ μὲν τι τούτων Ἰόβας ἱστορεῖ, χαίρτω Λιβυκαῖσι βίβλοις ἔτι τε ταῖς Ἀννωνος πλάναις.

This clearly suggests that Juba wrote about the "wanderings of Hanno," apparently separately from the *Περὶ Λιβύης*, and

¹⁰ Cary-Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 114, cf. p. 63.

¹¹ Cary-Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 68 and p. 260, n. 131.

presumably drawing on the original Punic version, in view of his debt to *libri Punici* which we noted above for his theory of the source of the Nile.

As we have seen, it is certain that some *libri Punici*, namely the agricultural works of Mago, were translated into Latin after the fall of Carthage, and it would seem that one of the *libri Punici* known to Juba, that of Hanno, became known to the Graeco-Roman world at the same time. What about the other *libri Punici* of Juba and those mentioned by Sallust? The answer may lie in that passage of Pliny which mentions the books of Mago: *N. H.*, XVIII, 22:

Igitur de cultura agri praecipere principale fuit etiam apud exteros, siquidem et reges fecere, Hiero, Philometor Attalus, Archelaus, et duces, Xenophon et Poenus etiam Mago, cui quidem tantum honorem senatus noster habuit Carthagine capta ut, *cum regulis Africae bibliothecas donaret*, unius eius duodetriginta volumina censeret in Latinam linguam transferenda, cum iam M. Cato praecepta condidisset, peritisque Punicae dandum negotium, in quo praecessit omnes vir clarissimae familiae D. Silanus.

Thus the Romans gave the libraries of Carthage to the kings of Africa, to the Numidian royal house.¹² The *libri Punici* that "used to be called King Hiempsal's" may have been part of that royal library, which Hiempsal inherited along with the kingdom. By the time when Sallust was writing, Hiempsal of course was dead, which may explain Sallust's *dicebantur*. Alternatively, it is possible that Hiempsal, especially if he had literary tastes like his grandson, may have attempted to pass them off as his own work, so that for a time they went under his name.

The books used by Sallust would seem to have been of a more general character than Juba's *libri Punici*, going back to the earliest, pre-Phoenician inhabitants of N. Africa. One indication of the Punic origin of Sallust's information may be the reference to Hercules' death in Spain (18, 3). Hercules of course was identified with the Phoenician god Melkart, who had a famous temple at Gades. A Punic source may also lie behind Sallust's digression on Lepcis in *Jug.*, 78-9, and more particularly the story of the Carthaginian Philaeni brothers, who

¹² See E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (Oxford, 1958), p. 138, n. 1, who suggests that they all ultimately passed into the hands of Micipsa.

allowed themselves to be buried alive in order to establish the eastern boundary of the Carthaginian empire at the point where they claimed it.

Sallust could well have become acquainted with these books during his governorship in 46 B. C. of the new province of Africa Nova, which had been created out of the kingdom of Juba I (*Bell. Afric.*, 97). We know from Cassius Dio (XLIII, 9, 2) that Sallust pillaged the province and it may be that the *libri Punici* were part of his loot.¹³

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¹³ Note that Dio is inaccurate in speaking of Sallust having written his historical works before his governorship of Africa Nova.

TEXT OF THE TABULA BANASITANA, A. D. 177.

William Seston and Maurice Euzennat, "Un dossier de la chancellerie romaine, la *Tabula Banasitana*: étude de diplomatique," *C. R. A. I.*, 1971 (published in 1972), pp. 468-90 with a good photograph and an excellent commentary, have brought out a very important Latin inscription from Morocco. With the Leyden system of brackets usual in American editions of epigraphical texts¹ the bronze plaque would read as follows:

- Exemplum epistulae imperatorum nostrorum An[toni]
ni et Veri Augustorum ad Colledium Maximum
Liibellum Iuliani Zegrensis litteris tuis iunctum legimus, et
quamquam civitas Romana non nisi maximis meritis pro-
5 vocata in gent<e> a principali gentilibus istis dari solita sit,
tamen cum eum adfirmes et de primoribus esse popularium
suorum et nostris rebus prom<p>to obsequio fidissimum nec
multas familias arbitraremur aput Zegrenses paria pos-
s<e> de offici<i>s suis praedicare, quamquam plurimos cupi-
amus ho-
10 nore a nobis in istam domum conlato ad aemulationem Iuli-
ani excitari, non cunctamur et ipsi, Ziddinae uxori, item
liberis Iuliano, Maximo, Maximino, Diogeniano civitatem
Romanam salvo iure gentis dare.
Exemplum epistulae imperatorum Antonini et Commodi
Aug(ustorum)
15 ad Vallium Maximianum
Legimus libellum principis gentium Zegrensi-um, animadverti-
musq(ue) quali favore Epidi Quadrati praecessoris tui iu-
vetur; pro-
inde et illius testimonio et ipsius meritis et exemplis quae
allegat permoti, uxori filiisq(ue) eius civitatem Romanam
sal-
20 vo iure gentis dedimus. Quod in commentarios nostros
referri
possit explora quae cuiusq(ue) aeta{ti}s sit et scribe nobis.

¹ S. Dow, *Conventions in Editing* (*G. R. B. S. Scholarly Aids*, II [1909]).

- Descriptum et recognitum ex commentario civitate Romana
donatorum Divi Aug(usti) et Ti. Caesaris Aug(usti) et
C. Caesaris et Divi Claudii
et Neronis et Galbae et Divorum Aug(ustorum) Vespasiani
et Titi et Caesaris
- 25 Domitiani et Divorum Aug(ustorum) Ner<v>ae et Traiani
Parthici et Traiani
Hadriani et Hadriani Antonini Pii et Veri Germanici Me-
dici
Parthici Maximi et Imp. Caesaris M. Aureli Antonini Au-
g(usti) Germa-
nici Sarmatici et Imp. Caesaris L. Aureli Commodi Au-
g(usti) Germanici Sar-
matici, quem protulit Asclepiodotus lib(ertus), id quod
i(nfra) s(criptum) est.
- 30 Imp. Caesare L. Aurelio Commodo Aug(usto) et M. Plautio
Quintilio cos(ulibus)
pr(idie) Non(as) Iul(ias) Romae.
Faggura uxor Iuliani principis gentis Zegrensium ann(o)s
XXII,
Iuliana ann(o)s VIII, Maxima ann(o)s III, Iulianus
ann(o)s III, Diogenia-
nus ann(o)s II, liberi Iuliani s(upra) s(cripti).
- 35 Rog(atu) Aureli Iuliani principis Zegrensium per libellum
suffra-
gante Vallio Maximiano per epistulam his civitatem Ro-
manam de-
dimus salvo iure gentis sine diminutione tributorum et
vectigali-
um populi et fisci.
Actum eodem die · ibi · isdem cos(ulibus)
- 40 Asclepiodotus lib(ertus) · Recognovi.

Signaverunt

- M. Gav<i>us M. f. Pob(lilia tribu) Squilla Ga<l>licanus
M'. Acilius M'. f. Gal(eria tribu) Glabrio
T. Sextius T. f. Vot(uria tribu) Lateranus
45 C. Septimius C. f. Qui(rina tribu) Severus
P. Iulius C. f. Ser(gia tribu) Scapula Tertul<l>us
T. Varius T. f. Cla(udia tribu) Clemens

	M. Bassaeus M. f. Stel(latina tribu) Rufus
	P. Taruttienus P. f. Pob(lilia tribu) Paternus
50	<u>§. [Tigidius . f. --- (-- tribu) Peren]nis</u>
	Q. Cervidius Q. f. Arn(ensi tribu) Scaevola
	Q. Larcus Q. f. Qui(rina tribu) Euripianus
	T. Fl(avius) T. f. Pal(atina tribu) Piso

5 gent<e> Oliver, genti bronze, in<dul>gentia S/E. 7 promto. 8-9 poss<e> S/E, possi bronze; officis. 21 aeta{ti}s S/E. 25 Nerae. 42 Gavlus, Gaelicanus. 46 Tertulius. 50 Sex[]nis S/E, proposing the name of Tigidius Perennis.

The inscription on the bronze plaque consists of three documents: (1) the epistle of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to an earlier governor on citizenship for Julian the Zegrensian, his wife and sons, A.D. 161-168; (2) the epistle of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to the governor on citizenship for the wife and children of the new chief of the Zegrensians, Julian junior; and (3) the (authenticated) extract of the imperial *commentarius* which on July 6, 177 made it valid. On the fascinating diplomatic details, on the phrase *salvo iure gentis*, on the list of the emperors² including Caligula, Nero, and Domitian but excluding Otho and Vitellius, on the *consilium*, the first time for a document of this sort, with the names of five senators (all of them distinguished consulars in 177) and of seven high ranking *equites* (some of whom received the *ornamenta consularia*), the reader is referred to Seston and Euzennat.

Here we concentrate on the reading and implications of line 5, where S/E made an emendation in<dul>gentia *principali*, "la faveur impériale." In the text printed *supra* the word *principali* of line 5 is interpreted from the meaning of the word *principis* in line 16. If the word *principis* means "chief," *principis gentium Zegrensium* which S/E translate "chef des tribus Ze-

² With this list should be compared the list beginning with Julius Caesar in inscriptions for emperors and co-rulers published by Nevio Degrassi, "Le iscrizioni di Brescia con una serie di nomi di imperatori," *Rendiconti della Pont. Accad. d'Arch.*, XLII (1969-1970), pp. 135-72, who notes that for the first century emperors and co-rulers were considered such only in so far as they had the *tribunica potestas*, and only the *tribunica potestas* (the consulates were not recorded in these inscriptions).

grensens," then the phrase *a principali* could mean "by a member of the chief's family." To make my view clear I submit the following translation of lines 3-13:

We have read the petition of Julian the Zegrensian which was attached to your letter, and although Roman citizenship, except when it has been called forth by a member of the chief's family with very great services in the tribe, is not wont to be granted to those tribesmen, nevertheless since you assert that he is one of the leading men of his people and is very loyal in his readiness to be of help to our affairs, and since we think that there are not many families among the Zegrensians who can make equal boasts concerning their services, whereas we wish that very many be impelled to emulate Julian because of the honor conferred by us upon his house, we do not hesitate to grant Roman citizenship, without impairment of the law of the tribe, to him himself, to his wife Ziddina, likewise to his children Julian, Maximus, Maximinus, Diogenianus.

In the case of local tribesmen the Roman government normally granted citizenship only to a member of the chief's own family for outstanding services (i. e. zealous behavior in the interests of Rome), for instance to a son of the chief or to the chief himself. Among the Zegrensians there may have been a lack of zeal in the chief's own family in 161, but on the governor's recommendation the emperors granted citizenship to a friend of Rome from another family. About fifteen years later the son of that Julian honored by Rome has himself become chief of the Zegrensians (line 16), and so the family of Julian has by 177 displaced or replaced the family of the (non-cooperative) chief of, say, 161.

The greatest surprise, however, lies in the wording of lines 36-8, *his civitatem Romanam dedimus salvo iure gentis sine diminutione tributorum et vectigalium populi et fisci*, because this formula explains the famous passage in the first edict of P. Giessen 40, an edict which we reedited in *A. J. P.*, LXXVI (1955), p. 288, after which the passage received a negative treatment from Chr. Sasse, *Die Constitutio Antoniniana* (Wiesbaden, 1958), who rejected virtually all restorations except P. M. Meyer's restoration [δε]δετικίων. The Tabula Banasitana now shows that this restoration of Meyer's was particularly wrong. The *dediticii* are not mentioned. The Latin word is

additicia, which meant additional advantages in respect to taxation. In the pertinent edict of Caracalla in *P. Giessen* 40 the passage (lines 8-10) should, I think, read: Δίδωμι τοί[ν]υν ἅπα[σι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις κατὰ τ]ὴν οἰκουμένην π[ολειτ]είαν Ῥωμαίων, [μ]ένοντος | [τοῦ νόμου (or δικαίου) τῶν πολειτευμ]άτων, χωρ[ὶς] τῶν [ἀδ]δειτικίων.

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SLAVES AND FREEDMEN IN IMPERIAL ROME.

In a most laborious compilation in the *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* János Szilágyi has published summaries of all the evidence on length of life in the western provinces of the Roman Empire that can be gathered from tombstones.¹ (The evidence comes overwhelmingly from the first and second centuries A. D.) In a short note in *Population* L. Henry has shown that such evidence has no value whatever for establishing the average length of life of the population as a whole or of any part of it.² A brief comparison of the figures gathered from the tombstones of a nineteenth-century cemetery at Lyons with demographical data from official records showed a clear tendency to commemorate the age of certain groups of the dead and to omit that of others. That infants were under-represented on ancient gravestones had long been recognized. Henry showed that at Lyons there was a strong tendency to record the length of life of young women who died before marriage or as young wives and mothers, of men during or after their achievements in middle age. These partialities varied in time and place and cannot be corrected. Hence averages of age at death drawn from gravestones do not reveal the age structure of a population.

Can Szilágyi's compilation be put to any useful service? Perhaps one curious group of statistics among them may reflect a social reality. The average recorded age at death for the slaves of the city of Rome is extraordinarily low: seventeen and a half years (17.2 for males; 17.9 for females). At first these figures appall the reader and excite pity, for it is the lowest of all the averages that Szilágyi gives. The average age of death of freedmen at Rome is low, too—lower than that in most cities—but they lived five years longer than slaves. At first some confidence in the correctness of the figures is created by the considerable number of the inscriptions on which they are based: almost

¹ XIII (1961), pp. 125-56; XIV (1961-2), pp. 297-306; XV (1963), pp. 129-224; XVII (1965), pp. 309-34; XVIII (1966), pp. 236-77; XIX (1967), pp. 25 ff.

² "L'Âge au décès d'après les inscriptions funéraires," *Population* (Paris), XIV (1959), pp. 327-9.

10,000 for the city of Rome as a whole and 678 for the slaves. Confidence is increased by their being what we should expect: city life was unhealthy and slaves were mistreated, the first to go hungry, etc.

The true state of affairs, however, is revealed by the figures for the freedmen of Rome. Their average age at death is recorded as 25.2 years. This is superior not only to that of slaves, but to that of the free born. This is not the anomaly that it first appears. Rather it reflects the fact that the class of freedmen, almost by definition, would include few very young persons. (The average age at the naval station of Misenum is similarly high owing to the presence of so many sailors. There, too, the portion of children must have been unnaturally low.) The slave population was young, because manumissions progressively reduced its numbers as age advanced. In the light of Henry's criticism of the reliability of mortality tables drawn from gravestones, it is impossible to use the figures to calculate the chances a slave had to be manumitted or his age at manumission. Nevertheless a general conclusion can be drawn. The disparity as great as seven years in populations whose average is so low as seventeen and twenty-five suggests that if a city slave survived to maturity his chances of freedom must have been considerable and that manumission was a major social factor within the city's working class.³

JAMES HARPER.

³ Lily Ross Taylor has shown that most of the working class of the city were either slaves or of recent servile origin: "Freedmen and Freeborn in the Epitaphs of Imperial Rome," *A.J.P.*, LXXXII (1961), pp. 113-32.

It is curious to note that the same disparity of about seven years between the average longevity of slaves and freedmen is recorded on the tombstones of slaves and freedmen in central and southern Italy outside Rome, but that the average recorded age at death of both classes is seven years greater. It is hard to see why there should have been any difference between the city and the rest of Italy in the choice of persons whose age should be recorded on gravestones. Hence these figures just may reflect some real difference. Healthier living conditions outside the great metropolis would account for a longer life, but that fact alone would not increase the figures for both slaves and freedmen by the same number of years. To account for this we should have to assume both that living conditions were healthier and that outside Rome manumissions were made at a later average age.

REVIEWS.

CALVERT WATKINS. *Indogermanische Grammatik*. Herausgegeben von Jerzy Kuryłowicz. Band III: Formenlehre. Erster Teil, Geschichte der Indogermanischen Verbalflexion. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1969. Pp. 248.

For some decades the need for a comprehensive new treatment of the comparative and historical grammar of the Indo-European languages has been increasingly felt. Knowledge of the two Tocharian languages, of Hittite and the other Anatolian languages, and of Mycenaean Greek all came too late, at least in any usable form, to be incorporated into Hirt's *Indogermanische Grammatik*, not to mention Brugmann's *Grundriss*, while at the same time intensive study of both these and the long-known Indo-European languages has led to a revision of many older views. Joshua Watmough (*C. P.*, LVII [1962], p. 44) said (in a context primarily concerned with phonology): "the exposition of Indo-European and of the relation of Indo-European languages both to it and to one another needs to be completely rewritten."

The second volume of the new *Indogermanische Grammatik* (371 pp.), by Kuryłowicz, appeared in 1968 and deals with accent and ablaut. Beside it and the volume here under review no others have yet appeared. Professor Watkins' work is precisely what the subtitle implies, a history of Indo-European verbal inflection. Verbal stem-formation, it is to be hoped, will be treated in another volume, for there is relatively little here on such matters as, for example, the nasal present classes, the Greek first aorist passive, the Latin tenses of periphrastic origin, etc. On the personal endings, however, as well as on the vocalism and certain other features of the verb, it gives a vast amount of valuable information and shows a remarkable mastery of the many languages which have to be taken into account. The work of earlier and contemporary scholars has been extensively used and critically evaluated, while in a number of places the author presents his own solution to a troublesome problem.

In the introduction Watkins rightly recognizes the impossibility of treating Indo-European as a language so amenable to reconstruction that one could write a full and orderly grammar or compose texts in a particular stage of it. It is rather a question of ascertaining the history of separate forms and paradigms and thereby explaining the features in the languages actually recorded. The separate chapters of the volume are devoted partly to grammatical topics: unthematic and thematic inflection, *r*-forms of the verb, the optative, etc., partly to linguistic sub-groups: Hittite, Indo-Iranian, Greek, Italic, Celtic, Tocharian, Balto-Slavic. The lack of any chapter devoted to such an important sub-group as Germanic is curious, and yet here and there one may find indirect hints of the reason for this omission; so for example, when the importance of the orderly and predictable correspondences of Skt. *veda*, Gk. *φοῖδα*, Goth. *wait* (p. 223) or of the optative forms Skt. *bharet*, Gr. *φέροι*, Goth. *bairai* is

minimized in favor of less regular but, in line with Meillet's doctrine, more archaic forms. A number of Germanic matters are in fact touched upon in the course of the work: pp. 43-4 third plural ending in the Germanic preterit; p. 138 identity of first and third singular in some parts of the Gothic verb; p. 144 Goth. *hulundi* 'Höhle, σπηλαιον' as one of several instances of survival of passive value in *-nt*-participles; pp. 146-7 some personal endings; p. 155 loss of the aorist in the prehistory of the Germanic verb; pp. 170-1 weak verbs with stems in *-ē-*; p. 213 vocalism of second and third singular medio-passive endings.

It is a familiar fact that modern doctrine has departed far from the view prevalent at the end of the nineteenth century, according to which the Indo-European verbal system at the time just before the breakup into dialects was essentially like that found in Vedic Sanskrit and Homeric Greek, with its augment, its subjunctive and optative moods, and its personal endings showing a contrast of primary and secondary forms and of active and medio-passive forms. Here we still have many of the familiar reconstructed categories of the Indo-European verb, but we are also enabled at many points to see earlier stages where such contrasts had not yet developed. Watkins at one point (p. 21) stresses the agreement of Latin with Sanskrit, in contrast to Greek, which can be brought under the same scheme only with the help of *ad hoc* rules; a rather surprising statement which is not elsewhere elaborated in the book, though there may be a reflection of it in the treatment of innovation in the Greek subjunctive (p. 61). At several points (pp. 100, 103, 127, 132) he presents evidence, chiefly in certain aorist forms, of an eastern linguistic sub-group embracing Indo-Iranian, Armenian, Greek, and Balto-Slavic. Such a sub-group is less often posited directly than implied indirectly by recognition of a western sub-group embracing Italic, Celtic, and Germanic, a notion familiar to those who are in the habit of consulting Ernout-Meillet. This grouping (in which the position of Greek disrupts the old and now partly discredited *satem*/*centum* dichotomy) may receive further support if future research shows enough bundles of isoglosses of both lexical and other varieties. One such isogloss may be seen in the words for 'fish': Lat. *piscis*, OIr. *iasc*, Goth. *fisks*, but Gk. ἰχθύς, Arm. *jukn*, Lith. *žuvis* (without etyma of either of these families in Slavic or Indo-Iranian, however).

Most of the argument of this volume, as of Watkins' *Indo-European Origins of the Celtic Verb* (Dublin, 1962), proceeds from his recognition of the importance both in Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages of the uncharacterized or zero-form, the third person singular indicative or the second person singular imperative, with a much more widespread tendency in the former than in the latter toward replacement by more complex forms (pp. 49-52, with some further discussion on pp. 119-20, where the notion of the "negative person" is applied to demonstrative pronouns, and on p. 208 in connection with certain Tocharian phenomena). A zero-form of this kind, with indicative function, could have started as second term of a *Nominalsatz*, where it would stand in a predicate relation to a noun subject (p. 49), and it is unnecessary to add that, once forms with marks of the other singular and plural persons have

made their appearance, the verb as a distinct morphological category is fully established. On the origin of the personal endings Watkins makes no broad generalizations; apart from some interesting speculation on relations between pronoun and verb in first and second dual and plural forms (p. 47) he regards the question as largely without possible solution in the present state of our knowledge. The verbal form may be expressed as consisting of W + S + E (*Wurzel* + *Suffix* + *Endung*), but either S or E may in a given form be \emptyset = zero, and as a result of resegmentation what was S (with zero-ending) may assume the function of E (with zero-suffix). The ambiguous value of *e/o* as suffix or as ending and the importance of this duality of function in the development of distinct thematic and unthematic classes are outlined on pp. 117-18, and they deserve attention as examples of the prominent place given to resegmentation of morphemes in the grammatical analyses in the present work as well as in some other work written in the same tradition. A category having special importance as one of the earliest forms of the verb is the injunctive, which, despite its formal identity with the Indo-Iranian injunctive as an unaugmented formation with "secondary" endings, must be assigned a rather different value here: "Verbindung einer Tätigkeit mit einer Person, ohne Rücksicht auf Tempus und Modus" (pp. 45, 65, after Thurneysen, *KZ*, XXVII [1883], pp. 172-80, whose demonstration in the same article of the derivation of the "primary" endings through addition of *-i* to the "secondary" endings also holds an important place in the present work). Also prominent in parts of the book is the close historical relationship of the medio-passive to the thematic (as opposed to the unthematic) forms of the verb and to the perfect system. On p. 116 there is a brief discussion of the perfect tense and the Hittite *hi*-conjugation, for which a common origin has often been suspected because of the laryngeal phoneme which must be assumed in reconstructing the history of each; Watkins admits a remote but not a close connection. Among matters of special interest to students of the classical languages, the characteristic feature of the Latin *v*-perfect is taken to have originated in a root-extension *-v-* for which rather widely scattered evidence (Sanskrit, Armenian, Lithuanian, Hittite, Luwian, Tocharian; pp. 53, 151, 207, 224) is cited, but with no mention of Martinet's theory (*Word*, IX [1953], pp. 259-60) of the *o*-colored laryngeal ϵ_3 in roots like **dō-* 'give' and **gnō-* 'know' as source of the *v* in the most productive type of Latin perfect. In regard to a perfect of another type, Latin *vidī*, Watkins, p. 152, argues, partly on semantic grounds, against close connection between it and Skt. *veda*, Gk. *foida*, Goth. *waii*, and probably rightly, for E. H. Sturtevant, *Lg.*, X (1934), pp. 6-16, had already shown that *vidī*, *vīcus*, and *vinum*, the three forms on which a Latin change **yoī-* > *vī-* was supposed to depend, did not furnish reliable support for the assumed sound-change. Pp. 158-9 contain a valuable account of the merging of unthematic and thematic inflection in the Latin first conjugation and in some third conjugation types, but its value would have been greater if the second conjugation with its root-presents, its statives, and its intensive-causatives had also been included. A discussion of *fero*, *fers*, *fert* immediately follows. Against Szemerényi's

theory of syncope in the second and third singular, etc., Watkins, in my opinion rightly, sees a survival of the unthematic type attested in the Skt. reduplicated present *bibharti*. On pp. 176-9 we find a detailed discussion of the Latin imperative passive endings. In opposition to the usual view that early second and third singular forms of the type of *antestāminō*, *progređiminō*, etc., represent a blend of the second plural in *-minī* with the active second and third singular in *-tō*, the formation in *-minō* is here taken to be the older, from which plural *-minī* arose through the influence of the nominative plural of masculine nouns (*fāminī*, *Rōmānī* thus replacing **fāminō*, *Rōmānō*). The notion that verbal endings could be remodeled after nominal endings is not completely strange; the *-s* in *-ns*, the Oscan and Umbrian third person plural ending in secondary tenses, was explained by Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, pp. 81, 152, as the result of a remodeling under the influence of the nominative plural of consonant stems, especially *n*-stems like Oscan nom. pl. *humuns*, though others have explained otherwise. Moreover the notion that a nominative plural participle assumed the function of a second person plural imperative is a serious weakness of the traditional theory, as Watkins makes fully clear. Turning to another aspect of the medio-passive voice, the *r*-endings which Italic shares with Celtic, Anatolian, Armenian, and Tocharian, the author has devoted a full chapter to it and has elaborated a theory that the *-r* was at first a prosecutive particle reflected in Gk. *ᾄρ*, *ῥα*, *ᾄρα* and Lith. *ir* 'and.' Evidence is found in Homeric Greek in such expressions as *βῆ ῥ'*, *γῶ ῥ'*, etc., and in certain uses of the West Tocharian enclitic particle *ra*, with possibilities in the latter language for tautological usage when *ra* follows a verb with an *r*-ending. It is unfortunate that only three languages can be cited for evidence of the earlier, syntactical, as opposed to morphological, stage, and it is not shown quite convincingly how the special association of the particle with the medio-passive voice arose, but in general the argument is carefully reasoned, and the explanation offered is apparently an original and certainly an ingenious one.

The last chapter is on the optative, and some of the essential features of the argument may be summarized as follows: the familiar thematic optative illustrated by Skt. *bharet*, Gk. *φέροι*, Goth. *bairai* is less important for reconstructing the early history of the mood than forms like Skt. first plural *gamēma*, *bhujema*, which belong to roots making predominantly unthematic stems, have a prevaillingly middle rather than active sense, and are confirmed as especially ancient forms by the poetic formulae, mostly in the cadence of the verse, in which they occur; Meillet, *B.S.L.*, XXXII (1931), p. 199, was correct in regarding *-oi-* as an optative suffix not capable of being segmented into a thematic vowel *o* plus an optative sign *i*; Hirt, *Idg. Gr.*, IV, p. 289, showed that the true correspondence of Arcadian *ἐξελαινοια* is with Skt. first singular middle *-eya*, not with active *-eyam*; the Arcadian and Skt. *-a* is a reflex not of *-m* but of *-ao*; the optative is an old de-classed indicative (p. 234). So much for the argument. Meillet's view, on which it is partly based, does not strike me as fully satisfactory. In support of his three variants of the optative sign, *-(i)yē/i/oy-*, he had cited **gʷyē-/gʷi-/gʷoy-* 'vivre.' There, however, it was a question of

root-variants, of which the first two must have been set-roots (with a suffix containing σ_1), the last an anit-root. Of course it might be possible to analyze the optative suffixes similarly, but it is hard to see what advantage is gained by not analyzing *-oi-* as from *o* plus *i*, or by not regarding *gaméma* and *bhūjema* as merely instances of early intrusion of thematic inflection into paradigms normally inflected unthematically. We would then have only two grades of the optative suffix, full-grade *-yē-* < *-yeσ₁-*, and zero-grade *-i-* < *-yσ₁-*, the latter of which could be used after the thematic vowel. So far as the first person ending is concerned, Watkins in citing Hirt's equation of the *-oa* in *ἐξελαννοια* with Skt. middle *-eya* rather than with active *-eyam* does not attribute to Hirt the view that the final *-a* is from *-eo* rather than from *-m*. It should be made clear, however, that Hirt—a non-laryngealist, like most of his generation—did in fact derive the *-a*, from *-m*, and indeed it is not easy to escape from so doing. There are two fifth-century Attic forms *τρέφου* (Eur., fr. 903 Nauck) and *ἀμάπτου* (Cratinus, fr. 55 Edmonds), both guaranteed by the metre and both clearly identified as first singular optative active forms. It might be possible to explain them away as the result of an analogical replacement of *-a* by *-v* (*τρέφου*, *-ois*, *-oi* like *εἶην*, *-ης*, *-η*) leading to a rare type almost completely driven out of use by the standard, but nonetheless surprising type in *-οιμ*, but I suspect that *ἐξελαννοια* and *τρέφου* represent a variation similar to that seen medially in *αἰσθανοῖατο* / *αἰσθάνοντο* or finally in accusative singular *ἰχθῦα*/*ἰχθύς*. First singular optative active forms other than those in *μ*, however, are much too rare in thematic paradigms to allow any generalizations as to distribution of *-a* and *-v* either in relation to sentence-sandhi or to dialect.

Misprints are not numerous, though one or two might cause some slight difficulty in understanding their immediate context. On p. 54 just below the middle read *morphophonologisch* for *morphonologisch*. On p. 80 near the top read *Eheloif* for *Eheholf*. On p. 117, second line from the bottom, R (for W) was apparently left behind when *root* was translated into *Wurzel*. On p. 118, ninth line from the bottom, read *Derivationskategorie*. On p. 187, third line from the bottom, the abbreviation *alt.* must be intended to be *alth.* On p. 195, line 7, *ρ*, must be intended to be *ρ'* so as to show elision before the initial vowel of the next word. On p. 232, 13th line from the bottom, *-ois*, *-oi*, not *-as*, *-oi*, must have been intended.

The table of contents is so detailed that to a considerable extent it compensates for the lack of an *index verborum* or subject index.

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THOMAS G. ROSENMEYER, *The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1969. Pp. xi + 351. \$9.50.

Historical accident and the vagaries of critical taste relegated Theocritus to inferior status in the tradition which he began. Recent studies, however, have offered new interpretations of both later pastoral and his work. Hence an attempt to reformulate tradition and Theocritus' place in it is a timely exercise in comparative literature.

The present book accepts familiar notions of pastoral simplicity and treats them as a principle of genre, the simple pastoral lyric.¹ The author illustrates this generic concept with examples drawn from wide reading in classical and European literature, literary criticism, and scholarship. He urges that Theocritus, by the standard of the genre, is a superb poet. He also suggests an affinity between qualities of the genre and ethical or moral qualities which he calls Epicurean.

For classicists and comparatists alike, the range, plan, and method of the book raise theoretical questions, some of which are touched upon by the preface (pp. [vii]-viii) (*italics added to key terms*):

The object of the study is twofold: to say something about the special qualities of Theocritus' pastoral poetry; and to find out to what extent these qualities are characteristic of the whole genre. There is something chimerical about discussing a genre *rather* than individual poems. Some will object that the book does not contain more analyses of Theocritean or Virgilian texts. The reply must be that the *reading of a particular poem* becomes more convincing once the tradition into which the critics fit it is better understood. The case of Theocritus is a warning example; working in a critical vacuum has produced few satisfactory interpretations. Hence I thought it more important, at this point, to ask a number of old-fashioned questions about the pastoral lyric as a whole, and to present some ideas about probabilities and *expectations* rather than about the finished products. Again, it may be felt that my account of the matter, with its conceptual pigeonholes, is too schematic, and that a more loose-jointed engagement would have been preferable. I would answer that the relative neglect of Theocritus has created a need for an orderly, systematic discussion, even if it means that some of the less tractable subtleties will not be captured this time around. I am fully aware of the disproportion between the lumbering logistics of the attack and the slender substance of much of the poetry, especially the Theocritean corpus. My hope is that if there is some gain in what I propose, the means whereby the gain was procured will soon be put out of mind.

¹ "Lyric" as opposed to drama, romance, and other "complex" forms; yet ancient critics associated bucolic with epic (pp. 4-5, 14), as did also in their fashion Virgil, Horace, Spenser, Milton, Keats, and, with exemplary irony, Theocritus.

Discussions of pastoral poetry that mention Theocritus usually cast him in the role of the founder, and that means the *beginner*. European pastoral is indebted to Virgil rather than to Theocritus; consequently, it is felt there is no need to say much about the latter, except to suggest that he did things *simply* which later were done *better*, or at least *more artfully*. For a corrective, I suggest that we look on Theocritus as if he were a *fellow worker, not a source*. I shall argue that the issues and stimuli to which he responds are not so very different from those experienced by Milton or Spenser or Sannazaro, but that he responds in his own remarkably consistent way, and that his solutions deserve to be considered *on a par* with the *seemingly more intricate* solutions of the later pastoralists. In this I am not abjuring the historical perspective; it is impossible to make sense of Theocritus unless one pays some attention to the social and intellectual milieu that conditioned him. I do propose, however, to pass over the whole area of transmission and influence. Even if it can be shown securely that one poet learned from another this seems to me, at the present juncture, less crucial than the question how the two poets, *given certain generic expectations*, resolve their difficulties, and whose solution is the *more attractive*.

It is easy to sympathize with a reaction against habitual views of Theocritus, yet necessary to scrutinize what is being proposed.²

The author speaks first of description and comparison, but then also of evaluation. He objects to the chronological bias which sees Theocritus as simple beginner; and appeals to "generic expectations," which are mentioned as a kind of absolute standard that would vindicate the poet. In the first chapter, however, Theocritus himself appears to be the norm for genre, and on the ground that he was first (p. 13, cf. pp. 29-30). Thus the author's reaction is limited to a shift from unfriendly to friendly bias toward temporal priority. Moreover, it is circular to praise Theocritus, as the author often does, for conforming to generic norms if he was their source; and the formula, "fellow worker not a source," is misleading if priority in time caused Theocritus to be made the source if not of poets then of the "generic expectations" by which he is to be redeemed.

A tautological structure may be inevitable in literary criticism, with value judgment an implied or explicit premise. This means only that criticism has to justify itself by its handling of particular texts. The preface acknowledges this when it defends generic criticism on grounds that through it "the reading of a particular poem becomes more convincing. . . ." In turn the first chapter notes that genre is formed by a "process of abstraction," i. e. from particular texts (p. 13). Hence in theory generic criticism must have three stages: (1) particular reading; (2) abstraction-generalization; (3) new particular reading. This theoretical model makes the poetic texts its first and last criteria; yet the preface suggests that the author has somehow preferred the second stage at the

² On continuity and reaction in tradition, see my note, "Is Theocritus a Version of Pastoral?," *M. L. N.*, LXXXIV (1969), pp. 942-6.

expense of the others. We shall see on looking at the first chapter that this in practice may mean acceptance without a new particular reading of abstractions produced by prior critics.

As a whole, the work can be divided into three sections: two chapters on the basic conception of simple pastoral and its possible "affinity" to Epicureanism; three chapters which elaborate the basic conception into qualities which are associated with both "the pastoral" and "philosophy," viz. "Simplicity, Otium, Freedom"; and seven chapters which illustrate the conception and qualities in terms of assorted subjects, viz. "The Animals, The Music, The Humor, The Pleasance, Anatomy, Arcadia, Figures and Tropes."

The first chapter resumes old controversies over "simple" and "complex." In spite of the apparent reaction in the preface, the author takes conventional notions of simplicity for granted (e.g. "ancient simplicities," p. 10; "traditional or decorative," p. 13; cf. "oddity" [*Ecl.* iv] versus "rustic scenes" [other *Eclogues*], p. 6): here too his real reaction seems limited to a shift from unfriendly to friendly attitude. He reacts against pejorative connotations of simpleness (e.g. "cotton candy, crude"); but when he asserts Theocritus' excellence (pp. viii, 29-30), he means excellent simplicity. The principal notion in his concept of "lyric" genre thus appears to be a version of conventional views with its direct source not in a new reading of Theocritus so much as in the critics. It must, therefore, be the product of their particular readings and abstractions (e.g. in Servius: *Theocritus . . . simplex . . . simpliciter*). As such it forms part of the history of taste and letters, and needs like other tralatitious views to be interpreted, justified, or subverted by fresh particular readings of the texts.

With simpleness as an implicit premise, the author turns in the next chapter to origins: found in Theocritus' own "special amalgam" and not in divers putative rituals or traditions. The author here introduces his Epicurean *leitmotiv* in a formula that requires particular notice since it provides the only theoretical basis for his correlation of poetry and philosophy:

. . . it should be possible to show that some of the suggestions, not to say ideas implicit in the major pastoral *Idylls* are reminiscent of what is found in the utterances of the moral philosophers . . . (p. 43).

Concern with moral suggestions (or ideas) seems to preclude consideration of philosophic ideas of language and poetics to which poets might make practical response.³ The author's ensuing argument seems to run the risk of limiting discussion to traditional reports, whether of philosophy or poetry, without fresh recourse to the texts:

If it can be shown that it is *the tradition* of the pastoral, rather than Virgil or *any other writer in particular*, that is to be associated with Epicurus . . . (p. 43, italics added).

³ Cf. R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1968), p. 137, and Horace, *A. P.*, 23, for a sense of "simple" just the opposite of that used by this book: *simplex . . . et unum*.

Here the conception of tradition as an absolute recalls language of the preface and first chapter. In fact the author does not offer the systematic and detailed comparison of particular philosophical (Epicurean) and poetic texts that might be expected in support of his thesis.⁴

The next three chapters introduce generic qualities; none proceeds from particular readings of Theocritus. Simplicity now become explicit, and is subdivided into artlessness, discontinuousness, speech that is plain but not clumsy, loose syntax, and naïveté. The author asserts that "in pastoral the accent is on separation and dispersal, not on unity" (p. 47); and he takes issue with ideas of structured harmony in Virgil advanced by Pöschl and Otis, thus effectively excluding from his concept of pastoral such processes as driving together and herding, catching and holding, counting, or weaving a cheese-mold or cicada cage. On style he affirms, following Rapin and Scaliger,

Here again, Theocritus' speech is characterized as casual, unperiodic, loose-jointed. These are the qualities *demanded* by the freedom and *the* simplicity of the genre (p. 54, cf. "democracy of pastoral beings," p. 53, italics added).

Here generic notions appear, as frequently, with *a priori* and prescriptive force, without an analysis of examples in support.

The second generic quality is "Otium," subdivided into absence of worry, tranquillity, idleness, a love that animates but is controlled, and timelessness. Discussion begins with an Epicurean motto and the key word, "To be at ease . . . *tharrein*" (p. 65). The ensuing illustration comes from Virgil's second *Georgic*. The author does not discuss either the more simple actual uses of this key word by Theocritus (e.g. *Id.*, iv, 41, 44; v, 145; cf. *Epigr.*, xix, 4), or the specific uses of *otium*-"*hasychia*" in *Idylls* and *Eclogues* (*Id.*, vii, 126, cited but imprecisely, p. 67; *otia* at *Ec.*, v, 61-4, echoing *Ec.*, i, 6-7). Yet it is said that *otium* is remarkably frequent in Latin pastoral, especially by comparison with the rarity of its Greek counterpart in Theocritus. When the author later mentions a kind of *otium* differing from that "featured in Theocritus," the concept hardly seems to have been sufficiently spelled out to permit such comparisons.

Freedom, the third generic quality, is presented as a philosophical ideal, by contrast with the reality of servitude in the country. The chapter moves, with no example of freedom from pastoral, to Themistius, Plato, and the Homeric figure of the ruler as shepherd of the people (pp. 98-9). From this, as if freedom too were now an established pastoral element, the argument passes to Fletcher and a question of ownership and equality among pastoral figures. The difficulty that pastoral makes little mention of freedom is met by the assertion that pastoral shows, does not tell (pp. 108-9): "The herdsmen are free; they do not need to talk about their freedom." The author says nothing of a particular problem, the *Libertas* of

⁴It is a question whether the *Eclogues* are "full of Epicurean elements" or of Lucretian language reinterpreted in an anti-Epicurean context: cf. B. Farrington, *A. Class.*, I (1958), pp. 45 ff.

Titurus (*Ec.*, i, 27), nor of another remnant of old political idea in new ideological garb (*Id.*, xiv, 59, where the free man would be a soldier of Ptolemy, not a cowherd).

With this, the author has presented his generic frame. Of the illustrative chapters that follow, perhaps the most important is "The Pleasance," since this term, together with "the bower," "the cabinet," and "the *locus amoenus*," belongs to a group of words used indiscriminately and interchangeably in connection with the central generic concept. The chapter deals with ways that pastoral relates nature to man, among them the so-called "pathetic fallacy." Ruskin's invidious label comes in not only for convenience as critics' cant but as an accepted stricture: thus while the figure is acknowledged for Renaissance pastoral, it is said to be rarer in earlier poets (p. 184, cf. p. 248: "good pastoral . . . features considerably less . . . than is sometimes assumed," where positive valuation attaches again to a generic preconception). Earlier the author made interesting suggestions about uses of the figure, though with grudging admission of its presence in Theocritus (pp. 114-15, 134-5). But a tendency to overlook it, as inconsistent with the principle of simplicity, prevails.⁵

Other illustrative chapters reach similarly predetermined conclusions: for instance both The Music and The Animals are said, finally, to exemplify freedom, "one of the precious attributes of the pleasance" (p. 167, cf. p. 144). Thus too the chapter on Anatomy cites "the simplicity of the men and women in the bower" to support its contention that satire, nostalgia, and melancholy lead only a "subterranean existence in the Theocritean cabinet" (pp. 230-1).

Both Anatomy and Arcadia are imposed by Virgil on the generic critic. The author prefers Pan and Evander to Polybius as factors in Virgil's use of Arcadia; but here too generic simplicity intervenes: thus Arcadia has no connection with the utopia of *Eclogue* iv (but *Ec.*, iv, 58-9); and Virgil's desire to emphasize the simple virtue of Aristaeus led him to adopt the Arcadian version of the myth (but *G.*, iv, 454, attempted rape).

The final chapter, "Figures and Tropes," moves from "pathetic fallacy" to metaphor in general. It concludes that, although ancient pastoral is sparing in figurative means, yet not all extensions of sense are foreclosed. The attempt to delimit this "openness" (p. 279) makes a summation of the book as a whole by bringing generic principles to bear on a final, particular reading.

⁵ In Theocritus, nature's feeling for man: *Id.*, i, 71-5, iv, 11 (vi, 45), vii, 73-82 (a key passage), only the first of which is cited. On *Id.*, iv see G. Lawall, "Animal Loves and Human Loves," *R. F. I. C.*, XCIV (1966), pp. 42-50, reprinted in *Theocritus' Coan Pastorals: A Poetry Book* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 42-51. Lawall's book is cited in disagreement, p. 303, n. 35, and ought to have been cited here since the subject is especially important to students of later pastoral. Virgil gets no systematic or consistent treatment from the book, but is cited here for implicit use of natural feeling (*E.*, v, 36-9, viii, 44-5, p. 184) with no mention of the explicit cases (*E.*, v, 20-8, 58-64; and *E.*, viii, 1-4, used in this connection by Sannazaro, *Arcadia, prosa* x; cf. *E.*, i, 38-9, iv, 50-2, vi, 29-30, x, 8-15; and Orpheus, *E.*, iii, 46).

The summation begins with a topic sentence, "Theocritus resists decoding." The author takes an example in Idyll iv and warns (p. 279)

. . . it will not do to examine individual words or phrases for figurative secrets, or to look at the action or the sub-actions, as condensations of larger meaning.

Permissible interpretation is limited to generic notions (pp. 279-80; italics added):

If the poem strikes us as more meaningful than its parts, we must go back to our original contention about the affinity between *the* pastoral and *the* Epicurean creed.

The following paragraph then shows the kind of interpretation that this allows. It says that pastoral poetry permits the "full flowering" of the "life of the soul, the *otium* of the free"; and it returns to the passage in the fourth Idyll for illustration (p. 280):

The picture of the herdsman grieving over the death of his beloved and pursuing his herd into the thicket is sufficient unto itself as a credible and affecting scene. But it also serves to remind us of the simplicities available to all good men if only they can free themselves of the constraints of the commonwealth.

This return to "Epicurean creed" is consistent with the plan and method of the book; yet it raises questions in view of the theoretical model, since the account of the particular poetic text is inaccurate (e. g. whose herd? *cuius pecus*? what happens? where?).⁶ These questions, in turn, are compounded by the rest of the poem, which closes with a lecherous old man described in terms which A. S. F. Gow implicitly deplored. Not that vigorous sexuality precludes moral, ethical, perhaps even Epicurean generalization; but gross, pithy language ought to have qualified the tone and deflected the ideological thrust of "life of the soul," "*otium* of the free," and "all good men." High moral sentence seems inadequate and untrue to the gusto with which Theocritus puts sex among the simplicities available.

In general, the book falls short of the theoretical model. Again and again it starts from a received notion rather than a poetic text; and when it turns to a text, the generic notions inhibit its view of real complexities. Individual poems supply illustrative matter to genre, but themselves remain underdeveloped. Yet the "lyric" genre itself proves insubstantial, without sufficiently concrete grasp of Theocritus or other texts and lacking either diachronic or synchronic historical frame. The examples to illustrate it are chosen eclectically without systematic regard for chronology or the changing social and intellectual contexts of literary work and without attention to Theocritus' importance for any particular theorists or poets. We get no account of the actual vicissitudes of Theocritus in the ancient world or since Sannazaro, and no report of the develop-

⁶ See above, note 5, for reference to criticism which finds complex organization of words, phrases, sub-actions beneath this rustic surface.

ment of the notion of "simple pastoral." Moreover, any "affinity" between pastoral and the classical or Renaissance versions of Epicureanism remains unsubstantiated for similar lack of documentation. In sum, although the desire to rehabilitate Theocritus is commendable, the practice here remains prisoner of the very "simplist" tradition in criticism which undervalued him. More attention to particular thorny details of poems (and poetries) and to relevant contexts like whole poems and groups of poems (some theory of generalization) would be required to reformulate tradition.⁷

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PHILADELPHIA.

E. ADELAIDE HAHN. *Naming-Constructions in Some Indo-European Languages*. Cleveland, Case Western Reserve University Press, 1969. Pp. xxviii + 250. \$8.00. (*American Philological Association Monograph* No. 27.)

E. Adelaide Hahn was a great woman, a grand person, and a fine scholar. It is a pity that she did not live to see her last book in print. As it is, she was fortunate in having found such good friends as J. W. Poultney and J. A. Hanson to see her work through the press, and through them, to have had Hunter Rawlings compile an indispensable *index locorum*. Her own intense loyalty to institutions and friends has been amply rewarded.

In an earlier study devoted to the Greek accusative of specification Miss Hahn was unable to treat of constructions involving 'name,' and returns to this topic in the present monograph. It is her view that in a (schematic) sentence: (*est*) *homo nomen Iulius, nomen* was in partitive apposition with *homo* and was therefore originally nominative, not accusative. Such a sentence is to be translated: 'the man (his) name (is) Julius.' Only later did *nomen* become analyzed as a neuter and as an accusative of specification as in Xenophon, *Anab.*, I, 2, 23: *διὰ μέσον δὲ τῆς πόλεως ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Κύνδος ὄνομα*.

Hittite, being the earliest Indo-European language attested, can be expected to be closest to the original Indo-European situation, and indeed partitive apposition is exemplified in that language, both with body parts and also with names. Other constructions do occur, but Miss Hahn gains support for her view in that the accusative of specification does not appear in Hittite. One remarkable thing about naming constructions in Hittite is that when 'name' appears, the personal name appears in a single shape, whether it functions as a nominative or an accusative: *nu-wa-ra Ul-li-kum-mi SUM-an e-es-du* 'let Ullikummi be the name.' Most scholars tend to regard forms

⁷Two technical notes: on p. 291, n. 73, "Aulus Gellius 9.3.4," instead read "9.9.9-10," yet this is not germane either, since Virgil appears not to observe the sense, *caper* as *excastratus*, cf. *B.*, vii, 7; and on p. 311, n. 39, "O. Skutsch, in *RE*, 5 (1905) 2115 ff.," where *R.-E.* has "(Skutsch)," instead read "F. Skutsch."

like Ullikummi as bare stem-forms, but Miss Hahn ingeniously feels that they may be instead neuter adjectives modifying 'name,' using as support for her hypothesis the situation in Old Persian. But in fact we are here almost certainly in the presence of an Indo-European archaism, the use of the vocative when a name is cited and not the nominative. For it is all but certain that *-s* and *-m* were in Indo-European originally ergative and objective case markers respectively, and that the vocative functioned originally as ergative-nominative-vocative. With the appearance of *-s* the original ergative-nominative-vocative was stripped of its ergative function and forced first into nominative-vocative functions, and finally into vocative functions alone. Traces of the original situation can be seen in Latin *Iuppiter* (= Ζεῦ πάτερ) which functions both as nominative and vocative. Intermediate stages can be seen both in Hittite and in Greek ἱππότα Νέστωρ and in Vedic Sanskrit (*RV* 6, 66, 1): *vapur nu tac cikituṣe cid astu samenam nāma dhenu patyamānam* 'now that (thing) possessing the same name cow shall be a wonder to the wise': in all these cases the "vocative" is still being used as a nominative-accusative in naming constructions. Another intermediate stage in which the nominative appears in the accusative slot is found in Avestan (*Vd.* 18, 15): *mərəyō yō parō-dars nama yim masyāka kahrkatās nama aojaite* 'the bird which (its) name (is) parodarsh, which (its) name men call kahrkatat.'

In Indic Miss Hahn finds no support for her view because *nāma* is but one of a large class of adverbial accusatives, and she is therefore forced to point only to instances which she feels *could* be the continuation of earlier cases of partitive apposition. The long Old Persian section is fine, Miss Hahn at her best, and can be read with profit and enjoyment by all. She argues convincingly that only one form of 'name' was inherited from Indo-European, and that 'name' in Old Persian is an adjective (!) 'nominatus' in agreement with the category (man, woman, fortress) to which the person (thing) named belongs. This remarkable state of affairs must have originated in a phrase like *martiya Martiya nāma* 'a man Martiya (his) name' in which (by chance) the masculine *Martiya* (<^s-os) came to be homophonous with the neuter *nāma* (<^s-an); or *Tigra nāmā didā* '(there was) Tigra (its) name, a fortress' in which *nāmā* was felt to modify *didā*: it is uncertain which of the forms, *nāma* or *nāmā*, is the earlier in Old Persian. It is uncertain, too, of course, whether 'name' in these constructions was originally a nominative or an accusative.

Greek, having the clearest cases of accusatives of specification, is crucial to Miss Hahn's argument. Is *ὄνομα* in *Od.*, XX, 287-8: *Κτήσιππος δ' ὄνομα ἔσκε* an accusative or a nominative, and if a nominative, is it to be taken as: 'Ktesippos was (his) name' or, with Miss Hahn: 'he was Ktesippos (his) name?' Either rendition is possible. I cannot, however, follow Miss Hahn in her translation of *Il.*, IX, 561-2: *τὴν δὲ τότε ἐν μεγάροισι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ Ἀλκυόνην καλέεσκον ἐπώνυμον* 'whom, (her) name, her father and lady-mother called Alcyone.' *ἐπώνυμον* is in apposition all right, but with *Ἀλκυόνην*, not with *ἦν* and must be translated 'called Alcyone as nick-name.' I do agree with Miss Hahn that

there is no accusative of specification necessarily to be assumed for Homer. This fact is of great interest and does support her contention that the undoubted Greek accusative of specification arose in Greek and was not inherited from Indo-European. Further she is correct in dismissing Brugmann's translation of the Xenophon passage quoted earlier: 'durch die Stadt fliesst ein Fluss, Kydnos (ist) der (sein) Name,' though her own: 'through the middle of the city there flows a river (its) name Cydnus,' may be no better, a possibility which she candidly admits.

Latin offers no evidence for the Indo-European state of naming constructions, but there are enough interesting features of constructions involving *nomen* for Miss Hahn to devote a chapter to that language. She explains the *homini nomen Iulio est* construction as having the name attracted into the case of the noun, and this is certainly the way it appears. But attraction is a process, not an explanation, and it is the grammarian's task to explain why the attraction took place, and, in this case at least, to state how we are to regard the result. Is *Iulio* in apposition to *homini*, or in what relation does it stand to *homini*? Much better is her explanation of *Aeneid*, I, 286-8: *nascetur Caesar, Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo* which she explains as a "fusion" of (*homo*) *Iulius*, a magno *Iulo ortus* and (*nomen*) *Iulius*, a magni *Iuli nomine demissum*. Perhaps the double dative is similarly to be explained as a "fusion" (or transformation) of the two sentences: *homo (est) Iulius* and *homini est nomen*. When the first sentence is embedded in the second, since it is a complete sentence, it goes in as a whole, and hence is all in the dative. I might add that there are in the footnotes to this chapter numerous details illuminating the text of Virgil.

Though Gothic also provides no evidence for the original naming constructions, again Miss Hahn inserts much interesting material in the footnotes, particularly anent the Greek New Testament. The section on Old English, though, is of considerable importance, for Miss Hahn convincingly shows that *Beowulf*, 1457: *waes thaem haeft-mece Hrunting nama* is to be translated: 'this sword was called Hrunting' and not (with Gray): "war ihm ein Heftschwert, 'Hrunting' sein Name." Gray's translation, which she feels came as a result of his reading the line out of context, has been continued in the literature by scholars citing Gray and not reading the original as late as 1967. "If this chapter, futile though I fear it may be in other respects, serves to register a resounding protest against such methods in the field of linguistics and philology, it will not have been written in vain."

In Old Irish we find clear evidence for clausal origin of naming constructions, though Miss Hahn again feels that we may be dealing with partitive apposition. But *boi ri amra for Grecaib, Salemon a ainm* 'there was a wonderful king over the Greeks, Solomon his name' clearly is a nominal clause in apposition with *ri* with the copula omitted, and is not parallel, as Miss Hahn would have it, to: *bai ri amrae aeregdae in Emain Macha fecht n-aill, i Conchobur man Fachtnai Fathaig* 'there was a wonderful, illustrious king in Emain Mach once upon a time, namely Conchobur son of Fachtnai Fathaig,' in which the personal name is in apposition with *ri* 'king.'

Tocharian, briefly touched upon, has been recently discussed by W. Krause (*IF.*, LXXII [1967], pp. 58 ff.).

We have ultimately to choose among three proposals concerning the Indo-European origin of constructions with 'name':

- 1) accusative of specification
- 2) independent noun clause
- 3) partitive apposition

It is important at this point to recall that every label legitimately attached to a construction refers not to the construction as such, but rather to its derivational history. A clear case illustrative of this principle is that of the subjective and objective genitive: it makes no difference in the phrase *amor patris* whether we label *patris* subjective or objective genitive, for it is on the surface merely a genitive like any other. But it is true that the term subjective genitive has a function and that it means here that we have a nominalization of the sentence *pater amat X*, while objective genitive means *X amat patrem*. The label applies to the surface manifestation of a construction, but refers to the sentence underlying it.

So too with 'name': we must discover what sentences lie behind *homo nomen Iulius*. Since I can conceive of no sentence that can have generated an accusative, I agree with Miss Hahn that *nomen* must have originally been nominative. In order for it to have been in partitive apposition with *homo*, however, there must have been an underlying sentence: *homo (est) nomen (est Iulius)*, a sentence which I very much doubt is grammatical in Indo-European or any other language. If it were grammatical, it would, when embedded in an existential sentence, appear as: *est homo nomen Iulius*. In fact, though, the word order in most languages is not this, but rather: *homo Iulius nomen*, a fact which to me at least points unmistakably to two underlying sentences: *homo (est) Iulius* and *Iulius (est) nomen*. When combined and inserted in an existential sentence, the second *Iulius* is deleted, as are the two instances of the copula, and *est homo Iulius nomen* results. Thus in either case we do have a nominal clause as Brugmann held. The term partitive apposition, it seems to me, implies an incorrect derivation of the sentences actually attested in the daughter languages, and is not to be used in connection with these constructions.

It is a major weakness of her book that Miss Hahn focused so heavily on 'name' to the exclusion of other naming constructions. Had she considered cases like Latin *vocor* and more particularly *urbs Roma* or *arbor olea*, I feel that she would not have come to an incorrect conclusion. But, though I do not accept Miss Hahn's major premise, I nonetheless feel that her investigation is of value. The subject is highly interesting, and that, combined with the thoroughness and accuracy of the individual investigations, amply justifies the book. Add to that Miss Hahn's marvelous honesty and candor in pursuing her investigation. One can learn much from her work.

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ANGELO BRELICH. *Paides e Parthenoi*, I. Rome, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1969. Pp. 499. 6000 L. (*Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici, Incunabula Graeca*, XXXVI.)

Dott. Brelich describes his book as essentially a study for the history of religion, rather than for Greek religious history. Much of it is the latter, for he discusses the new forms assumed by primitive initiation rites as they were worked into cult and ritual when the city states were developing in Greece in the Dark Age and Archaic Period. But, beyond this, Brelich wishes to discern the creative process involved in such transformations in order to provide a means for understanding religious creativity in general. For the historian of religion the book is designed to demonstrate that generalization should be based on a consideration of minute detail; for the classical scholar, to show that his own material can be clarified and stimulated by comparisons with that from the broader field. Thus Brelich, despite the considerable scholarly difficulties peculiar to his period and material, grapples with the intellectual problem which troubles many classical scholars at the present time: how to provide valid material for the analysis and speculation by which advances are made in broad areas of knowledge, as well as to discuss his problems in their own context. His organization for this twofold task, while rather unusual, is effective.

The Introduction (pp. 13-112), written on the level of history of religion and copiously annotated from that field, presents a methodology which can go beyond the recent work of, e.g., Jeanmaire (*Couroi et Courètes*) and Thomson (*Aeschylus and Athens*) for Greek institutions. Brelich distinguishes between initiation in the primitive, public, sense, the primary purpose of which was to bring the individual to normal membership in the community, and private initiation into mysteries, which apparently developed from the secondary purposes, "salvation," of the former. Because tribal initiations as such, however, did not exist in high Greek civilization—the link between individual and state and the religious concepts and practices were different—Brelich is concerned to establish a kind of morphology of initiation, a working set of conditions, age groups, segregation, regularity of performance, and the like, by which the origin of certain Greek rituals and cult practices may be identified and their transformation traced.

Armed with his methodology, Brelich then turns to Greek religion itself. First (pp. 113-207) there is a discussion of the Spartan *agoge* (mainly for males, *paides*), and the cult ceremonies with which it was connected. Some discussion of analogous institutions elsewhere (pp. 208-28), particularly in Crete, is followed by a lengthy treatment (pp. 229-311) of survivals of female initiation in Athens (the *parthenoi*). There, Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, lines 641-5, seems to indicate four stages in the education of girls: "As soon as I attained 7 years of age I became an *Arrephoros*, then, an *aletris*, at 10, for the *Archegetis*. Then, wearing the saffron robe, I was an *arktos* in the Brauronia, and, when I became a fine maiden, I was a *Kanephoros*, having a necklace of dried figs." This detailed discussion of survivals of initiation practice in Sparta and Athens is concluded by their recognition, under various new forms, in certain

festivals: the Panathenaea (pp. 314-55), Hera Akraia at Corinth (pp. 355-65), Artemis Laphria at Patras (pp. 366-77), at Sicyon (pp. 377-87), and Delphi (pp. 387-438). By way of conclusion the directions to be taken in a second volume are sketched in brief appendices: other cults and festivals, votive *kouroi* and *korai*, *agones*, mysteries, myths, and gods.

The evidence available for these problems, of course, is usually much later than the processes discussed, scanty, and difficult of interpretation. Brelich, however, is scrupulous in his assessment. His treatment, far from applying a rigid methodology to recalcitrant material, weaves a clear thread through the complexity of argument and analysis to arrive at carefully qualified conclusions. The indications in historical cult and ritual for their original form and continuous transformation are sensitively and imaginatively handled. This recognition of process will appeal in particular to the historian. The present reviewer can do much less than justice to the discussion of Greek religious history, so, perhaps, it will be sufficient to note what seems most significant to a general historian and to single out some of the main points made about the religious "establishment" of the Greek city state.

Brelich finds indications for the ubiquitous existence in Greece of an original system of primitive initiation. Its survivals were most obvious in Sparta and Crete, areas of Dorian settlement in the Dark Age, where the *agoge*, the course of education for males (the girls' education in Sparta is considered to have been a reflection of that for males), brought them to adult membership in the community. But in Athens, too, where there is evidence of continuous habitation from Mycenaean times, there were strong indications of an original initiatory education for girls, and some associations in the *ephebeia* of a system for males. Elsewhere in Greece, widely diffused, he notes less obvious indications of primitive initiation. What was the historical origin of such a system? Brelich can find no recognizable trace of its existence in the palace culture of Mycenaean Greece and, indeed, argues that the élite character of the latter would scarcely allow such practice. Primitive initiation must have been rooted in a popular and egalitarian society, in a tribal group, for the function of initiation was to bring all the young of a community into normal membership in it. Accordingly, he suggests that the Dorian invaders of the Dark Age brought such institutions with them to Sparta (and to Crete). There, they were maintained in the egalitarian society of the Spartan *homoioi* and their paedagogic character (the *agoge*) was fostered and emphasized by the stresses of conquest and occupation. Elsewhere, as in Athens, the dissolution of the Mycenaean palace culture permitted the emergence of popular, pre-Mycenaean, cultural elements, which would be encouraged by the new conditions of a more primitive life. In Athens, however, the initiations became more attenuated: such devices as representation, the election, or selection by the king archon, of a few members in lieu of the whole group were used to accommodate original rites to the new ritual forms of public religion—for example, 2 or 4 *Arrephoroi* were chosen from the age group, 7 to 10.

While this line of explanation is plausible, various difficulties arise in connecting it with other trends of development in the city

state. Although Spartan society was egalitarian, with seniority of age rather than of social status, why did not the *perioeci* retain initiation institutions, if, as Brelich believes, they were also Dorian? In Athens the few chosen to represent the whole group had to possess the qualification of good birth, *eugenia*. They were selected from an élite. Is such a qualification the product of the rise of a nobility out of a previously egalitarian Athens at some time in the Dark Age or Archaic Period or only a record in the literary sources from the self-designation of themselves as "nobles" by oligarchs in the late fifth century? In short, the problems of class distinction are involved, too, in the transformation of the initiation rites. Then, Brelich accepts the usual view of continuity of habitation in Athens from Mycenaean times, but the archaeological record (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*) presently indicates that the countryside of Attica was depopulated in the Dark Age, although there was a concentration of population and continuity in Athens. This permits Brelich's identification of the Acropolis as the sacred hill, where the *parthenoi* were segregated, but seems to raise difficulties about the association of their initiation rites with the Brauronia, celebrated in eastern Attica at Brauron. Or was this association made very late in Geometric times? But these questions are beside the main point of Brelich's thesis, how initiation rites were transformed as they became associated with public religious practice.

In the case of Sparta Brelich notes that the *agoge*, despite its age groups, segregation, secrecy, and the like, did lack elements of ritual associated with initiation. These were incorporated, he argues, with the festivals of Orthia, the Hyacinthia, and, less obviously, into the Carneia, in all of which choruses of boys and girls participated. For example, the trials of endurance by the altar of Orthia replaced an initiatory death ritual; the customary revival was associated with the Hyacinthia, and entry in ritual form into the community with the Carneia, the most important of Spartan festivals. The agonistic form of rituals, like those of Orthia, he argues, was modelled on the *agones* of Olympia. The early seventh century B. C. is suggested as the time of this fusion of old initiatory ceremony and local cult. Here again it would be interesting to bring this into connection with views on the political development of the Spartan state.

In Athens, while no such elaborate regimen survived for the boys, Brelich argues for the origin of the *ephebeia* in old initiatory forms, noting that the oath taken in the sanctuary of Aglaurus had an archaic character, and finds parallels in Crete. Further, the ideals of the "old" education, prowess in war, gymnastic, and music, and its forms—discipline and silence—bear the mark of initiatory origin. But an original regimen through age groups for the girls seems attested by the progression described by the chorus of the *Lysistrata*. In historical Athens the *Arrephoroi*, representing the girls 7 through 10 years of age, prepared the *peplos* for Athena—once all girls had taken the first step in their education by learning to weave. The *aletreis*, "grinders of the sacred flour," prepared meal from grain grown in a sacred enclosure near the Acropolis—the second step of education was to learn cooking. The Brauronia took over the pre-nuptial and expiatory stage of the initiation, during which the girls became "bears" and lived in segregation at the sanctuary. The

attainment of womanhood was symbolized by the carrying of the *cesta* at the Panathenaea (*Kanephoros*), when the *parthenoi* entered into a new relationship with Athena, whose temple, the Parthenon, commemorated this primitive association. Brelich's arguments, involving a discussion of cult and the temples on the Acropolis, are lengthy and complicated (pp. 290-348) as he works back from the Periclean buildings to the primitive Acropolis, where the girls of the community passed some of their initiatory segregation on the sacred hill near the goddess of the city.

Brelich's book is ingenious in argument and fertile in suggestion and conclusion. Those interested in Greek religion and in the history of religion will find much with which to work. For the more general historian it does illuminate one area in which the institutions of a primitive tribal community might be transformed into those of a civilized state.

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ÉDOUARD DES PLACES, S. J. *La Religion grecque—Dieux, cultes, rites et sentiment religieux dans la Grèce antique*. Paris, Éditions A. & J. Picard, 1969. Pp. 396.

No one who is familiar with Father des Places' work will be surprised to learn that his survey of Greek religion is carefully arranged and clear, beautifully produced and indexed—I noted only two typographical errors—and up-to-date in its references. Nor is it surprising that special attention to religious vocabulary and to the literary and philosophical aspects of Greek religion characterize this work by an editor of Plato, the author of *Pindare et Platon*, of *Syngeneia*, and of a *Lexique de la langue philosophique et religieuse de Platon*. Though heavily weighted in these directions and also toward a search for proto-Christian elements in Greek paganism, it does not neglect straightforward description, based to a considerable extent on the epigraphical evidence, of Greek deities and festivals and of religious actions and categories.

Before turning to the actual arrangement and character of the work it may be useful to pause for a moment to say what it does not attempt. The study of Greek religion can be an exciting and lively undertaking. Such questions as the relation of myths to rites, the origins and peculiarities of sacrifice, the "play" element in ritual, the inconsistencies of belief found in Homer and in Hesiod, such developments as the emotional reaction to pollution and the advent of legalism, the collapse of mythological religion in the fifth and fourth centuries and its re-grouping as "theology," the optimistic rationalism which was succeeded in the later Hellenistic period by growing piety and belief in astrology—these and similar problems of origins and history have fascinated others, but are only fleetingly touched by des Places. Nor, except in a scanty "Introduction," can one find in his pages much of the actual detail of religious practice and the movement and color of the festival processions: there is no

description of how one stood in prayer, how one dressed for sacrifice, no reference to the great Panhellenic games and their festivals, no indication that bloodless sacrifice was common or that human sacrifice was suspected (no mention of Zeus Lykaïos and Zeus Laphystios), no word of crowns and garlands and torches, of sacred cakes and pure water—all so essential to Greek religious activity. Since neither these details nor the clash of modern interpretations are central to the work, no reference is made either to Stengel's *Kultusaltertümer* and Ziehen's "Opfer" (*R.-E.*, XVIII) on the one hand or to Kerényi, Otto, James, Fontenrose, and Nilsson's Minoan and Mycenaean studies on the other; again, Weinreich's name appears as rarely as does reference to the evidence of art and architecture. It is a book based solidly on written documents, generally static and encyclopedic in approach, most alive when dealing with reflective literature.

There are three main divisions. The first, "les dieux et les cultes" (pp. 23-170), begins with a section devoting a few paragraphs or pages to each of the principal divinities in turn, in a kind of dictionary arrangement listing the etymology of the name, prominent functions and epithets, identifications, and associations with other deities. Here especially the neglect of evidence from art limits the material: in view of des Places' interest in triads, for example, much could have been added from the vases studied in Erika Simon's *Opfernde Götter*. A second section goes through the list once again, this time describing briefly the festivals, mainly those of Attica, associated with each god. A third section deals with "autres bénéficiaires du culte" and "ses formes habituelles," an uneven treatment of such matters as heroes, demons, worship of the dead, the cult of sovereigns, divination, sacrifice, and prayer. The second main division, "histoire du sentiment religieux en Grèce" (pp. 173-326), begins as a chronological survey of literary and philosophical figures, with some discussion of Orphism, Pythagoreanism, Eleusis, and the "miracle" texts of Epidauros, but ends with a treatment of miscellaneous themes (some of them with special bibliographies), such as astrology and occult sciences, ecstasy, foreign cults and mysteries, divinization, the idea of sin, and the tendency toward monotheism. The final division, "le monde grec en face du message chrétien" (pp. 329-61), is a discussion of themes in Paul's Areopagus speech of *Acts*, XVII, 22-30. Here are brought together a group of papers, previously published, which serve to make more explicit the frequent allusions in earlier pages to "preparation for the Gospel," especially in philosophical and theological currents leading toward Christianity. Finally, an appendix, "le vocabulaire religieux des Grecs" (pp. 363-81), with bibliographical references for each word, makes a welcome contribution to an important subject, and together with earlier discussions of vocabulary, as those for conscience (pp. 274 ff.), sin and impurity (pp. 293 ff.), and ecstasy (pp. 308 ff.), is the most useful and original feature of the work.

The book is a storehouse of miscellaneous and not always entirely relevant information (as for example a few paragraphs translated from Artemidorus in an unexpected appendix, pp. 85-6, and a page and a half on linguistic taboos, pp. 146-7). The arrangement of

material makes both for disjointed discussion of the same subject and for much repetition, occasionally of whole paragraphs word for word (p. 41 = 134, p. 322 = 359-60, p. 251 = 360): the description of certain Attic festivals is distributed among the account of gods, that of festivals, and that of the history of religious feeling. On the other hand there are some odd omissions and a considerable unevenness of treatment. Pan is not included, nor the Dioscuri (despite a section on "heroes"); etymologies of gods' names are discussed for every divinity but Zeus, the only name which might have led to more than uncertain guesses; though "imiter Dieu" is frequently discussed, the *Theaetetus* (from which comes Plato's famous phrase) is never mentioned; certain rather obvious works would have been particularly useful to the discussion at various points, like Herington's *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias* and Lattimore's *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, while Whitman's *Sophocles* is very relevant to the treatment of the dramatist here; occasionally important distinctions are unnoticed, as for example, in the whole discussion of divine epithets, the fact that some are limited in inscriptions to poetry, as Παλλάς for Athena (for on p. 45, n. 7, *S.I.G.*³, 277, refers not to Παλλάς but to Ποιιάς); in other cases the attempt to schematize introduces harder distinctions than warranted by the evidence, as between the usages of "Olympian" and "chthonic" sacrifice (pp. 136-8 and 368). In a work which is generally abreast of recent scholarship there is one particularly striking omission—use of the masterly discussions of religious festivals found in Jacoby's commentaries on the Greek historians. No one should now refer to Tresp's antiquated collection for such material. Even the brief accounts of the Scirophoria and Thesmophoria would have been much improved by reference to Jacoby on Philochorus F 14-16.

Unevenness is most apparent in the accounts of cult and in the "history of religious feeling." Here full and useful translations and commentaries of various hymns (pp. 153-70, unconvincingly classed as "prière cultuelle"), of the "Orphic" gold plates (pp. 194-7, with special bibliography), and inevitably of Cleanthes' hymn (pp. 263-7), are in sharp contrast with a single page on religious taboo, a page and a half on priests, a page on Hesiod, nothing on the Homeric Hymns or Theognis, a page on Aristotle, and no reference to Alexander of Abonuteichus or Peregrinus. Aeschylus (in a moralistic mold) and Plato (as a convert to astral theology) are the central religious figures, just as prayer is the central religious phenomenon. These emphases may account for the remarkably deficient treatment of Hesiod, where there is no mention of the startling discoveries of Near Eastern parallels (nor of M. L. West's edition of the *Theogony*), and for the general failure to make any connection, even in a critical spirit, between mythology and cult or belief.

For the English and American reader the special interest of the work, apart from some of the informative features noted above, is its representation of an important and productive branch of contemporary classical scholarship in France. In the half-apologetic attitude to Christian parallels, in the insistence on adumbrations of the Gospel, in the continual reference to the work of French clerical

scholars, in the heavy emphasis on philosophy, literature, and personal feeling, can be seen the reactions of a deeply convinced Catholic to the religious life of antiquity. In this work even the method is somewhat scholastic in its appeal to authorities and constant quotation: the account of Zeus is a skillful summary of Cook's three volumes, that of Dionysus a condensation of Jeanmaire. In both cases their critics are quoted at certain points, but without a resolution of the conflicting views. Occasionally this somewhat uncritical excerption of authorities leads to inconsistent statements in different parts of the book. The apparent adoption of Meuli's theories of sacrifice (pp. 138-9) is a striking example. These details aside, however, the total effect is of a vigorously consistent approach which is as far removed from Nilsson's political sense and earthy realism as from Kerényi's intellectualist symbolism.

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RICHARD GREGOR BÖHM. *Gaiusstudien*. Freiburg im Breisgau, Selbstverlag, 1968. Pp. xv + 170. (*Freiburger Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 1.)

The *Institutes* of Gaius, for several centuries a standard introductory textbook for law students in the Roman Empire, again assumed this role for the students of Roman law during the 19th century after the discovery (1816) and painstakingly slow publication of a palimpsest (*Codex rescriptus Veronensis*, No. 13) containing about 90% of the text of the *Institutes*. There are two, often three, hands involved in the manuscript: the initial scribe, his corrector, and the scribe who recorded the letters and polemics of Hieronymus. The text of Gaius (5th to early 6th century A. D.) was erased by washing and scraping during the 8th century to make room for the writings of Hieronymus. Unfortunately, the palimpsest was discovered before the infra-red photographic process for assisting in the recovery of the first hand was developed at the Kloster Beuron's Palimpsest Institute during the first decade of the 20th century. The manuscript was subjected to further corrosive treatment in the initial decipherment attempts. Establishing the text of Gaius has exercised the ingenuity and patience of many a scholar, most recently the multi-volumed text and commentary in progress by David and Nelson. The frequent and somewhat varied use of abbreviations has further complicated the problem.

Böhm presents his proposed emendations in 16 rather elaborate chapters, each of which reproduces the relevant lines of either the *Apographum* of Böcking (1866) or the *Apographum* of Studemund (1874, with *Supplementa* in 1884), often both, plus the appropriate photographic facsimile published in Leipzig in 1909. There is also a concordance (pp. 171-6) with Böhm's readings along with those of David and Nelson (14 instances) and Reinach (2 instances).

The first chapter presents a typical example of Böhm's method.

Inst., I, 111 discusses the case of the wife who wishes to prevent coming under the *manus* of her husband by absenting herself for three nights each year. The Latin text of David and Nelson reads: *ea quotannis trinoctio abesset atque eo modo cuiusque anni <usum> interrumperet. usum* was first supplied as the missing noun in the edition of Goeschen and Hollweg, possibly suggested by the *usu in manum conveniebat* of the first clause of the section, and has been retained by most subsequent editors. Böhm proposes: *ea quotannis trinoctio abesset atque eo modo usucapionem cuiusque anni interrumperet*. He argues, with good authority, that it was really a question of *usucapio* and cites the 3rd clause of this section: *nam velut annua possessione usu capiebatur*. He recovers the reading *usucapionem* by noting that only the first two letters of *modo* actually were read by Studemund, who supplied *do* to fill the missing two spaces, and that *mo* is an acceptable abbreviation for *modo*. Thus the two unread spaces provide room sufficient for the desired word: *mo(do) <u(su)c(apionem)>*, *uc* being an unusual but acceptable abbreviation for *usucapio*. This proposed reading is reasonable but does not clear up any substantive difficulty in the text.

In Chapter 2, Böhm lists the following reading of *Inst.*, I, 24 (re Junian Latins) as widely accepted: *quod autem diximus ex testamento eos capere non posse, ita intellegemus, ne quid indirecto hereditatis legatorumue nomine eos posse capere dicamus, alioquin per fideicommissum capere possunt*. However, *indirecto* has long been recognized as totally wrong and practically all editors have changed it (and Böhm cites most of them!). Mommsen, followed by DeZulueta, deleted the word as a gloss. Krüger deleted the *in* and Reinach separated the *in* from *directo*, both thus restoring the obvious meaning of the sentence. Kühler emended to *in(de) directo*, followed by David and Nelson. Böhm dislikes *intellegemus ne quid inde directo* on paleographic and grammatical grounds and proposes the following as possible from Böcking's reading: *ita intellig(endum) e(st) ut ne quidem directo. . .* This may be more elegant grammatically but does not improve the already universally accepted meaning.

Inst., I, 160-3 defines and divides *capitis deminutio* into the three categories of *maxima*, *minor*, and *minima*. In Chapter 3, Böhm discusses the obviously corrupt reading of I, 163 by Studemund: *nec solum maiore diminutionibus ius adgnitionis corrumpitur sed etiam minima*. The editions of DeZulueta and David and Nelson change *maiore* to *maioribus* and add the necessary *capitis*. Böhm objects that this is only a partial correction because it forces *maioribus* to include both *maxima* and *minor*. He proposes: *nec solum maxima et minore capitis deminutione ius adgnationis corrumpitur, sed etiam minima*. Again Böhm makes the reading more explicit but the meaning of the sentence was already quite clear. The text is so badly damaged that no positive correction can be made.

In Chapters 4 through 12, Böhm offers emendations for I, 112, I, 78, II, 87, II, 85, I, 103 and I, 107, I, 114, II, 270, II, 89, and II, 83. Böhm's reading of I, 78 (*quod autem diximus, inter ciuem Romanam peregrinumque si conubium sit, eum qui nascitur peregrinum esse, lege Minicia fit; ea enim lege cautum est, ut is quidem*

deterioris parentis condicionem sequatur. eadem lege autem ex diuerso cautum est, ut si ciuem Romanam peregrinus, cum qua ei conubium non sit, uxorem duxerit, peregrinus ex eo coitu nascatur) presents the most interesting and extensive variation from David and Nelson's text, but generally his emendations embody slight changes of no great significance (e.g. *serui nostri* for David and Nelson's *serui nostr(i)* in II, 87, *Illud <vero> proprium* for their *Illud proprium* in I, 107, and *fecit . . . fecit* for their *facit . . . facit* in I, 114).

In Chapter 13, in addition to a minor emendation of I, 47, Böhm finds evidence for continued post-Classical interest in the text of Gaius. He believes that a mediaeval student erased part of the text of Hieronymus and in the process also the first 8 words of I, 47, which he then restored wrongly. Böhm suggests that this may support an evolutionary theory of the development of the text of Gaius as opposed to the generally accepted belief that we have a text of third-century purity. This is an interesting proposal but needs many more examples to be persuasive. Proving such a thesis would be most difficult because of the mutilated condition of the palimpsest.

In Chapter 14, Böhm's major emendation of I, 13 (*aut ferro aut ut cum bestiis depugnarent traditi sunt* as opposed to David and Nelson's and Ulpian's *ut ferro aut cum bestiis . . .*) involves a change in meaning, but Böhm can present no secure translation for *ferro* as a dative.

Studemund's text of II, 47 (*res mulieris quae in agnatorum tutela erat res Mancipi usucapi non poterant*) is much emended, e.g. DeZulueta reads *<item olim> mulieris . . .* and David and Nelson read *res mulieris . . . [res Mancipi]*. . . . In Chapter 15, Böhm recovers *rursum* from *res* (*r.s.*, an abbreviation for *rursum*, misread by scribe as *res*), thus allowing the subsequent *res Mancipi* to stand. Three minor emendations also are offered for the mutilated ending of this section.

In the final chapter, the sequence of moods in I, 29 is discussed (*cautum est ut . . . datur eis . . .*), a problem which also exists in I, 13 and I, 40. Editors either change the indicatives to subjunctives, explain the indicatives as direct quotations of a statute, or in the present instance delete *cautum est ut* (as Kübler and DeZulueta). Böhm proposes to rescue the *ut* clause by finding its subject and verb in *Latini facti* and therefore reading *Latini flant*.

To conclude, Böhm presents a number of acceptable emendations and conjectures based obviously upon careful study of the photographic facsimile and the *Apographa* of Böcking and Studemund. He argues with occasional justification that he has improved the grammar and recovered more traditional phraseology, usually by manipulation of abbreviations. However, in practically all instances he has failed to improve our understanding of the text. Also the proposed readings are accompanied by far too much *Sturm und Drang* and exaggerated claims that a passage is *sinilos* without his emendation. The law is usually careful of terminology and the attempt to recover the *ipsissima uerba* of Gaius, our only surviving Classical legal text, has its merits. However, Böhm's efforts could have been adequately presented to the scholarly world in a journal

article rather than in such an elaborate publication. This study was prepared apparently as a doctoral dissertation which subsequently failed to find a professorial mentor. Allegedly because of the absence of journals in Germany willing to accept studies combining papyrology and legal history, it has been published as the first volume (another is promised) in the *Freiburger Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, a series apparently founded, funded, and edited by Böhm who lists himself as *Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter am Orientalischen Seminar der Albert Ludwigs-Universität*.

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MARTIN OSTWALD. *Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969. Pp. xiv + 228. \$7.00.

Professor Ostwald's book has a clear thesis: the Athenians of the fifth century and later called their statutes *nomoi*, and Cleisthenes first used this term for them. The thesis cannot be strictly proved, but chronological considerations make it likely. Draco and Solon called their laws *thesmoi*, and the term *thesmia* was still used in the fragment of a law against tyranny quoted by Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 16, 10. This law was probably passed soon after the expulsion of Hippias in 510. As for *nomos*, Ostwald finds the first example of its use in the sense of "statute" in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, which he dates (following *P. Oxy.*, 2256) to 464/3. At some time between 510 and 464, *nomos* became the word used in Athens for statute.

But what did it matter whether a law was called a *thesmos* or a *nomos*? Ostwald shows by careful arguments that a *thesmos* is something imposed on a people from above, while *nomos* is something accepted as part of normal or accepted behavior. Before the fifth century *nomoi* were accepted ethical codes but never written statutes; so when *nomos* came to mean statute it was a sign that the laws were voluntary agreements rather than prescriptions by lawgivers. In other words, the birth of *demokratia* nearly coincided with a change in political terminology.

Ostwald also shows that none of the *-nomos* compounds such as *eunomia*, *dysnomia*, and *anomia* reflect the use of *nomos* as statute until the late fifth century. Down to that time, *eunomia* (to take the most familiar of the three) means no more than proper conduct, law and order.

All this linguistic apparatus is meant to support a historical conclusion, namely that Cleisthenes was the first Athenian statesman to call his laws *nomoi*. But a leap of faith is needed, for we lack evidence showing what term or terms Cleisthenes used when proposing his reforms. Ostwald points out that two skolia about Harmodius and Aristogeiton say that these "liberators" made the city of Athens *isonomos*. He conjectures that this statement is a

reference to the founding of democracy in 507: that is, the author(s) of the skolia attributed to the tyrannicides what was really done by Cleisthenes. The word *isonomos* in the skolia is, to Ostwald, an echo of the political language of Cleisthenes, for *isonomia* "may well have been" the slogan that Cleisthenes used (p. 153).

Now nearly all agree, following Larsen's paper in the *Essays* presented to Sabine (1948), that Cleisthenes would not have called his reforms *demokratia*. If he or his supporters used any word for the new system, the word may well have been *isonomia*. But proof is lacking. Of course Ostwald knows this, and he can say only that he considers it "extremely likely" that Cleisthenes called his enactments *nomoi*. In support of his view, he appeals to *Ath. Pol.*, 22, 1, where Aristotle says that the *nomoi* of Solon had fallen into disuse and that Cleisthenes made new *nomoi* including that on ostracism. Ostwald says that Aristotle's statement may give us "a small measure of confirmation," but in my opinion it is quite useless as evidence. Solon himself called his laws *thesmoi* in his poetry (*Ath. Pol.*, 12, 4), but at 7, 1 and 22, 1 Aristotle calls them *nomoi*. Evidently he did not trouble to use the historically accurate word for Solon's laws; so how can we be sure that he used the right term, presumably *nomoi* on Ostwald's theory, for the enactments of Cleisthenes? Perhaps Cleisthenes too called his laws *thesmoi* or *thesmia*. But I would not wish to carry prudent scepticism too far. It does seem reasonable to follow Ostwald in his inference that Cleisthenes and/or the Athenians of his time were beginning to use the word *nomos* to denote legislation. In establishing this hypothesis Ostwald has made an excellent contribution to our understanding of Athenian history.

Yet there is one frustrating aspect of his book that arises again and again. His research is distinguished for its sharp, penetrating philological analysis. He steers his way through modern writings, never accepting anything from scholars without thorough testing. So it is all the more surprising that he does not always apply his questioning faculty to the writings of ancient historians: Herodotus and Aristotle are too often exempt from this kind of inquiry. The questions of their sources and their use of sources are not systematically treated.

On pages 174 and 175 Ostwald gives an involved discussion of the original functions of the thesmothetai, starting from Aristotle's statements as if the latter were securely founded on documentary material. On the contrary, they are nothing but inferences (perhaps good ones) drawn by Aristotle as he tried to peer into the past. Nor does Ostwald find reason to question Herodotus' statement that seven hundred families were exiled when the Alcmaeonids had to take flight in the late sixth century. When he does venture to reject something in an ancient source, he does so in a strangely tentative manner. Aristotle says that the Athenians paid a ten per cent tax under Pisistratus, but Thucydides says it was five per cent. Ostwald accepts the latter figure—surely right; but he says only that it "seems more likely" than the ten per cent of Aristotle (p. 147, n. 2). Why is it more likely? Ostwald seems unwilling to recognize that Aristotle's "ten" per cent is based on the fable about the farmer who unwittingly offered Pisistratus a tithe of the aches

and pains he was obtaining from his land (*Ath. Pol.*, 16, 6). The offering of a tithe made a better story, or so Aristotle thought.

These lapses in historical criticism do not threaten the philological contributions made by this book. Nevertheless, they are regrettable. We must never stop asking how the sources know what they seem to know; and it is scholars of Ostwald's standing whom we expect to show the way in vigilance. Only to this degree would I temper my congratulations to Professor Ostwald and my admiration for his work.

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ROBERT LENNIG. Traum und Sinnestäuschung bei Aischylos, Sophokles, Euripides. Berlin, 1969. Pp. iv + 299. (Tübingen Diss.)

This study of dreams, illusions, and hallucinations in Greek tragedy asks some excellent questions: what role do dream and illusion play as motifs, what does each dream or illusion contribute to its play, what is the relation between dream and action in general terms, and what does a definition of this relationship add to our understanding of each tragedian's view of man? The author raises expectations of a study with the penetration and breadth of Dodd's *The Greeks and the Irrational* or of a literary interpretation of several plays which is as stimulating as Kitto's *Form and Meaning in Drama*. He even promises some rewarding anthropological discussion. But these great expectations are raised never to be fulfilled.

As a dissertation (that is, a pedagogical exercise), this is a competent piece of work. It is complete in its consideration of passages, well-researched with a full bibliography, organized so that there is no place for hiding behind rhetorical flourishes, and forthright in its statement of the author's position. There is no doubt that the author has mastered the techniques of philology. But as a book this is a disappointing effort. Because there are so few comments directed at the general problem in its more fascinating aspects, there is little of interest or of learning to be gained unless a reader has a tightly focused desire to concentrate on various individual passages.

The scientific quality of this work is clear from the Table of Contents. The book is divided into three basic chapters: Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Within each chapter there is an introduction stating each playwright's approach to dreams and illusions. This is followed by a section of individual interpretations of major passages where dreams or illusions appear in the plays and fragments. At the end of each chapter there are two sections: one listing shorter passages in which actual dreams are mentioned and the other discussing dreams used as metaphors. There is no summary or general view at the end of each chapter and only a very general summary at the end of the book. In fact, this study is less a book

than a collection of short analytic essays on individual passages with minimal attempt made at joining each separate link by general comment.

Yet it is evident that Lennig is not only a competent scholar but that he also has literary sensitivity. This perhaps explains why one's disappointment in reading his book is so great. The introductory discussions in each chapter are extremely valuable. In these sections he is willing to consider dreams and illusions broadly as extra-rational phenomena which are components of each playwright's view of the world and his assessment of man's place in it. For Aeschylus, the dream is a means of communication between god and man. As Lennig points out, Aeschylus never adequately defined the relationship between god and men; dreams in their various "outer-forms" and "inner-forms" become effective devices to portray the perplexing interaction of man's feeling of guilt with the gods' decrees of right and wrong. In Sophocles' plays, gods are further removed from men, largely unwilling to command and unavailable for consultation. Sophocles is interested in the acts which a man's character compels him to do. Dreams and illusions are confusing because the dreamer never knows their source, but they do not prevent a man from expressing the dictates of his own character. In this way, the dream becomes a minor motif in Sophocles' plays. Euripides brings the gods back closer to the earth and lets them enter into the life of men. Then man is seen as a combination of feeling and restraint, but these forces operate chaotically within him and do not, therefore, admit of precise description by the poet. Changes and violent reactions of characters are not explained; passion is a ruling force. In Euripides' plays, dreams are as episodic as the feelings which are aroused by them. In moving from Aeschylus to Euripides, Lennig shows that the dream as a motif becomes external to the world of the play, dramatically ineffective, and largely aesthetic in its import. This transition is the basic thematic concern of the book. Such a study would be productive if it were done in depth, and it is disappointing to see a man with the ability to carry out such a study confined by the self-imposed limits of dissertation style and form.

Lennig is lucid, concise, and able in the smaller sections of this study. Let me offer as an example his particularly fine comments on the *Choephori* (60-76). Clytemnestra's dream is one of the major means of communication through which the dead Agamemnon can frighten the living. Clytemnestra becomes frantic and makes two mistakes. She sends Electra to appease Agamemnon's spirit, thus revealing to everyone her shattered confidence and permitting Electra to meet with Orestes. Secondly, she sends out the nurse to summon protection, yet by her choice of this character she isolates herself further. In addition, Clytemnestra's dream works in concert with the long kommos; in the course of this song Orestes overcomes the natural resistance to the thought of matricide which arises when he must actually face the deed. Clytemnestra's dream and its effects on the other characters combine with the kommos to show the outbreak of human and divine power in reaction to a horrendous deed, the murder of Agamemnon. Interpretations which describe this play as the process of building courage in Orestes or of gathering con-

spiratorial converts to a cause do not adequately explain the neat interaction of dream and kommos.

One may disagree with a fact here or there in Lennig's interpretation of each individual scene, but it seems undeniable that a solid understanding of literature underlies his comments. One can only hope that he will break free of his excessively schematized form and write another book freely expressing his thoughts.

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JOHN O. LENAGHAN. A Commentary on Cicero's Oration *De Haruspicum Responso*. The Hague, Mouton, 1969. Pp. 213. D.G. 28. (*Studies in Classical Literature*, 5.)

Lenaghan insists in the Preface that his approach will be primarily historical, and he does prove himself to be a competent interpreter of the events of the late 60's and early 50's B. C. But every now and then he goes beyond the limits that he has set himself and attempts to deal with textual and linguistic matters. When he does so, his shortcomings are apparent. The commentary proper is preceded by seven essays, the first of which is a formal Introduction dealing with the life of Cicero between 63 and 56 B. C. This is followed by discussions of the date of the oration, the circumstances of its publication and delivery, the activities of the *haruspices*, the authenticity of the speech, and the manuscripts. There are no surprises in Lenaghan's biographical treatment of Cicero. It is good to have the information close at hand, however, since a complete understanding of this oration depends on a detailed knowledge of these years. When he discusses the date of the speech, he comes to two important conclusions: (1) the senate called in the *haruspices* to interpret the prodigy and (2) the speech was given in early May of 56 B. C. Although it is likely that the senate did initiate action, it is not proved as clearly and conclusively as the author would hope by the passage of *Har. Resp.* (61) that he uses. The date in early May is surely correct. But it is difficult to go the next step and seriously consider May 7 or 8 as the day of delivery, since Lenaghan is forced to argue for it *ex silentio*. The section on publication is pointless; it is, however, mercifully brief. The *haruspices*, their duties, and their history make interesting reading, and the account is extremely well documented. But the reader who waits expectantly for the author to apply what he is saying to the contents of the *Har. Resp.* will be disappointed. He does not even quote Wissowa's reconstruction of the prophecy. His comments on authenticity and manuscripts are a reworking of what is already known and might just as well have been omitted.

The commentary, which Lenaghan bases on Peterson's *Oxford Classical Text*, like the introduction, contains both good and bad. On the positive side is the author's exposition of history. Every person and every historical event, regardless of its significance, is

painstakingly researched, meticulously elaborated, and copiously documented. His discussion (pp. 81-91) of Cicero's list of *pontifices* (12) is a good example of the author's ability to sift through all the sources, both ancient and modern, to produce a valuable, up-to-date account of what is known. The same is true of what he says (pp. 98 f.) about the various legal terms that the orator uses a few paragraphs later (14). At times, however, his explanations are marred by vacillation and indecision. In his first note (p. 46), for instance, as he discusses the relative merits of *responsum* and *responsa* in the title, he points to the singular as being "probably the correct form." In a final sentence, however, apparently put off by the plural form in the recent Budé edition, he throws up his hands: "I confess that I am now uncertain about the title, although I still prefer the singular, *responsum*." Commentary such as this is confusing. At times this indecision joins with his desire to be complete to produce unnecessary expansion. The involved and inconclusive discussion of *scaena* (pp. 124 f.), for example, is unnecessary; the simplest and most logical solution appears in a paragraph which is appended almost as an afterthought.

As has already been indicated, Lenaghan's textual and literary criticism is hardly inspiring. His treatment (p. 48) of the vexing (for Markland and Wolf, but perhaps for no one else) combination *impudicam impudentiam* (1, 4), for example, is faulty throughout. First of all, the alliteration here does not become more palatable because the combinations *impudentiorem intemperantiam* or *implicata inscientia impudentia* are found elsewhere in Cicero's works. Nor does any of the other quotations from Cicero, Plautus, Fronto (!), and Cyprian (!) justify this combination. They are simply not the same and prove nothing. There are other examples of his linguistic naïveté. *Stultissimus* (1, 5) does not mean "silly, frivolous"; nor does "in a cold sweat" quite translate *exsanguis atque aestuans* (2, 11). How is *statim* softened by *intenderit* at 7, 21 f.? Why is there no reference to *impudentiam* in 8, 26, since it recalls the *impudicam impudentiam* of 1, 4? The note on *praedictum* at 29, 15 is infuriatingly pedantic. The inconsistency that he finds between Cicero's description of Sulpicius' style in *Har. Resp.* (41, 2) and the orator's comments in *De Oratore* (2, 88 and 96) and *Brutus* (203) disappears when these passages are read carefully. Why is the rhythm of *esse videantur* worth pointing out at 2, 8, but not when it occurs elsewhere (e. g., 19, 13 and 33, 4)?

Most of his observations on textual matters could be omitted. Why he bothers to mention the problem with Brigotarus at 29, 3 is not clear, since he simply lists the various possibilities and does not venture an opinion as to which is best. In 40, 10 he abdicates any responsibility for emending the text and, though he speaks favorably of Lambinus' emendation, he does not indicate what it is or why it is attractive.

The final decision as to what deserves comment must rest with the commentator. But there are words and phrases that are ignored that seem to demand explanation. Some of these are *prodigium* (4, 27), *tertius dies* (7, 18 f.), *religio* (11, 6), *superstitio* (12, 14), and *crocota, mitra*, etc. (44, 17 ff.). Some kind of a rhetorical analysis or at least a simple outline of the speech would also seem to be mandatory.

Lenaghan's historical perspective, then, is generally sound, though linguistically and textually the commentary falls short. One has the impression that this is a doctoral dissertation that has not been revised as thoroughly as it should have been. It is a welcome addition to Ciceronian scholarship, but it must be used with caution.

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R. M. OGILVIE. *The Romans and Their Gods in the Age of Augustus*. New York, W. W. Norton, 1969. Pp. 135. \$5.00. (*Ancient Culture and Society*.)

The author of the well-known commentary on the first five books of Livy has written for a new series this unassuming but useful little book. It contains a good deal of solid information, a few important concepts that seem to show the influence of Dr. S. Weinstock, and a number of attractive new suggestions. It addresses itself primarily to the layman (the list of authors at the end takes very little for granted; cf. e. g. "Paul, St. Died A. D. 66, Christian apostle"), but even classical scholars need to be reminded occasionally that the pagan gods were real in the sense that people believed in their powers (p. 1). Most handbooks give us facts and formulas, but never consider the emotional element of religion, the "inter-spaces" between the marble slabs and blocks, as Karl Stern, in "Pillar of Fire," has called them. Unless we concentrate on the way in which ancient religion was lived by people rather than thought, it is apt to remain a forbidding abstraction or an impenetrable maze. Ogilvie has tried successfully to get under the skin of the Romans and to show how religion worked for them.

His concept of divine "goodwill" or "cooperation" (pp. 17; 100; 103) seems useful to me. He rightly stresses the variety of particular, localized gods and cults. In a busy commercial town like Ostia, the rope-sellers honored Minerva, the corn-measurers Ceres, and Mars was the patron of the builders (p. 15). Many gods, worshipped throughout the ancient world, had their favorite haunts (p. 29), and it was no doubt difficult for a Florentine to work up much enthusiasm for the patron god of Padua or Naples (p. 116). Augustus made a great effort to provide a common focus of loyalty and devotion, but in the end it was Christianity which succeeded (*ibid.*).

Almost anything that a Roman did was a religious act (p. 20), but it was nearly always possible to delegate responsibility for performing the proper religious ceremonies; in fact, most rites were performed for many by few, and the presence of large crowds was not required (p. 73). Prayer and sacrifice sustained and renewed the god's vitality and preserved him from "perishing simply from neglect," as Varro put it (p. 42).

It is true that Roman religion was concerned with success, not with sin (p. 17). The gods were not expected to make men morally

better, just more efficient. Prayers may be heard, even if they come from a wicked man, as long as they are correctly framed. And yet the idea that the gods delight in a pure heart more than in elaborate litanies and sumptuous offerings is surely expressed before the age of Persius and Pliny. There has always been a tendency to associate moral goodness with doing one's duty towards gods and men. The technical character of Roman religious practice was mitigated by Hellenistic ethics and possibly by the personal influence of the priests attached to the major cults, though we know so little about them that the author denies the existence of a separate priestly profession (pp. 106 ff.). The ideas of sin, repentance, and divine forgiveness may be foreign to most ancient cults, but they were alive in the Mystery religions, as I have tried to show (*Homages à Marcel Renard*, II [1969], pp. 470 ff.). Ogilvie seems to be aware that he overstates his case, for he says (pp. 36 f.): "The claim is *usually* [italics mine] not the *moral* worth of the suppliant but the devotion to the god," and admits that pagan devotion "at its finest" is not so very much different from Christian *pietas*.

There are some minor criticisms one could make, e.g. the interpretation of Anna Perenna (p. 80): she is not merely "connected with the passage of the year," but she symbolizes people's hopes to get safely through the year (*per annum*); H. Usener, in his classical article "Italische Mythen" (*Kleine Schriften*, IV, pp. 119 ff.) is not quite explicit on this point.

Ogilvie likes to dramatize his views for the benefit of the general reader; thus he compares Julius Caesar to the Archbishop of Canterbury (pp. 2; 21) and begins chapter 3 with a striking sentence: "Imagine 160,000 mooing, messy cows being led along Whitehall and then butchered in the forecourt of Westminster Abbey at a Coronation." The chapter itself contains a lively, imaginative (yet entirely plausible) account of a Roman sacrifice. The Bibliography (pp. 129 f.) is short but adequate; a reference to Dean Inge's admirable essays in Hammerton's *Universal History of the World* (e.g. "Paganism and the Philosophers," III, pp. 1900 ff.) might be added. The book is set in singularly unattractive type.

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E. LOBEL. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Volume XXXV. Edited with Notes. London, Published for the British Academy by the Egypt Exploration Society, 1968. Pp. xii + 116; 12 pls. (*Graeco-Roman Memoirs*, No. 50.)

In this volume Lobel has assembled and edited a number of fragments of Greek choral lyric, of Old Comedy and of assorted commentaries. The fragments of lyric, in spite of careful and ingenious editing, will add little to our knowledge of the genre, those of comedy are slightly more substantial, those of commentary

will increase our knowledge of commentaries more than of the works with which they deal.

Fifty-three fragments of papyrus, most of them minute, are assembled on palaeographical grounds under 2735 and dated to the second century, but we are warned that they may be from more than one manuscript. The guess is made that the text may be Stesichorus and that Fr. 11, on the basis of vocabulary, may be from the Ἀθλα ἐπὶ Πελῖα. Number 2736 comprises only three fragments which are very tentatively assigned to Pindar on the basis of γλεφάρῳ, a spelling not to be found in any of the other poets of the genre who might otherwise be thought of. Heracles is clearly the subject and at Fr. 1, 17 an appeal to the muse introduces the subject of the capture of Oechalia, which seems to continue through the rest of the fragments.

Under 2743 the editor has put together thirty-one fragments from a second century manuscript containing broken lines of comedy, one of which (Fr. 1, 7) coincides with a proverbial line which is quoted as one of the four extant fragments of Strattis' *Lemnomena* (Fr. 23 K.). As the editor points out, since this line is proverbial, it does not serve as a guarantee that we have to do with Strattis here, but its appearance in the midst of comic lines makes the probability very strong. There is not enough preserved to make us much wiser as to what the play was about. Fr. 8, the most extensive, is choral and made up entirely of asynartetes. The first column runs in dactylo-trochaic rhythms in which the trochaic parts are always acatalectic while the dactylic parts are frequently catalectic. The second column has a run of ten lines, which, while not complete, are clearly archilocheans like those of the exodus of Aristophanes' *Wasps*, except that they are more regular, and may now join that passage as the only example of the extended use of that meter. The passage in the papyrus is not, however, an exodus. The next line (11), set off by a *diple obelismene* and by *eisthesis*, appears from the photograph to end with ι[rather than η[. If that were the case one might read

πολυώνυμε Πλοῦτε καὶ σὺ Διὸς
ξενικὸς κόρο[ς

but I cannot justify this.

Number 2733 is a small fragment of a second-century copy of commentary on Alcaeus written on the verso of a previously used piece of papyrus. Number 2734, twelve very small pieces of the second century, also has to do with Alcaeus but is not a commentary. The editor compares it, not unreasonably, to a set of diegeseis. The first lines of poems are given followed by five to seven lines, originally quite long, of explanatory material, apparently summaries. Fr. 1 contains lemmata from LP 307, 308, and 343. The first two of these are the first lines of the first two poems in book I of Alcaeus and the third, referred to as *τρίτη*, places LP 343 as the first line of the third poem in that book. Thus we must have here something very close to the beginning of the whole work. Fr. 4 apparently refers to Aristotle. Fr. 6 contains as a lemma the first three lines LP 326 preceded by something which may be connected with LP 305. While the]περιστα[of Fr. 1, 17 in this context worries the editor, it is in good company with παροξύνομεν in Fr. 4, 6.

All but one of the rest of the pieces in the volume relate to Old Comedy. Number 2739 is part of a second-century list of the comedies of Cratinus containing six items, none of which is new.

Number 2737 gives us parts of three columns of a commentary on Aristophanes. Although there are parts of twelve lemmata, some of considerable length, it has not been possible to identify the comedy from which they come. The passage in question was choral, as evidenced by the repeated parody of choral poetry which the commentator is much concerned with identifying (Terpander, Ion, Aleman), and we are offered the suggestion of Fraenkel based on what can be seen of the sequence of meters that the whole of Fr. 1 is dealing with the epirrhematic syzygy of a parabasis. Noteworthy is the appearance of a new fragment of Aleman which is described as *Ἀλκμᾶνος ἡ ἀρχή*. In this case and in that of a passage of which it is said that according to Aristarchus it *Τερπάνδρου ἐστὶν [ἡ] ἀρχή* the editor chooses to understand that it is meant that the quotations are the first words of the *first poem* of these poets. This may be so but it might not be wise to place too much reliance on the second part of this inference. We are also offered *Παβδοῦχοι* as title for a hitherto unknown comedy of Plato on the authority of Eratosthenes.

Number 2738 gives most of fifteen lines of commentary on Old Comedy dealing with the practice of Horace's trinity in respect to the Pyrrhic dance. Number 2740 belongs to the same category and consists of ten fragments of what may very probably all be commentary on Eupolis' *Taxiarchi*. Frs. 1 and 2 are the most extensive and give the impression of a close but brief series of explanatory comments.

More extensive are the twelve fragments of 2741 which come from a commentary on Eupolis' *Marikas*, as is proved by the appearance of *εὐπο[/ μαρικα]* on the verso of Fr. 1 and by the content including coincidences with fragments 181, 200, 354, and 433 K. There is no use trying to improve on the brevity or effect of the editor's statement on this piece. "A commentary, even when well preserved, is not apt to afford much information about the structure of the composition to which it relates, and this is not well preserved. As far as I see all that is to be learned from it is a few more fragments of the text of the *Μαρικᾶς* and perhaps that the chorus was divided in a way similar to that of the *Lysistrata*."

Finally in this category there is 2742 whose four fragments may apply to Cratinus' *Seriphi*, as the editor shrewdly guesses. From the fairly complete column of Fr. 1 we recover a line from Strattis' *Atalantus*, one from Aristophanes' *Gerytades* plus three lemmata, the most complete of which gives four consecutive paroemiacs after the manner said by Hephaestion to be characteristic of Cratinus.

Perhaps the most important thing to be gained from all these pieces of commentary on Old Comedy is the additional evidence on the conventions of layout and articulation for such works in antiquity. They are all from the first to the third century. It is partially on the basis of the layout that the final number, 2744, is to be recognized as a commentary on something. The subject matter is animals and birds, and there are quotations from Homer, Aristotle, Aristophanes, and Dinarchus.

This reviewer would like to plead that it would be more useful to give a plate reference and a date as part of the heading of each number, as used to be common practice in this series, rather than the two pages devoted to List of Plates and Numbers and Plates as part of the front matter.

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H. H. SCULLARD. *Scipio Africanus: Soldier and Politician*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1970. Pp. 299. \$6.95. (*Aspects of Greek and Roman Life*.)

Forty years ago, Professor Scullard, then a young man but already a mature scholar, published his *Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War*. It was a work of high distinction, a careful and thorough analysis of Scipio's military genius. A strong argument could have been made for republication or a second edition of that volume, now long out of print. Scullard chose a slightly different vehicle. He produced another book, encompassing Scipio's entire career (not just the years of the Hannibalic War) and discussing his political, as well as his military, fortunes. But the potential reader should be under no misapprehension. He will find the impact of forty years barely perceptible. *Scipio Africanus: Soldier and Politician* is not, in any significant sense, a "new book." More than two thirds of its contents are close paraphrase or, indeed, exact repetition of the earlier work (cf. pp. 2-288 of the first book with pp. 11-161, 225-43 of the present volume). For the remaining one third Scullard turned once again to Scullard: a summary and rehearsal of his own views published two decades ago in the *Roman Politics, 220-150 BC* (cf. pp. 168-224 with *Roman Politics*, pp. 75-152).

The author announces in his preface that he drew "very heavily upon my earlier work." That is understatement. Chapter titles, organization, conclusions, whole paragraphs, even pages on end are lifted bodily from the previous two books, with the language or punctuation changed only slightly—or not at all. Perhaps duplication on this large a scale is in some way justifiable; it required, at the very least, a more forthright acknowledgment. Scullard, to be sure, has not ignored scholarly contributions on the Scipionic era which appeared since publication of his initial work. Footnotes abound in references to modern articles and books on a variety of military, political, and archaeological matters. And Scullard has remained scrupulously up to date, consulting pieces published as late as 1969 and making full use of Walbank's invaluable second volume on Polybius. But changes in the text itself are few, mostly confined to alterations of style or minor shifts of emphasis.

Scullard has, if anything, developed an even firmer confidence in Polybius' narrative and opinions. Some may regard that as over-credulity. The bald statement that Polybius "is not likely to have

been deceived by any supposed falsehood" (p. 17) will hardly win universal assent. Patronage extended by the circle of Scipio Aemilianus must have put a strain on objectivity. That Polybius "made the fullest use of all oral sources" (p. 18) is unverifiable. Even if it were so, however, the fact would not necessarily bolster confidence. Self-interested oral informants may well lie behind Polybius' rejection of the Carthaginian treaty recorded by Philinus—to take but the most notorious example (Polyb., III, 26; cf., *inter alia*, Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy*, I, pp. 540-55). Scullard inclines to accept Polybius' romantic story about young Scipio's rescue of his father at the Ticinus (p. 29). Laelius had conveyed the tale (Polyb., X, 3). But whether Laelius knew Scipio at the time of the alleged episode is dubious. Polybius was certainly not above retailing inaccuracies about Scipio's early career—as Scullard himself must admit (pp. 30-1; Polyb., X, 4—a story that also seems to derive from Laelius). The author, in general, shows an inclination towards acceptance of most traditions on Scipio, even attempting a rationalistic explanation of the watchdogs who never barked when Scipio entered the Capitoline temple (pp. 20-1).

Since the views expressed in Scullard's current volume were formulated long ago and are widely known, detailed criticism is unnecessary. One may reread with profit his incisive and lucid reconstructions of Scipio's campaigns in Spain and Africa. On many of the more controversial questions he is eminently sane: e. g., his explanation of the "ebb-tide" at New Carthage (pp. 52-63), and his defense of Scipio against those who criticized him for permitting Hasdrubal to slip across the Pyrenees (pp. 82-5). Less satisfactory is his acceptance of Veith's theory on Zama: that Hannibal's second line of Carthaginians failed to support the mercenaries by design rather than out of cowardice (p. 151). If so, then Hannibal does not seem to have let his mercenaries in on the plan. On larger strategical matters some points call for dissent. Scullard has no warrant for asserting that C. Claudius Nero's appointment to Spain in 211 envisaged a purely defensive strategy in that area (p. 38). Nero's previous service under Fabius Maximus proves nothing. His most recent duty had been with Fulvius Flaccus at the siege of Capua—not exactly a defensive maneuver. Of course, Nero's policy in Spain was cautious; he could hardly be expected to resume the offensive in the first year after the Scipios' severe defeat. His purpose was to reorganize the survivors and consolidate the Roman position north of the Ebro. Scullard, on the whole, draws too sharp a distinction between the strategical philosophies of Fabius and Scipio (pp. 109-11, 168). Delaying tactics in Italy and a vigorous offensive in Spain were complementary, not opposing, policies. Hannibal's strength was to be worn down in Italy, while his source of reinforcements was eliminated in Spain. Nor is Fabius to be identified simply with conservative hesitation. The swift and firm Roman reaction in 215 to Carthaginian moves in Sardinia and Sicily was headed by T. Manlius Torquatus and T. Otacilius Crassus, both reckoned by Scullard himself as "Fabians" (cf. *Roman Politics*, pp. 58-9).

Scullard's assessments of politics, often criticized, still provoke many doubts. It is a mistake, for example, to lump the Servilii

together as enemies of Scipio (pp. 170-2). Caepio's attempt to cross to Sicily in 203 was undoubtedly hostile. But he was checked by Galba, a friend of the Servilii Gemini. And nothing shows that C. and M. Geminus, the consuls of 203 and 202, were opposed to Scipio; rather the reverse (see Cassola, *I gruppi politici*, pp. 412 ff.; Scullard's reply, pp. 278-9, is weak and unpersuasive). Among other things, Scullard's view requires him to make P. Aelius Paetus switch back and forth between friendship and hostility to Scipio at a dizzying pace (cf. p. 180). Even more tortured is his portrayal of Scipio's relations with Flamininus. Scullard begins by conjecturing that Scipio opposed the senate's decision to precipitate war with Philip in 200 (pp. 177-8). In fact, not a particle of evidence attests to Scipio's involvement—one way or the other. The war once declared, however, Scipio in 199 approved and supported Flamininus' appointment to take charge of it—or so, at least, Scullard hypothesizes (pp. 182-3). Again not a particle of evidence (apart from the very indirect remark of Plut., *Flam.*, 3, 3, which says nothing about Scipio's attitude). And Scullard must imagine that Scipio "lacked sufficient support to win the command for himself" (p. 182)—surely a paradoxical comment on the man fresh from conquest of Hannibal and election to the censorship. We are not through yet with Scipio's alleged shifts. In 198, so Scullard postulates, he changed his mind once more: now he worked for the supersession of Flamininus (p. 185). Unhappily, there is no more evidence for this conjecture than for the others: i. e. none at all. The entire reconstruction lacks substance and plausibility. Scipio's absence from the testimony on these matters is still best explained by the assumption that his interests lay in the west and that he had not yet formulated any eastern policy (cf. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, pp. 65-6). It is noteworthy that his first recorded pronouncement on eastern questions came in 194—after Hannibal had fled to the court of Antiochus (Livy, XXXIV, 43). That his political position had been in eclipse in previous years (p. 191) is unfounded inference. Scipio attained the censorship in 199, was named *princeps senatus*, and secured election to his second consulship for 194, immediately after the necessary ten year interval had passed. There is no hint of an eclipse. Flamininus, according to Scullard, eventually lands in the "middle bloc," halfway between the factions of Cato and Scipio (pp. 211-13). Yet the censors of 189, one of whom was Flamininus, reappointed Scipio as *princeps senatus*. The artificial divisions are badly strained. Scullard retails once again the distinction concocted by McDonald (*J. R. S.*, 1938) between Flamininus' adherence to Hellenic "autonomy" and Scipio's "Hellenistic" policy of dealing with monarchies and leagues (p. 183). The distinction is nowhere affirmed or even suggested by the sources. In fact, neither Scipio nor Flamininus pursued doctrinaire policies vis-à-vis eastern states; their actions were dictated by circumstances and by the interests of Rome.

Scullard's admiration for Scipio is deep. The biography does not descend to hagiography—but, at times, it comes perilously close. Rome would never have destroyed Carthage had she retained "Scipio's ideals" and "Scipio's vision" (p. 159). When he went into virtual exile, it was "his ungrateful country that was dis-

honoured" (p. 224). Scipio was never cruel without a purpose: "he struck to punish and deter" (p. 233). When he tore up his account books to fend off a senatorial inquiry, it was "from a conscious belief in himself and the rightness of his cause" (p. 235). "A noble of the nobles, born into one of Rome's greatest families, he shone forth like a star of hope in his country's darkest hour" (p. 241). "He withdrew to voluntary exile, soon to die, having drunk deep of the waters of success and power, but willing to forego the outward show in a constitution which had no place for the outstanding individual" (p. 242). On questionable actions, Scipio usually receives the benefit of the doubt. So, his willingness to treat with Carthage in 203 was not out of personal ambition, but because "he saw that the season was ripe" (p. 135). And the conclusion of peace after Zama came not because Scipio feared supersession, but because "Italy needed rest to heal her wounds" (p. 156). One would do well to keep in mind indicators which point in other directions: the brutal massacre which Scipio ordered at Ilurgia; the mutiny of his soldiers, quelled only with difficulty; the (at best) dubious behavior in the Pleminius affair; and, as the author himself admits, Scipio's contributions to politics were of no significance (p. 238). On balance, however, Scullard's admiration is not misplaced. His subject naturally evokes it. And his general analysis of Scipio as a man who combined both calculating rationalism and religious faith is surely close to the truth.

Students of Roman history have long been in Professor Scullard's debt. Not the least of his achievements is his current editorship of the excellent series "Aspects of Greek and Roman Life," to which he himself contributed a distinguished volume on Rome and the Etruscan cities. The book presently under review is also part of that series. It will certainly see widespread use. The collection of Scullard's thoughts on Scipio within a single volume is a valuable service. But one cannot blink the fact that it contains very little which we have not heard before—from Scullard himself.

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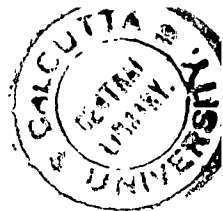
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CURIO PATER AND CICERO.

In 76 B. C. Curio was consul and Cicero was candidate for the quaestorship. As their careers developed in the next twenty-three years there occurred clashes between the two which have puzzled historians of the late republic. This was especially notable in the trial of P. Pulcher in 61 after which Cicero published an invective in *Clodium et Curionem*, and in 58 when Cicero speaks of a mysterious speech against Curio (*Att.*, III, 12, 2; 15, 3; 20, 2) which has often been identified as the speech of 61.¹

To reach a reasonable explanation of the relations of the two men it is necessary to review the scattered references to the career of Curio, first in the years to 62, second in 61, and finally in the years from 60 to 53. In the early period of Curio's life he has been labelled a member of the Metellan *factio*,²

¹ For the Curiones cf. Muenzer in *R.-E.*, s. v. "Scribonius 9-11" (1921), cols. 861-76: 9 (*avus*), 10 (*pater*), 11 (*filius*): references below by column. For Cicero especially M. Gelzer, *Cicero, ein biographischer Versuch* (Wiesbaden, 1969), which supersedes his "Cicero als Politiker" in *R.-E.* (1939). For the text and dates of *ad Atticum* D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus*, I-II (Cambridge, 1965). For Cicero's *Brutus* the text of H. Malcovati (Teubner, Leipzig, 1965), the commentary of A. E. Douglas (Oxford, 1966). These works are cited in abbreviated form.

² In the last generation the role of the *factiones* in Roman politics has been brilliantly presented by Sir Ronald Syme (*The Roman Revolution* [Oxford, 1939]) and by the late Lily Ross Taylor (*Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* [Berkeley, 1949]). There is no question but that *factiones* did exist, but in my opinion their influence has

in the middle of his career a *Sullanus*, and throughout as one of the *optimates*. Before acceding to these labels it is urgent that we consider other possibilities for the occasions on which we have evidence of Curio's participation.³

Curio *Pater* to 62 B. C.

Three C. Scribonii Curiones gained fame as orators (Plin., *H. N.*, VII, 133; *schol. Bob.*, 85, 17-21 St.). The first was a contemporary of M. Aemilius Scaurus, P. Rutilius Rufus, and C. Sempronius Gracchus (Cic., *Brut.*, 110), and rose to the praetorship about 121. Despite his fame as an orator he did not gain the consulship (*Brut.*, 124). He spoke often, published some

been exaggerated. I find myself in agreement with many of the ideas of P. A. Brunt, "Amicitia' in the Late Roman Republic," *P. O. P. S.*, n. s. XI (1965), pp. 1-20; reprinted as item X in R. Seager (ed.), *The Crisis of the Roman Republic* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 197-218. A good example (p. 17 = p. 215): "The existence of powerful, cohesive factions may also be questioned, because at Rome friends and kinsmen did not necessarily have the same enemies, and common enmities did not cement common friendships." In a cogent and concise comment on P. Mucius Scaevola (cos. 133) T. P. Wiseman explains his actions, not as a member of shifting factions, but as those of "a jurist and a scholar . . . a proverbially honest man": "A Note on P. Mucius Scaevola," *Athenaeum*, XLVIII (1970), pp. 152-3. In two recent studies of Roman politics the authors have taken positions on the *factiones* which are diametrically opposed. In each valuable analysis is somewhat vitiated by the extreme position of the author and by lack of final revision. Christian Meier, using a sociological orientation for his analysis, would exclude *factiones* and explain political interaction on the basis of personal predilections: *Res publica amissa* (Wiesbaden, 1966), *passim*, especially pp. 174-90 ("Die Organisation der Macht"). Cf. an excellent and penetrating review by John Pinsent: *Erasmus*, XIX (1967), cols. 235-9. On the other side E. S. Gruen seems to me to rely too heavily on "die Faktionsthese" and to use it too often in explanation of obscure actions by Roman politicians: *Roman Politics and the Criminal Courts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968; abbreviated below *R. P. C. C.*).

³ Of Curio *pater* Taylor said (p. 218, n. 30): "He was allied with Hortensius and the Metelli in 70 and with Pompey in 66; later he was an ally of Clodius, but he broke with Clodius and worked with the *optimates* against Caesar in 60 and succeeding years." In speaking of Curio *avus* Gruen said (*R. P. C. C.*, p. 130): "But the next generation saw a Curio firmly in the Metellan camp."

of his speeches of which the most famous was *pro Ser. Fulvio de incestu nobilis oratio* (*Brut.*, 122).⁴ Cicero called him *eloquentissimus temporibus illis* (*de Orat.*, II, 98). His son, commonly called Curio *pater*, was born about 125, and was left as a *pupillus* at the death of his father (*Brut.*, 213). If the date of 113 is correct for the trial of Fulvius he was about twelve at the time of his father's death, not too old to have gained facility in the language *usu aliquo domestico*.

Although we know more about Curio *filius* (*tribunus plebis* 50),⁵ Curio *pater* was clearly the most distinguished member of his *stirps*. He ennobled his family by gaining the consulship, and he celebrated a *iustus triumphus de Dardanis*, probably in 72.⁶ His career did not show rapid advancement, however, as his recorded offices indicate; *tribunus plebis* 90; *legatus* (?) of Sulla, 86-85; consul 76; proconsul of Macedonia, 75-72; pontifex by 57.⁷ The scanty references to his early career are often capable of diverse interpretation.

⁴ *O.R.F.*, no. 47, pp. 173-4. Gruen (*R.P.C.C.*, pp. 129-30, 306) connects the case with the trials of the Vestal Virgins in 114-113. The *reus* was probably Ser. Fulvius Flaccus (cos. 135), but Muenzer was sceptical: in *R.E.*, s.v. "Fulvius 64." Gruen's comment that since Flaccus was in his sixties he was "not the most likely suspect for adultery" marks Gruen as *adulescens*, and would not have appealed to many *sexagenarii* among the Roman senators. Even our *homo Platonius*, although he married the girl (Quintilian, VI, 3, 75): . . . *ut Cicero obiurgantibus, quod sexagenarius Publiliam virginem duxisset: 'cras mulier erit,' inquit.*

⁵ Cf. especially W. K. Lacey, "The Tribunate of Curio," *Historia*, X (1961), pp. 318-29. I feel that Lacey gives Curio *filius* greater credit for both ability and honesty than he merits.

⁶ Degrassi, *I.I.*, XIII, 1 (1947), 564. Cf. Cic., *Pis.*, 58.

⁷ Curio may have been aedile as well as tribune: when Cicero speaks of his own moderate expenditures as aedile he refers also to L. Marcius Philippus, C. Aurelius Cotta, and Curio as if they too had advanced in rank despite a similar moderation (*Off.*, II, 59): cf. J. Seidel, *Fasti aedilicii* (Breslau, 1908), pp. 83-4 (on Cotta), 87 (Curio), and *M.R.R.*, II, pp. 466-7 (all three listed with question marks). Further discussion by I. Shatzman, *Ath.*, XLVI (1968), pp. 353-4; E. Badian, *Ath.*, XLVIII (1970), pp. 3-4. It is an open question whether he was censor in 61 (*M.R.R.*, II, p. 179: "The names remain unknown . . ."). The censorship is accepted by P. Willems and Curio is cited as *senator censorius* in the list of the senate of 55: *Le sénat de la république romaine*, I (Paris, 1878), p. 430, cf. p. 421. J. W.

In 100 he heeded the call to arms by the consuls against Saturninus after C. Memmius (tr. pl. 111, pr. 104?) had been assassinated during his canvass for the consulship. This item is recorded in Cicero's defense of C. Rabirius, *reus perduellionis* in 63. In a paragraph which begins with M. Aemilius Scaurus (cos. 115), *princeps senatus*, and Q. Mucius Scaevola (cos. 117), *augur*, and continues with eighteen men of high rank or noble families, Cicero includes Curio who was present at the time of the speech (21).⁸ Since senators of all shades of opinion followed C. Marius and L. Valerius Flaccus in accordance with the *senatus consultum ultimum*, Curio's presence tells us nothing of his views. Probably he was simply outraged by the death of Memmius. This may have been his first contact with the *gens Memmia*.

He next appears as prosecutor of Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos (cos. 98), son of Balearicus (cos. 123). The charge is unknown, but may have derived from Nepos' actions as consul and hence the trial is probably to be dated in 97.⁹ A strange sequel to this trial is recounted by Asconius (51, 12-26 St.). Nepos on his deathbed compelled his son, Nepos (cos. 57), to swear that he would prosecute Curio.¹⁰ The son indicted Curio at some unknown date. However Nepos had seized a certain citizen and claimed him as a slave. Curio appeared as *assertor (libertatis)* for the man. Then the two made a rather dishonorable pact to drop both suits. These aborted charges probably took place after Curio's return from Macedonia in 72. The last phrase in Asconius' account is *in Curionem calumniam iuravit* which certainly indicates that the *crimen*

Suolahti argues about Curio extensively but inconclusively: "The Roman Censors," *Annales Academiae Fennicae*, B CXVII (Helsinki, 1963), pp. 475, 650-4, 698.

⁸ In 100 Curio was at best *senator quaestorius*, probably not yet a senator. On the minimum age for the quaestorship in this period cf. A. E. Astin, *The Lex Annalis before Sulla* (*Collection Latomus*, XXXII [1958]), pp. 42-5. Ti. Gracchus was quaestor in 137 at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five (p. 44).

⁹ Gruen, *R. P. O. C.*, p. 308.

¹⁰ There are no references to the older Nepos between the time of this trial and his death. For father and son cf. Muenzer in *R.-E.*, s.v. "Caecilius, 95-96."

against Curio was that of false prosecution.¹¹ Consequently we may assume that Curio had been unsuccessful in his prosecution of the elder Nepos.

In the same decade M. Antonius (cos. 99) appeared before the *centumviri* against two brothers named Cossus, and Curio spoke on their behalf. Cicero puts these words in the mouth of Antonius (*de Or.*, II, 98):

qui tamen verborum gravitate et elegantia et copia suam quandam expressit quasi formam figuramque dicendi; quod ego maxime iudicare potui in ea causa, quam ille contra me apud centumviros pro fratribus Cossis dixit; in qua nihil illi deficit, quod non modo copiosus, sed etiam sapiens orator habere deberet.

The Cossi are unknown otherwise. The date is before September, 91, the dramatic date of the dialogue (I, 24), since Cicero was extremely meticulous in not introducing any item inconsistent with a dramatic date. Antonius' comment seems to indicate success for Curio.

During the troubled year of the tribunate of M. Livius Drusus Curio stood for this office and was elected for 90, a colleague of the notorious Q. Varius Severus Hibrida. The law proposed by Varius and passed despite the intercession of some of his colleagues¹² provided (Asconius, 24, 25-26 St.) *ut quaereretur de iis quorum ope consiliove socii contra populum R. arma sumpsissent*. It has been assumed that Curio as a member of the "Metellan *factio*" opposed Varius, interposed his veto, and escaped attack by his tribunician immunity.¹³ A plausible case can be made for this interpretation, but there are difficulties

¹¹ Asconius' comment makes it clear that the charge could not have been *de repetundis*, and consequently pseudo-Asconius is clearly making an incorrect guess in linking this prosecution to the Achaean investigation instigated in 70 to delay the trial of Verres (Cic., *Verr.*, I, 6-9 and ps. Asc., 207, 18-20; 208, 9 St.); cf. T. Zielinski, *Philologus*, LII (1894), pp. 256-7, n. 13; Gelzer, p. 38, n. 27.

¹² Appian says that all of his colleagues vetoed the *lex Varia* (*B. C.*, I, 37), but this is clearly an error: cf. Val. Max., VIII, 6, 4 (*adversus intercessionem collegarum*) and Gruen's discussion (*R. P. C. C.*, pp. 216-18).

¹³ Gruen (p. 217): "C. Scribonius Curio, we may be certain, interposed his veto."

and the evidence can be disputed. Since this is a *crux* in the interpretation of Curio's connections fuller analysis is essential.

Curio married Memmia, daughter of L. Memmius who was tried under the *quaestio* set up by the *lex Varia*. A fragment from the third book of the *Historiae* of L. Cornelius Sisenna is a key passage:¹⁴

Sisenna historiarum libro III: Lucium Memmium, socerum Gai Scriboni, tribunum plebis, quem Marci Livi consiliarium fuisse callebant et tunc Curionis oratorem . . .

T. P. Wiseman has discussed this passage in detail and reached the conclusion, with which I agree, that *tribunum* should be emended to *tribuni*, thus eliminating the tribunate of Memmius. He further argued that this Lucius is the surviving brother of the C. Memmius who was assassinated during his consular canvass in 100; and this conclusion seems highly probable.¹⁵ One further item in the passage needs exegesis. Sisenna was praetor in 78 and *legatus pro praetore* under Pompeius Magnus in 67 during which year he died. He may have been proconsul or propraeor of Sicily in 77. At least he appears as an aid in the defense of Verres in 70 (Cic., *Verr.*, II, 2, 110: *L. Sisennae, tui defensoris*), probably as *testis* rather than *patronus* (assisting Hortensius). He probably did most of his historical composition in his later years (76-68) in which he was *privatus*

¹⁴ From Nonius, s. v. *callet* (258, 8 Mueller). Text from H. Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae*, I (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1914), pp. 282-3, Book III, fr. 44. There are no significant variants in Lindsay (1903). Peter lists Roth (1842) for the conjecture *tribuni*, and Mueller (1888) for the conjecture *Curioni auctorem*. The conjecture of Roth is clearly correct, that of Mueller is certainly wrong. On Sisenna, Peter pp. CCCXXXIV-CCCXLIX.

¹⁵ "Lucius Memmius and his Family," *C. Q.*, LXI (1967), pp. 164-7 (with the earlier bibliography). He is here arguing against Gruen's solution that L. Memmius had been tribune in 91 with Drusus: "The *Lex Varia*," *J. R. S.*, LV (1965), pp. 66-7. The former solution was that Memmius was acquitted and held the tribunate in 89: so *M. R. R.*, II, p. 38, n. 4. Gruen (*R. P. O. C.*, p. 218 and n. 22) repeats his earlier identification of L. Memmius as "... a *consiliarius* of Drusus in 91, perhaps a fellow-tribune . . ." and cites Wiseman with the comment "not altogether persuasive." R. Seager lists Memmius among those condemned under the *lex Varia*: *Historia*, XVI (1967), p. 42. We cannot be certain of the verdict on Memmius.

(i. e. *senator praetorius*),¹⁶ and it was at this time that Curio became so prominent. Consequently his identification of L. Memmius as the father-in-law of Curio need not, and probably does not, mean that this *adfinitas* goes back to the year 90.¹⁷ The birth of the son of Curio and Memmia has usually been assigned to 84, but this is a conjecture based on the assumption that he was quaestor in 54.¹⁸ For this to be the case Memmia would have had to accompany Curio when he was campaigning in the east with Sulla. It is much more probable that the marriage took place when Curio returned from the East, probably in 83 with Sulla. Curio *filius* may then have been born in 82 or 81, and his tribunate may have been his first elective office. It might be noted that Cicero links him closely with Calvus (*Brut.*, 279) whose birthdate is certainly 82 (Plin., *H. N.*, VII, 165).¹⁹

However Curio is stated by Asconius to have been (58, 15-16 St.) *ex iis, qui illa iudicia metuerunt*.²⁰ On the face of

¹⁶ Cf. E. Badian, *J. R. S.*, LII (1962), pp. 50-1; reprinted *Studies in Greek and Roman History* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 212-14. He has a fuller account: "Where was Sisenna?" *Ath.*, XLII (1964), pp. 422-31. Birth date ca. 119-118 (pp. 430-1).

¹⁷ Muenzer stated this categorically: in *R.-E.*, s. v. "Memmius 38" (Memmia) where he lists the birth of Curio *filius* "about 84."

¹⁸ *M. R. R.*, II, p. 224, quaestor for 54 with a question mark: "No title preserved," and p. 227, n. 4; p. 230 under 53 "Promagistrates"; p. 614 under "Index of Careers"—"Q. ? 54 or 53 (see 53), Proq. ? Asia ca. 52." In *Suppl.* 55 "Q. and proq. in Asia, ca. 54-52." However, Cicero's letters of this period do not specify his office—he may have been *tribunus militum* or *praefectus* or simply *comes* of C. Clodius. The inscription from Caunus in Caria (cited in *Suppl.*) does not give his title. A. E. Douglas said "Curio quaestor 54. therefore born by 85, . . ."; "*Oratorum Aetates*," *A. J. P.*, LXXXVII (1966), p. 301.

¹⁹ Pliny states that Calvus and M. Caelius Rufus were born on the same day (May 28, 82). For argument in favor of this date cf. R. G. Austin's edition of Cic., *Cael.* (3rd ed., Oxford, 1960), pp. 144-6 (appendix I). M. Caelius Rufus may not have held the quaestorship. Broughton suggests that this may have been a reward for his successful prosecution of C. Antonius (cos. 63) in 59: *Suppl.* of *M. R. R.*, pp. 11-12. I have reservations about this argument. Caelius and Curio may have omitted the quaestorship—each had strong support from various quarters in those troubled years and the tribunate could be a powerful force as it was in 50 when Curio *filius* was tribune.

²⁰ A much disputed passage (58, 11-17 St.) in the commentary on

it this seems improbable. Curio was not yet prominent and makes an unlikely figure in the midst of such victims of the *lex Varia* as M. Scaurus and M. Antonius. Asconius is usually correct in the data about the oration which he is discussing, but here he may have retrojected the importance of Curio in 65 when Cicero was defending C. Cornelius to a period in which he had not done intensive research. Indeed he may have read the very passage in Sisenna which Nonius cited, for he indicates familiarity with Sisenna in the same commentary in an item which follows almost immediately (58, 27 St.). There is a final piece of evidence which may buttress the discussion above. Cicero twice cites the incident in which Curio was abandoned by his audience while delivering a *contio* (*Brut.*, 192, 305). In the latter reference he says: *erat enim tribunus plebis tum C. Curio, quamquam is quidem silebat, ut erat semel a contione universa relictus. . . .* To be sure Cicero would never have had such ill success, but even Curio in those tumultuous days should not have lost his audience if he were attacking Varius. It seems more likely that he was against both extremes, and thereby lost the attention of the supporters as well as of the opponents of Varius. His silence for the rest of the year is hardly in accordance with the ordinary interpretation of his intercession and danger.²¹

Corn., I where Cicero is speaking of the suspension of the courts in 90. E. Badian has discussed the *lex Varia* in detail: "*Quaestiones Variarum*," *Historia*, XVIII (1969), pp. 447-91. In the second section of this article (pp. 452-60: "The Establishment and Suspension of the Varian Court") he comments on the guesswork in which Asconius indulges on this period which precedes the period of the trial of Cornelius by a generation (p. 454): "That he referred the passage to Curio would be due both to his interest in the *lex Varia* and to the fact that he undoubtedly knew that Curio was still alive in 65: it seemed an obvious guess."

²¹ Even if we date the marriage of Memmia and Curio early enough so that *adfinitas* was in existence by the time of the trial of Memmius in 90, I have reservations about the strength of this tie—especially since male Roman aristocrats were usually already mature at the time of their marriage, and the relationship between father-in-law and son-in-law might be anything but friendly. A case in point is the quarrel of C. Laelius and his older son-in-law C. Fannius (*Cic., Brut.*, 101).

In 88, while still consul, Sulla went east to carry on the war with Mithridates. Curio was one of his officers probably with the title *legatus*. The only references to this service are in 86 when he was left in charge of the siege of the Athenian Acropolis (Plut., *Sull.*, 14, 7) and in 85 when he restored Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes to their thrones (App., *Mithr.*, 60). However, it is probable that he was with Sulla from 88 to 83.²² The brilliance of Sulla as an officer in the Jugurthine, Cimbric, Marsic, Mithridatic, and Civil wars is beyond question—he combined daring, skill, and *felicitas*. Part of his success when he commanded was certainly in his choice of subordinate officers. He would hardly have had as *legatus* a man without military experience. Curio certainly had been *tribunus militum*, perhaps for several years in the Cimbric war. He may have been an officer (*legatus*?) in the war with the *socii*, and it would not be surprising if during his early military experience he had become acquainted with Sulla and learned to admire his ability. Moreover his oratorical efforts had not gained him support for election in the assemblies. The other avenue to curule office was by military fame, and this campaign seemed likely to aid his advancement. Sulla would surely be sympathetic since his own career had been hampered: born in 138 he was consul at 50.

Sulla by his military success created his own *factio* and Curio was now *Sullanus*.²³ He was praetor in 82 or 81, and after Sulla's retirement and death was, at least for a time, a supporter of the Sullan system. Probably in 79 he and C. Aurelius Cotta (cos. 75) were opposed in the case of Titinia by the youthful *eques* M. Cicero, who apparently won the case (*Brut.*, 217). In 78 Curio was persuaded to postpone his consular canvass a year to allow Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus chance for success in the *comitia consularia* (Sall., *Hist.*, I, 86 M.).²⁴ As

²² Appian says that when Sulla returned to Rome with his army in 88 his senior officers, except for one quaestor, refused to go with him and fled to the city (*B.C.*, I, 57). This seems unlikely, but we do not know whether Curio participated or not.

²³ Badian (first citation in note 16) comments that the *Sullani* were Sulla's officers and further notes the lack of consular legates in that army (pp. 54-5 = p. 220).

²⁴ Maurenbrecher in his note on this passage remarks that L. Marcius

consul for the year 76 he may have opposed restoration of the tribunician privileges as urged by the tribune Sicinius. Although at this point Curio should probably be accounted a staunch supporter of the *leges Corneliae*, he may also have been motivated by the witticisms aimed at him by Sicinius (Cic., *Brut.*, 216) *homo impurus sed admodum ridiculus*. That Curio destroyed Sicinius must be taken as a typical exaggeration in the *contiones*: this was the charge of Licinius Macer (Sall., *Hist.*, III, 48, 10 Kurfess): *dein Curio ad exitium usque insontis tribuni dominatus est*.²⁵

Curio's assignment as proconsul of Macedonia was a recognition of his military ability and his successes there resulted in a triumph.²⁶ One incident in that campaign marked him as an old-fashioned disciplinarian. Early in his tenure of this command one of his five legions mutinied, distressed by the rashness of their general (*temeritatem ducis*). Curio then led out the other four legions under arms, forced the mutinous legion to follow unarmed and to perform menial tasks, cutting straw, digging the *fossa* of the *castra*. Finally he disbanded that legion and distributed its men into the other four legions (Frontinus, *Strat.*, IV, 1, 43).²⁷

In the decade following his return from Macedonia Curio

Philippus (cos. 91) and Q. Lutatius Catulus (cos. 78) have been suggested as possible sponsors for Lepidus. Philippus, who had been *testis* against Memmius in 90 (Cic., *Brut.*, 304), is unlikely to have been in a position to persuade Curio. Catulus, whose policies well matched those of Curio, would, as consul when Curio would conduct his canvass, have had both an ideological and a practical hold on Curio.

²⁵ This is the only certain reference to Curio's opposition to Sicinius' proposals. See note 42 below.

²⁶ For the scattered references in the sources cf. Muenzer, col. 864, 9-51. Cicero says of Macedonia (*Pis.*, 44) . . . *provincia quae fuerit ex omnibus una maxime triumphalis*. . . . In addition to Curio: Cn. Cornelius Dolabella (cos. 81) in 78 (Degrassi, *I. I.*, XIII, 1, p. 564) or 77 (*M. R. R.*, II, p. 88, n. 4); M. Terentius Varro Lucullus (cos. 73) in 71 (Degrassi, p. 565).

²⁷ In 74 when Verres was *praetor urbanus*, according to Cicero (*Verr.*, II, I, 155-7), a "few arrogant men" obtained the conviction of Q. Opimius (tr. pl. 75) in Verres' court. Pseudo-Asconius identified these men as Catulus, Hortensius, and Curio (255, 16-17 St.). Whatever the role of the first two, Curio cannot be involved here since he was in his province throughout Verres' year as praetor.

seems to have been less influential than we might expect, for he was overshadowed in the senate by Q. Lutatius Catulus, in the military by Cn. Magnus, in the courts by Hortensius and Cicero. He seems not to have attached younger men to himself, nor does he seem to have been a dynamic figure in any group. In 70, just after Hortensius, *patronus* of Verres, had been declared *consul designatus*, Curio met his escort, ignored Hortensius, congratulated Verres *voce maxima*, embraced him (*Verr.*, I, 18-19): "*Renuntio*", inquit, "*tibi te hodiernis comitiis esse absolutum.*"²⁸ This hardly qualifies him as a member of a revived Metellan *factio*. He may well have been a personal friend of Verres, or at least may have felt that Verres had been singled out among other corrupt governors merely for Cicero's glory.²⁹

In 68 Caesar's attempt to arouse the *Transpadani* to efforts to gain *civitas* was blocked by the senate, and the consuls retained the legions of Marcius Rex in Italy until the agitation died down (*Suet., Iul.*, 8). It was at this time that we can place Cicero's citation of a *sententia* in the senate (*Off.*, III, 88):

Male etiam Curio, cum causam Transpadanorum aequam esse dicebat, semper autem addebat "vincat utilitas."

But Curio's attitude was both humane and sensible, since it was clear that the senate was not going to extend citizenship beyond the Po.

In 66 M. Cicero, *praetor de repetundis*, and C. Caesar, *senator quaestorius*, favored the passage of the *lex Manilia de imperio Cn. Pompei*, while Catulus and Hortensius led the attack on the bill. However, the conservative senators were by no means unanimous in opposition. Cicero names four *consulares* who favored the bill (*Leg. Man.*, 68): P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus (cos. 79), Curio, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus (cos. 72),

²⁸ Cicero naturally introduced his reference to Curio with complimentary words (18): *quem ego hominem honoris potius quam contumeliae causa nominatum volo*.

²⁹ For Pompey's support of the prosecution of Verres cf. A. M. Ward, "Cicero and Pompey in 75 and 70 B.C.," *Latomus*, XXIX (1970), pp. 58-71 (especially 61-2, 67); E. S. Gruen, "Pompey, Metellus Pius, and the Trials of 70-69 B.C.," *A.J.P.*, XCII (1971), pp. 1-16.

C. Cassius Longinus (cos. 73).³⁰ It is worthy of note that the first two were *triumphatores*,³¹ and are praised accordingly, Curio in these words: *summis vestris beneficiis maximisque rebus gestis, summo ingenio et prudentia praeditus*. No further explanation of Curio's position, probably expressed by his *sententia* in the senate, is necessary beyond Curio's knowledge of eastern military and political affairs gained by extensive contacts there, and his knowledge of the administrative and military ability of the man proposed. Curio had no reason to favor Pompeius Magnus for his own advancement, as both Cicero and Caesar had.

In 65 Cicero in his defense of C. Cornelius commented upon the rather dishonorable pact between Curio and Metellus Nepos which is discussed above. Since it suited Cicero's purposes he spoke of it as honorable and uses for Curio the words *virtus ac dignitas*. In 63 Cicero was supported in the debate on the Catilinarian conspiracy by Curio,³² but to be sure the senior consul had an overwhelming majority among the *consulares* in the senate (*Att.*, XII, 21, 1; *Phil.*, II, 12-14). Curio in all probability had already conceived grave suspicions concerning

³⁰ Cf. M. Gelzer, *Pompeius* (2nd ed., Munich, 1959), p. 80: ". . . alle gute Optimaten. . ."

³¹ Vatia in 88 and 74; Degrassi, *I.I.*, XIII, 1 (1947), 563, 564.

³² In July, 61 Cicero made a cryptic statement on Afranius in a letter to Atticus (I, 16, 13): *sed heus tu, videsne consulatum illum nostrum, quem Curio antea ἀποθεῶσιν vocabat, si hic factus erit, fabam mimum futurum?* The text and interpretation of the last three words present an insoluble problem: the best guess is that of W. Allen, "Stage Money (*fabam mimum*: Cic. *Att.* I. 16. 13)," *T.A.P.A.*, XC (1959), pp. 1-8; the most recent that of P. T. Eden, "*Faba Mimis*," *Hermes*, XCII (1964), pp. 251-5. The first part of the sentence has been taken to mean that Curio approved of Cicero's consulship,—clearly a misinterpretation. Incidentally, Allen is quite correct when he rejects sarcasm in Curio's remark (p. 3, n. 9). Shackleton Bailey has this comment on the passage (no. 16): "Not 'my Consulship,' but 'that Consulship I am always talking about,' i.e. the institution. . . ." This is quite correct, but does not go far enough. Cicero was a genuine *novus homo* (from *eques* to *consularis*) who raised his family to the nobility. Curio, the son of a *praetorius*, partook of *novitas* and likewise ennobled his family. Hence he is using this word (*apotheosis*) with a keen sense of subtlety to mark the rise to the consulship of a man whose family had not before held that office.

Caesar's aims and policies, but this did not prevent him, if Plutarch can be trusted (*Caes.*, 8, 2), from protecting Caesar from the threats of Cicero's bodyguard of knights when the senate adjourned on December 5.³³

Thus far Curio's career in chronological order, but two topics out of order—his attitude on religion and his oratorical ability. Two incidents in this period show his concern with religious rites. In his consulship he proposed to the senate that a committee of senators be sent to Erythrae to bring to Rome Sibylline verses. About a thousand were brought back and placed in the Capitolium which was then being restored by Catulus.³⁴ In this he was acting in his official capacity, but the other incident more clearly indicates his religious views. During his campaigns in Macedonia he at one time delayed action because of the Vulcanalia (Sall., *Hist.*, III, 50 M.).

At some period Curio and M. Terentius Varro became friends. It may have been in 70-67 or 62-55 when both were certainly in Rome. Varro composed *Logistorici*, all or many in dialogue form. One was the *Curio de decorum cultu* in which Curio was probably the chief interlocutor.³⁵

³³ Suetonius (*Iul.*, 14, 2) places the scene in the senate on December 5, and adds *pauci complexu togaque obiecta protegerint*, but the *manus equitum Romanorum* could not have been in the senate. Sallust (*Cat.*, 49, 4) places the threat as Caesar was leaving the senate on December 4. H. E. Butler and M. Cary in their edition of Suet., *Iul.* (Oxford, 1927) suggest that it was Curio *filius* who protected Caesar. This is possible since Cicero's guard of *equites* was probably composed largely of *adulescentes* from senatorial families who would be enrolled in the *centuriae* of *equites* before they held the quaestorship. Of course there were older men too, for Cicero speaks of Atticus in that group (II, 1, 7: *te signifero ac principe*). However, it seems more likely that Caesar's protector was Curio *pater*.

³⁴ Fenestella, *Annales*, fr. 18: Peter, *F.H.R.*, II (Leipzig, 1906), 84 (pp. CVIII-CXIII on Fenestella; 79-87 *fragmenta*). This fragment is cited from Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, I, 6, 14, with a supplement from *de Ira Dei*, 22.

³⁵ Our information about the seventy-six books of the *Logistorici* is quite scanty: cf. Schanz-Hosius, I, pp. 560-1. Some were surely in dialogue form with the chief interlocutor named in the double title: e.g. *Sisenna de historia*, *Atticus de numeris*. I assume that Curio, Sisenna, and Atticus were honored by Varro as personal friends. On the other hand there are men named who were not acquaintances

At this point a random item may fit: Curio wrote a geography which the Elder Pliny used as a source for the third book of his *Historia Naturalis* (I. *index auct.* 3: Jan-Mayhoff, p. 15, 33). This interest may have been incited by his travels as a military man, or by his acquaintance with Varro. In either case we might speculate that one of the features of the work was an interest in shrines. Curio may have visited the shrine of the Sibyl at Erythrae on the Ionian coast of Asia Minor opposite the island of Chios when he was delegated by Sulla to restore Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes in 85. Hence could have arisen the delegation to Erythrae in 76. An inscription by the people of Oropus to Amphiaras names a C. Scribonius Curio as their patron. This is probably Curio *pater*, as Dittenberger noted.³⁶ Curio could have visited this notable shrine, twelve stades from the city of Oropus, in 86 when he was with Sulla at the siege of Athens, or more likely when as governor of Macedonia he would also hold the assizes in Attica.³⁷

Although Curio is linked as a noted orator with his father and his son,³⁸ his career in the courts does not qualify him for high praise, and Cicero's derogation of his ability in the *Brutus* seems to be justified.³⁹ As noted above he was surely unsuccessful in his prosecution of Metellus Nepos (*ca.* 97), suc-

of Varro (*Orestes de insania*). The Curio is cited by name by Probus, *ad Verg. Ecl.* 6, 31 (Thilo-Hagen, III, 2, 344, 1-2). The monograph by B. Cardauns goes into elaborate detail: *Varros Logistoricus über die Götterverehrung* (Würzburg, 1960). He concludes that Curio is the older man, not his son (pp. 68-73), and in that he is surely correct.

³⁶ *I. G.*, VII, 331. Dittenberger cites other inscriptions naming Romans of the period, including VII, 244 on P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus (cos. 79) and VII, 311 on Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus (cos. 72), who were similarly honored by Oropus.

³⁷ Pausanias, I, 34. Oropus had been part of Boeotia, but in the days of Curio and Pausanias was in Attica. There was a dream oracle there, as well as other fascinating religious rites.

³⁸ Malcovati, *O. R. F.*, no. 47 (*avus*), pp. 173-4; no. 86 (*pater*), pp. 297-303; no. 170 (*filius*), pp. 510-12.

³⁹ It has been suggested that the *Brutus* (especially 210-21) reflects the quarrel between Cicero and Curio in 61: Casimirus Morawski, "De contentionibus litterariis apud Romanos, imprimis apud Cicero-nem," *Eos*, XIX (1913), pp. 12-15. Morawski suggested that this disquisition on Curio was taken in part from a lost portion of the *in Clodium et Curionem*. I doubt this.

cessful in his defense of the Cossi (before 91), and deserted while giving a *contio* in 90. After his return with Sulla and his praetorship he was involved, probably in 79,⁴⁰ in the case of a woman named Titinia who indulged in the practice of magic according to Curio. This was probably not the formal *crimen* since Cicero specifies *in iudicio privato vel maxumo*. Ser. Naevius was opposed to Titinia. C. Aurelius Cotta and Curio appeared for Naevius, Cicero for Titinia. The sequel in Cicero's words (*Brut.*, 217):

. . . cum ego pro Titinia Cottae⁴¹ peroravissem, ille contra me pro Ser. Naevio diceret, subito totam causam oblitus est idque veneficiis et cantionibus Titiniae factum esse dicebat.

Without doubt Cicero won the case (cf. *Orat.*, 129). In the same passage Cicero tells us that in 76 the tribune Cn. Sicinius summoned the consuls to a *contio*. Octavius bandaged and smeared with salve because of his gout was seated while Curio spoke. The tribune jested:

"numquam," inquit, "Octavi, conlegae tuo gratiam referes; qui nisi se suo more iactavisset, hodie te istic muscae comedissent."

C. Julius Caesar Strabo, a wit and a more respectable orator, jested on the absurdity of Curio's *actus*; he asked (*Brut.*, 216) *quis loqueretur e luntre*. As a consequence Curio was mockingly nicknamed Burbuleius for an actor who was barely sane (*Sall. Hist.*, II, 25 M.; Valerius Maximus, IX, 14, 5; *Plin., H.N.*, VII, 55).⁴² I would doubt that Curio *triumphator* appreciated the joke.

⁴⁰ Muenzer (col. 863, 28-45) suggests this and connects it with Cicero's defense of *mulier Arretina* (cf. *Cic., Caec.*, 47). This is probable, but Schoell distinguishes the two cases (*pro muliere Arretina*, IV, p. 473; *pro Titinia*, XXXI, p. 484) without dating either. Malcovati (*O.R.F.*, no. 86, or. VI) is more doubtful and lists Curio's oration without a date: cf. pp. 290-1 (on Cotta).

⁴¹ Taking Cottae as a dative. Douglas (*ad* 217) cites the older view that Cottae was genitive with *uxore* understood, and adds "the older view still deserves consideration." Malcovati takes Cottae as a genitive with *uxore* understood: *Ath.*, XLVI (1968), p. 130.

⁴² We do not know who attached this name to Curio: it may have been our *homo Platonicus* who could not refrain from jesting on names

Cicero's judgment is harsh: of the five qualities necessary in an orator he grants him only one, namely *elegantia* (*Brut.*, 220), and it is for this quality that praise is put in the mouth of Antonius in the passage cited above (*de Or.*, II, 98).⁴³ It should be noted, however, that Antonius is arguing against the need for elaborate training. In the *Brutus* (210) Cicero suggests that Curio gained this quality *usu aliquo domestico*. He was (216) *cum tardus in cogitando tum in struendo dissipatus*. Cicero cites other examples of his failure in *memoria* (217-19). As a consequence, though he was zealous to speak, very few cases were offered to him (220). Cicero's fundamental criticism of Curio was that he lacked interest in cultural pursuits (213-14).

. . . quod neminem ex his quidem, qui aliquo in numero fuerunt, cognovi in omni genere honestarum artium tam inductum tam rudem. nullum ille poetam noverat, nullum legerat oratorem, nullam memoriam antiquitatis conlegerat: non publicum ius, non privatum et civile cognoverat.

He was hardly a man to appeal to Cicero. I suspect that the numerous references to him in this essay may well reflect personal distaste for the man as well as disapproval of his oratory.⁴⁴ Cicero does not refer to Curio as his *necessarius*.⁴⁵

and men. R. Syme suggested Sicinius: *Sallust* (Berkeley, 1964), p. 208. Nothing more can be attributed to Sicinius than we find in the passage quoted from the *Brutus*. Here we may note that it is not safe to use the references in *M.R.R.* without verification. Under Curio's consulship the statement "Curio opposed the efforts of the Tribune Sicinius . . . to restore the position of the tribunate (Cic. *Brut.* 216-222, and Quintil. *Inst. Or.* 11.3.129; Sall. *Hist.* 3.48.10M; Val. Max. 9.14.5; cf. Sall. *Hist.* 2.25M; Plin. *NH* 7.55), . . ." (II, pp. 92-3): Cicero has only the jests, nothing on Curio and the tribunate; Quintilian merely repeats the jests; the last three references are solely on the name Burbuleius and do not mention Sicinius. Only the reference to Macer's speech (see above) is valid.

⁴³ Douglas (*ad* 216) refers to this passage and continues "The explanation of the change to the almost venomous tone of the present passage is that when C. wrote the *de oratore* the elder Curio was still alive, and C. was anxious to remain on good terms with the younger. . . . Cicero now felt free to express his disgust at the elder Curio's incompetence as an orator."

⁴⁴ 182, 192, 210, 213-14, 216-20, 227, 234, 305, 311.

⁴⁵ Curio is never named as *necessarius* by Cicero: cf. R. J. Rowland,

Thus a new look at the references makes possible a revision in our opinion of Curio in the years from 125 to 62. There are strong indications that Curio, even in his youth, was independent and not closely linked to any *factio*. His career was hampered by the *novitas* of his *gens*. He attempted to gain advancement through oratory with indifferent results. His military ability brought him the patronage of Sulla and advancement. His old-fashioned views alienated him from the rising generation, and he probably became increasingly incapable of action which would give him the *auctoritas* that his *dignitas* deserved.

The Trial of 61: the Role of Curio

The spectacular clash between Cicero and Curio was in 61 when Curio was chief attorney for Clodius, *reus* on the charge of *sacrilegium*.⁴⁶ In December of the preceding year P. Pulcher dressed as a flute girl entered the residence of the *pontifex maximus* C. Caesar while prominent women were performing the rites from which all men were excluded. The matter was raised in the senate, referred to the college of *pontifices* and

C. J., LXV (1970), pp. 196-7 (a list of all extant references). Of course there must have been others for whom we do not have an extant reference. However, at one point in his invective of 55 in *Pisonem* Cicero refers to Pompey (*ter triumphans*) and Crassus (*ovans*), the former *necessarius*, the latter not (*Pis.*, 58). He then cites P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus, Curio, and L. Afranius. These were the living *triumphatores*: cf. R. G. M. Nisbet's edition (Oxford, 1961), *ad loc.* None of these four is ever cited as *necessarius*. Immediately Cicero mentions C. Pomptinus (praetor, 63) whose triumph was to occur after a long delay in the following year: *C. ipsi Pomptino, necessario meo*, . . . Surely we may assume from this distant acquaintance between Cicero and Curio, not friendly interchange. Even Crassus is *necessarius* (*Sest.*, 39; *Fam.*, 5, 8, 1).

⁴⁶ J. P. V. D. Balsdon has a detailed analysis of the events before, during, and after the trial in which he is rather sceptical of Cicero's account in his letters to Atticus (especially I, 16): "Fabula Clodiana," *Historia*, XV (1966), pp. 65-73. The attendance at the session of the senate at which there was a vote on the jury panel (*Att.*, I, 14, 5) was most unusual. For attendance at senatorial meetings cf. L. R. Taylor and R. T. Scott, *T. A. P. A.*, C (1969), pp. 530-5 (especially p. 532 with a list of seven meetings, including this one, at which there is evidence for the numbers present).

the *virgines Vestales*. Under the presidency of Caesar this plenipotentary religious group declared Clodius' action *nefas*. Caesar divorced his second wife Pompeia. The senate proposed that a special jury be empanelled, and ordered the consul M. Pupius Piso Frugi Calpurnianus to present this as a *rogatio*. The tribune Q. Fufius Calenus threatened a veto. Hence Clodius was tried by a jury chosen in the normal fashion. Before the trial Clodius, Piso, Curio *pater*, and Curio *filius* tried to ameliorate the conditions of the trial, and the *reus* held *contiones* attacking his enemies. Hortensius was a leader of the attack in the senate, Cicero had already indicated that he would give evidence that Clodius' alibi was false, and Cato pressed for action. Many of the conservative senators probably felt that this was a political rather than a religious matter, but in a vote on the jury panel the count was four hundred (a round number?) to fifteen. L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus (cos. 49) prosecuted, Curio defended, the jury was bribed, and Clodius was acquitted (thirty-one to twenty-five).

Before the trial Cicero, in the senate or in *contiones* or in both, joined the battle (*Att.*, I, 16, 1):

quos impetus in Pisonem, in Curionem, in totam illam
manum feci! quo modo sum insectatus levitatem senum,
libidinem iuventutis!

At the trial Cicero was a rather reluctant witness against Clodius. In fact his testimony was not very important since Aurelia and Julia, Caesar's mother and sister, had testified to the sacrilegious presence of Clodius at the rites (*Suet., Iul.*, 74, 2).⁴⁷ The bitter and lasting hostility between Cicero and Clodius derived not from the trial, but from Cicero's subsequent attack shortly after the trial. On May 15 at a meeting of the senate Cicero delivered a set speech and engaged in an *altercatio* with Clodius. Although Cicero does not specifically state this, Curio was probably present. Two problems are of

⁴⁷ There were other witnesses: Lucullus who testified that Clodius had committed incest with his sister, his divorced wife (*Cic., Mil.*, 73); Caesar who testified that he had found out nothing (*Suet., loc. cit.*). Seneca's unique testimony that Cato was a witness is surely part of the fictitious legend of Cato (*Ep.*, 97, 3).

special interest here: when was the speech published? and why had Curio acted as *patronus* for Clodius?

The details of the trial and of the senate meeting on May 15 are included in a letter to Atticus dated by Shackleton Bailey at the beginning of July (I, 16). Cicero quotes from the set speech (9) and from the *altercatio* (10). The logical conclusion from this letter is that Cicero had already circulated the written version. This was his normal practice.⁴⁸ The only reason for Cicero to refrain from publishing a speech which had pleased him was to avoid future enmity with his former protégé Clodius.⁴⁹ It would have been discreet to avoid this open break, but this was not the only time Cicero found discretion difficult, and it would have taken a better prophet than Cicero to foretell the disastrous results. On the other hand there is not the slightest evidence, contemporary or in Quintilian, that Curio published any of his forensic speeches.⁵⁰ Surely he did not

⁴⁸ I agree with the thesis set forth by L. Laurand, *Études sur le style des discours de Cicéron*, I (2nd ed., Paris, 1925), pp. 1-23. All of the relevant references are collected and discussed in detail by J. N. Settle, *The Publication of Cicero's Orations* (University of North Carolina dissertation, 1962). His major conclusions, with which I agree, are that generally the orations were published quickly by Cicero, and with only minor variations from the spoken versions. He makes three exceptions: the consular speeches (which I plan to discuss in another paper); *pro Ligario* (which I discuss in a paper "*In Ligarianam*," *T.A.P.A.*, CI [1970], pp. 317-47), and this speech. He considered this speech the oration which was unexpectedly distributed in 58 (pp. 105; 172, n. 9; 299, no. 16). I argue below that the speeches were separate and distinct, which in fact buttresses Settle's major thesis. A few examples of rapid publication: *post reditum in senatu* which was read from manuscript as Cicero said in his *pro Plancio*, 74 (Settle, p. 170); *de domo* which was ready for publication within three weeks of its delivery (Settle, p. 184); *Philippicae*, V, X, which were delivered January 1 and early in February had been read by M. Brutus by April 1 (Settle, p. 282).

⁴⁹ Plutarch (*Cic.*, 29, 1) probably exaggerates the earlier cordial relations of Cicero and Clodius.

⁵⁰ Cicero's judgment in the *Brutus* is clearly based on hearing Curio speak. Quintilian twice refers to Curio, but in each case draws his information from Cicero. His first comment is from a lost passage (VI, 3, 76): . . . *Cicero Curionem, semper ab excusatione aetatis incipientem, facilius cottidie prooemium habere dixit.* . . . The index of Radermacher's edition cites this on Curio *filius*, but it is better to

publish the speech he gave at the trial. Moreover that speech probably contained no more concerning Cicero than some remarks impugning Cicero's credibility as a witness. Also, although Cicero's speech is entitled by those who later refer to it as *in Clodium et Curionem*, only one fragment mentions Curio, and then not by name.⁵¹ This is in marked contrast to the virulence of the invective against Clodius. It is a reasonable assumption that Clodius was offended by Cicero's diatribe in the senate and by his own unsuccessful attempt to bait Cicero in the *altercatio*, but such interchanges often occurred, and since the senate met *in camera* could be quickly forgotten. However, a written version, circulated among the aristocrats, was another matter, and that hatred which finally accomplished Cicero's exile (with Caesar's aid) must surely have been ignited by publication in 61, while Clodius was in Sicily as quaestor.⁵²

Cicero's comment on the *levitas senum* in 61 is at variance with his public comments both earlier and later on Curio. In 56 in his attack upon Vatinius Cicero said of Curio (24): . . . *C. Curionem, perpetuum hostem improborum omnium, auctorem publici consilii in libertate communi tuenda maxime liberum* . . . Of course he could be fairly unscrupulous both in invective and panegyric when it suited his purpose, but in a private letter to his brother in February, 56 he classified Curio among the *boni* (II, 3, 2). Consequently an explanation of Curio's role in the trial is in order. W. W. How suggested that ". . . he

take *aetas* as "old age" than as "youth": Malcovati (*O.R.F.*, p. 298) assigns it to Curio *pater*. The other passage (XI, 3, 129) picks up Cicero's jests about Curio (*Brut.*, 216-17). Obviously Quintilian did not have available any of Curio's speeches.

⁵¹ Fr. 21 Schoell, 20 Puccioni. The Scholiast from Bobbio twice said that both were attacked: in the *argumentum* of the *in Clodium et Curionem* (85, 7 St.) and in his comments on the *in Vatinius* (148, 25-7). However this may be a mere inference from the title of the oration—a title which is post-Ciceronian. We cannot tell how much of this commentary is missing since it ends in a *lacuna* (Stangl, 91, 28 commented "*Incertum est quantum desit*").

⁵² For the influence of the published orations with a wide public cf. Settle, pp. 46-54. O. E. Schmidt's suggestion that this oration was published, but was restricted to a narrow circle of friends, is untenable: *N.Jb.*, VII (1901), pp. 622-4. Not even Atticus could have restrained himself from revealing the contents.

may have supported Clodius out of enmity to Caesar, whom Clodius had wronged and dishonoured."⁵³ Although it is quite possible that Curio already opposed Caesar, his vitriolic comments on Caesar are datable later, and I doubt that the elder man was much concerned with Caesar's dishonor. Shackleton Bailey suggested that "His attitude in the Bona Dea affair may have been determined by his son's relations with Clodius."⁵⁴ Both opinions are too peremptory and the latter requires some comment.

Curio *pater* was born about 125, Curio *filius* probably in 82 or 81 as I argued above. This means that the father was past the first flush of youth when his son was born—a longer generation gap than usual, and much had changed at Rome in those years.⁵⁵ Before the trial Cicero referred to the younger man in unkindly fashion as *filiola Curionis* (*Att.*, I, 14, 5). In 44 Cicero expatiated upon the homosexual liaison of M. Antonius and young Curio, and pictured himself as intervening between father and son (*Phil.*, II, 44-6): a dramatic scene. The two young men were united in *matrimonio stabili*; Antonius at night crept into the house over the roof-tiles *hortante libidine*; Antonius is forbidden the house. Then the confrontation of father and son in the presence of Cicero:

Recordare tempus illud cum pater Curio maerens iacebat in lecto; filius se ad pedes meos prosternens, lacrimans, te mihi commendabat; orabat ut se contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagens peteret, defenderem. . . . Patri persuasi ut aes alienum fili dissolveret;

Plutarch's account of Antonius' association with Curio and Clodius (*Ant.*, 2, 3-4) and Antonius' departure for the east in 58 suggest a date for this interview not far from the time of the trial of Clodius. In this connection we may quote Valerius Maximus (IX, 1, 6):

Consimilis mutatio in domo Curionum extitit, si quidem forum nostrum et patris grauiissimum supercilium et fili

⁵³ *Cicero: Selected Letters*, II (Oxford, 1928), no. 5 (*Att.*, I, 14, 5).

⁵⁴ *Ad* 14 (I, 14), 5.

⁵⁵ On April 14, 49 Cicero had this comment on two of the new generation (*Att.*, X, 4, 6): *Haec Curionem, haec Hortensi filium, non patrum culpa corrumpit.*

sescenties sestertium aeris alieni aspexit, contractum famosa iniuria nobilium iuuenum. itaque eodem tempore et in isdem penatibus diuersa saecula habitarunt, frugalissimum alterum, alterum nequissimum.

Curio *filius* seems to have served a *tirocinium fori* with Cicero at about the time he was serving a *tirocinium libidinis* with Antonius. This is implied in the passage where Cicero speaks in high terms of the young man as an orator (*Brut.*, 280):⁵⁶

. . . ita facile soluteque verbis volvebat satis interdum acutas, crebras quidem certe sententias, ut nihil posset ornatius esse, nihil expeditius. atque hic parum a magistris institutus naturam habuit admirabilem ad dicendum; . . . qui si me audire voluisset, ut coeperat, honores quam opes consequi maluisset.

The second sentence seems to imply derogation of the father in training his son. The *ut coeperat* of the third sentence indicates some period of attendance on Cicero.

Seven letters from Cicero to Curio *filius* are preserved which clearly show Cicero's affection and admiration for his ability (*Fam.*, II, 1-7).⁵⁷ The first six are from 53 when Curio was with C. Pulcher in Asia, and the last from 51 when Cicero was in Cilicia. The most revealing is the shortest (*Fam.*, II, 2: first half of 53):

Gravi teste privatus sum amoris summi erga te mei patre tuo, clarissimo viro. Qui cum suis laudibus tum vero te filio superasset omnium fortunam, si ei contigisset ut te ante videret, quam a vita discederet. Sed spero nostram amicitiam non egere testibus. Tibi patrimonium dei fortunent; me certe habebis, cui et carus aequae sis et iucundus ac fuisti patri.

Cicero managed to write this *consolatio* in four sentences and fifty-nine words. He does not sound grief-stricken, and he apparently does not expect his young friend to be. Moreover the first three sentences all stress Cicero's regard for the son, not the father. The last is almost too obvious in its reference to

⁵⁶ For Curio *filius* as orator cf. Malcovati, *O.R.F.*, no. 170, pp. 510-12.

⁵⁷ W. K. Lacey (pp. 319-20: see note 5) incorrectly, I believe, discounts the friendship of Cicero and Curio *filius*.

the *patrimonium*. The whole brief note reminds us of Cicero's letter of congratulation to Atticus on the death of his cross-grained uncle Caecilius (*Att.*, III, 20). The term *clarissimus vir* had not yet become a senatorial title, but it was already much used of senators—hence no great compliment. I doubt that the old man would have died more happily with his scapegrace son at his bedside. In fact Curio *pater* by his death in 53 was spared knowledge of his son's marriage to Fulvia,⁵⁸ of his tribunate in 50, and of his disastrous African campaign in 49.

The situation at the time of the trial of Clodius is such that Curio *filius* was more closely associated with Cicero and M. Antonius than with his father. Consequently we may eliminate paternal devotion as the reason that Curio *pater* became the *patronus* of Clodius, and seek other grounds for his action. Cicero noted that Pupius Piso aided Clodius because of friendship (*Att.*, I, 13, 3), but does not claim this in the case of Curio. However, the year 61 must have been distasteful to the older man. Two of the consular senators who opposed Clodius had gained in excess the oratorical fame which Curio had been eager for but failed to attain: Hortensius, notable from 95 to his death in 50 as Cicero so well stated in the *Brutus* which starts and ends with him; Cicero, the acknowledged *rex iudiciorum*. Without doubt Curio resented both. Of Cato, who was so vigorous in pressing the case, Curio must have been contemptuous. That boorish *senator tribunicius* could not claim oratorical fame,⁵⁹ but he gained notoriety by plunging into street fighting in 62 (*Plut., Cato*, 27-9),⁶⁰ and he scorned senatorial

⁵⁸ On Fulvia cf. C. L. Babcock, "The Early Career of Fulvia," *A. J. P.*, LXXXVI (1965), pp. 1-32.

⁵⁹ I have, I hope, demonstrated this: "Cato the Younger: *loquax* or *eloquens*?" *C. B.*, XLVI (1970), pp. 65-75.

⁶⁰ Plutarch has an anecdote connecting Curio and Cato which has the ring of truth, except for one detail, especially if it is dated in 66 where Muenzer places it (col. 865, 29). *Cato*, 14, 4 (Perrin's translation): "For Curio, annoyed at the severity of Cato, who was his intimate friend, had asked him whether he was desirous of seeing Asia after his term of service in the army. 'Certainly I am,' said Cato. 'That's right,' said Curio, 'for you will come back from there a more agreeable man and more tame,' . . ."

protocol by appearing barefoot in public.⁶¹ Appearance for Clodius would then express some disapproval of these three who strove against him.

Another insult to Curio's *dignitas* was the fact that in this year Piso, the senior consul, also *senex*, had called on four other *consulares* out of order for delivering *sententiae*: C. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 67), M. Tullius Cicero (cos. 63), Q. Lutatius Catulus (cos. 78), Q. Hortensius Hortalus (cos. 69). Thus Piso passed over M. Perperna (cos. 92) who probably never attended the senate in these years,⁶² P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus (cos. 79), and Curio (cos. 76) both *triumphatores* who seem to have consistently attended meetings of the senate.

Still another facet of the politics of the day may have had its effect on Curio. Despite his deep interest in religious rites he was already *senex* when he was finally elected to membership in the college of *pontifices*, probably in 61 or 60.⁶³ Perhaps he felt early in 61 that the senate and the *pontifices* were using religion too openly as a political weapon.

To summarize: In 61 Curio chose to swim against the current, but this is not too surprising. He had earlier exhibited independence of political ties, and now as *senex* he could choose his course without thought of the future. Moreover he was probably to some extent embittered by the changes which had occurred within his long lifetime, and may well have felt that Rome was endangered by *oratores novi, stulti adolescentuli*: to Curio Cato must have seemed *adulescentulus*, perhaps even

⁶¹ Plut., *Cato*, 6, 3; 44, 1 (as *praetor de repetundis* in 54 he heard cases barefoot and without a tunic); 50, 1 (after his repulse in the *comitia consularia* of 52 he showed his nonchalance by strolling in the forum barefoot and without a tunic). Curio was spared the sight referred to in the last item.

⁶² For Perperna's inactivity after his censorship in 86 cf. E. J. Parrish, *Influence of Consular Senators at Senate Meetings, 69 through 60 B.C.* (University of Pennsylvania dissertation, 1969), pp. 9-10.

⁶³ Muenzer reasonably supposed that he was already *pontifex* in 76 (col. 863, 51-2), but the late Miss Taylor brilliantly demonstrated that he gained membership late, probably in 60: "Caesar's Colleagues in the Pontifical College," *A.J.P.*, LXIII (1942), pp. 385-412 (especially pp. 399, 412), followed by Broughton, *M.R.R.*, II, pp. 182, 206. The first specific reference to him as *pontifex* is in Cicero, *de haruspicum responso* (12).

Cicero. His old-fashioned conservatism could now speak out even more freely. Had some rash youth (perhaps his son) asked him on what grounds he now opposed the New Left at Rome he could answer *senectute*, taking as his example Solon in face of Pisistratus.

Curio and Cicero in 60-53

One thing is certain about this period: Cicero was a key figure in the struggle, but Curio was not. About the time of Caesar's return from Spain Cicero said to Atticus (II, 1, 6): *quid si etiam Caesarem, cuius nunc venti valde sunt secundi, reddo meliorem?* Of course he was not able to enroll Caesar among the *boni*, but in December Balbus at Caesar's instance offered Cicero enrollment among the *mali* (Att., II, 3, 3): *is adfirmabat illum omnibus in rebus meo et Pompei consilio usurum daturumque operam ut cum Pompeio Crassum coniungeret*. After Cicero had defended Antonius in April, 59 and Clodius had been adopted into a plebeian family so that he might stand for the tribunate,⁶⁴ Cicero contemplated a *libera legatio* (Att., II, 4, 2; 18, 3) which would have taken him out of Rome and out of danger. Later he was offered the position as Caesar's *legatus* (II, 18, 3; 19, 5) or as a member of Caesar's agrarian commission (II, 19, 4).⁶⁵ Cicero refused all of these offers. Clodius as tribune for 58 was then allowed to take his revenge on Cicero. Clearly Caesar felt that Cicero must be won to his side, neutralized, or driven into exile.⁶⁶

During this same period Curio appears briefly in connection with the plot of Vettius. His son told him of Vettius' schemes and the two revealed this to Pompey (Att., II, 24, 2-3).⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Cf. Gelzer, pp. 124-5.

⁶⁵ On Caesar's attempts to gain Cicero's active co-operation cf. my article cited in note 48.

⁶⁶ Caesar probably stayed in or near Rome until Cicero was safely in exile. P. Grimal dated Caesar's departure for Geneva on March 10, 58, just one day before Cicero's departure into exile: *Études de chronologie Ciceronienne* (Paris, 1967), especially pp. 48-53, 148.

⁶⁷ The elder Curio was not the object of this strange plot, as is sometimes stated: e.g. Gruen, "Pompey, the Roman Aristocracy and the Conference of Luca," *Historia*, XVIII (1969), pp. 71-108. The reliable information about those named by Vettius is in this letter,

It is unquestionable that Curio was bitterly opposed to Caesar in 59. We cannot tell when this opposition arose, although it has been dated at the time of the formation of the so-called first triumvirate.⁶⁸ However, it may have had its inception much earlier, possibly when Caesar as quaestor or proquaestor in 68 tried to arouse the *Transpadani* (Suet., *Iul.*, 8), or when as aedile he restored the trophies of C. Marius in 65 (Suet., *Iul.*, 11). His protection of Caesar after the stormy debate over the death penalty for the followers of Catiline need not be a sign of his political agreement. He may well have seen the danger from Caesar earlier than Cicero did: some indication of this is to be found in his vitriolic criticism, published later, but with retrospective details. Moreover from 59 his attacks were levelled at Caesar. So far as we know he did not oppose Crassus, and the one reference to Pompey is made in the context of a bitter comment on Caesar. Our information comes from Suetonius who cites these charges: that Caesar was involved in the abortive (apocryphal?) conspiracy of 66 B. C. (*Iul.*, 9, 2-3: *C. Curio pater in orationibus*); that Caesar was the minion of Nicomedes (49, 1: *actiones Dolabellae et Curionis patris*). Again he reproached Cn. Magnus for marrying Julia when at the time of his divorcing Mucia, his third wife, he had called Caesar an Aegisthus (Suet., *Iul.*, 50, 1: *a Curionibus patre et filio et a multis*). Finally Suetonius

dated by Shackleton Bailey (no. 44) to "August (?) 59." In this connection the date of Vettius' "revelations" is not significant. In 59 Cicero made it clear that the role of Curio *pater* was solely in accompanying his son to a conference with Pompey. Later, either *lapsu memoriae* or to strengthen his attack on Vatinius Cicero speaks of both Curiones as the subject of the informer's guile (*Vat.*, 24), and this passage misled the ancient commentator (*schol. Bob.*, 139, 26 St. on *Sest.*, 132; and 148, 24-5 St. on *Vat.*, 24). The source material is collected in my article "*Vettius ille, ille noster indea*," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXX (1949), pp. 351-67. I still hold to the opinion that Vettius was consistently a secret agent for Caesar. Much has been written on this esoteric interlude: recently C. Meier, *Historia*, X (1961), pp. 88-96; R. Seager, *Latomus*, XXIV (1965), pp. 525-8; R. J. Rowland, *Historia*, XV (1966), pp. 221-3.

⁶⁸ Gruen says: "But the formation of the triumvirate, as so often, was a turning point. Curio, a persistent enemy of all *improbi*, found that event more than he could endure" (p. 84: see note 67).

reports the pungent phrasing of Curio (*Iul.*, 52, 3): . . . *Curio pater quadam cum oratione omnium mulierum uirum et omnium uirorum mulierem appellat.*

At first glance these references seem to indicate vigorous opposition to Caesar in the senate or in *contiones* at this time. However, we know that at some time later (probably about 55) Curio composed a dialogue which Cicero describes as an example of his erratic memory (*Brut.*, 218-19). The work is set when Curio, departing from a meeting of the senate in 59 at which Caesar presided, is met by Pansa⁶⁹ and his son. In this dialogue Curio attacks Caesar vigorously (*cum inueheretur in Caesarem*). Cicero mocks Curio for setting the dialogue in 59 but attacking Caesar for his administration in Gaul in subsequent years. Finally Cicero notes that although the dialogue is set as Curio leaves the senate in 59, he said (*in eodem sermone*)⁷⁰ that he never attended the senate when Caesar was consul. I have no doubt that there is the inconsistency, which Cicero would never have countenanced in his own works, of material beyond the dramatic date, but I am sure that Curio is correct in saying that he did not attend the senate in 59—even his bad memory would not have failed him on this point. All or some of the references in Suetonius are usually assumed to have come from this published dialogue, not from speeches actually delivered.⁷¹ We can as a result picture Curio as sulking in his "tenets" while Caesar was consul.

Shortly before Cicero went into exile Curio attacked him in a published diatribe. We do not know the reason for this attack. Cicero wrote a vigorous reply in the form of a speech, but did not circulate it. The sole evidence for these two items is in three letters written to Atticus from exile in 58. In the

⁶⁹ Douglas (*ad* 218) suggests that Pansa may have been a spokesman for Caesar.

⁷⁰ Cicero sometimes uses *oratio* and *sermo* interchangeably: e. g. *Sen.*, 3.

⁷¹ M. Gelzer, *Caesar* (Engl. tr., Oxford, 1968), p. 91, n. 2. Malcovati (*O. R. F.*, pp. 301-3) assigns all of these attacks (VII, 12-16) to this dialogue except that which named Pompeius where she has this comment on Curio (V, 9) "qui oratione quadam in senatu habita indignationem exprompsisse videtur." This is the very item which was most likely to appear in the dialogue.

first paragraph of this paper I noted that this reply of Cicero has been variously identified,⁷² usually as the *oratio in Clodium et Curionem* which was a conflation⁷³ of a set *sententia* and of an *altercatio* with P. Clodius in the senate on May 15, 61.⁷⁴ I have argued above that this speech was published about the middle of 61.

About the middle of 58 Cicero was informed by Atticus that his attack on Curio had been circulated, but that the harm done by it could be remedied. On July 17 Cicero replied with some perturbation (III, 12, 2): *Scripti equidem olim iratus, quod ille prior scripserat*. . . . He added that he had suppressed the speech, and that he could probably disown it since it was written rather carelessly (*neglegentius*). Moreover he had not quarrelled with Curio (*uno verbo*). Soon he was informed by Atticus that progress had been made in the senate. In his reply on August 17 he said (III, 15, 3): *Sed quid Curio? an illam orationem non legit?* Apparently he had a less favorable estimate from Axius. In a letter of October 5

⁷² The analysis in Schanz-Hosius (I, pp. 445-6) makes a good point of departure. They separate three items: the speech and *altercatio* of May, 61; a document, probably in the form of a speech, by Curio attacking Cicero; Cicero's rejoinder to Curio, also in the form of a speech. The first was not published, the third is represented by the fragments preserved in the *scholia Bobiensia*. This analysis goes against the evidence of Cicero's letter to Atticus (I, 16) since the reference to Clodius' *patronus* (I, 16, 10) is duplicated in the *scholia* (89, 3 St.), and the scholiast clearly had not the slightest doubt that the speech he had in his hands was the one delivered in 61 in the senate.

⁷³ Conflation seems not to have been Cicero's regular practice and it is specifically attested only here and for the defense of Cornelius in 65 (Asconius, *Orn.*, 50, 11-13 St.; cf. Plin., *Ep.*, I, 20, 8). Conflation in *Cat.*, IV is possible.

⁷⁴ The fragments with commentary in *scholia Bobiensia* (85-91, 27 St.); Schoell, XIV, pp. 439-51; Puccioni, 88-104. Both Schoell and Puccioni cite the letters of 58 among the *testimonia*. The speech of 61 is considered that to which Cicero refers in 58 by Muenzer, col. 866; Tyrrell and Purser, *ad* 73, 3 (*Att.*, III, 15, 3), cf. *ad* 69, 2 (*Att.*, III, 12, 2); Shackleton Bailey, *ad* 57 (III, 12), 2, cf. *ad* 60 (III, 15), 3. Balsdon (see note 46) said that it (65) "was published (to his dismay) in 58."

Cicero mentions Curio's attack as though the interchange was no longer significant (III, 20, 5).⁷⁵

Cicero said *scripsi equidem olim iratus*, but in the fragments of the speech of 61 there is only one reference to Curio, and in that he is not named. Thus Cicero said in his report of the *altercatio* (I, 16, 10):

'quid' inquit 'homini Arpinati cum aquis calidis?' 'narra,' inquam 'patrono tuo, qui Arpinatis aquas concupivit' (nosti enim Marianas).

A mild comment, but the scholiast after citing four words *Illum patronum libidinis suae* is not content and explains *C. Curionem qui de proscriptione Syllana fundum emerat in Campania; . . .* (89, 3-4 St.). There is no evidence in Cicero that Curio had purchased the blood-stained property of the proscribed, and we must assign this to the conjecture of the scholiast or his source.

Cicero then said *quod ille prior scripserat*, but there is no evidence that Curio had specifically attacked Cicero either in the senate or at the trial. In his defense of Clodius I doubt that he did more than impugn Cicero's veracity as a witness, and this would be only a subsidiary issue since the evidence of Aurelia was the key proof of the prosecutor. Cicero's further comment *sed ita compresseram ut numquam emanaturam putarem* does not match his comment (I, 16, 1) *quos impetus in Pisonem, in Curionem*. The scholiast confirms the public character of the quarrel in 61 (85, 5-6 St.): *. . . visum Ciceroni est hanc orationem conscribere plenam sine dubio et asperitatis et facetiarum . . .* Cicero's comment *numquam accidit ut cum eo verbo uno concertarem* does not fit the situation in 61. Moreover Curio could not justly have taken offense at attacks in 61 whether by Cicero, Hortensius, or other senators: he was clearly going against the *auctoritas senatus*.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ These letters are dated by Shackleton Bailey July 17, August 17, and October 5.

⁷⁶ A few additional comments on these three passages. Cicero's suggestion that he disown the speech need not shock a generation in which statesmen regularly claim that they are "misquoted": but cf. Tyrrell and Purser I, pp. 48-9. Axius, who was a senator, might well have been better informed than the *eques* Atticus: cf. Klebs

My reconstruction is as follows. At some point in this period (60-58) Curio wrote an attack on Cicero and circulated it. Perhaps he resented Cicero's influence on his son, possibly he remembered Titinia or the trial of Clodius, more probably rumors of an alliance between Caesar and Cicero had kindled his anger as he sat at home nursing his hatred of Caesar.⁷⁷ His later diatribe against Caesar may show the character of this work. I would doubt that this was a *sententia* in the senate, for at this time Curio probably preferred to hide behind the written word. A copy came into Cicero's hands, and he on the spur of the moment composed (but did not revise: *scripta mihi videtur neglegentius quam ceterae*) an answer. To be sure no other orator could match Cicero in vituperation. However, danger from Clodius outweighed other considerations, and Cicero wisely decided not to publish his hastily composed *in-vectiva in Curionem*. Unwisely he did not destroy it and it may well have come to light when the *operae Clodianae* looted Cicero's properties in 58.⁷⁸

Curio's activities in the last six years of his life seem to have been limited. He supported the recall of Cicero from exile so strongly in 58 that he was reproached by Gabinius (Dio, XXXVIII, 16, 2-4). In 57 he was among the *pontifices* who approved of Cicero's claim concerning his *domus* (*Har. Resp.*, 12). In January of 56 he was involved in the debate on who should restore Ptolemy to the Egyptian throne (*Fam.*, I, 4, 1: *Eo die acerbum habuimus Curionem*, . . .), but we

in *R.-E.*, s. v. "Axius 4." Atticus may have exaggerated the possibility of recall to soothe Cicero's pain—he did just this in 48 (*Att.*, XI, 6, 2 from Brundisium, November, 48): '*Crede' inquis 'mihi.' Credo equidem, sed scio quam cupias minui dolorem meum.*' The third passage is vague, as are many items in the correspondence with Atticus since we do not have any of the replies of Atticus. Perhaps here we are to understand that Curio's attitude is so favorable that the possibility of alienating him is past.

⁷⁷ *Fama* flew as rapidly in the Roman Forum as in the *Aeneid*. A good example from 51 is Caelius' report to Cicero (*Fam.*, VIII, 1, 4): *Te a. d. VIII K. Iun. subrostrani (quod illorum capiti sit!) dissiparant perisse. Urbe ac foro toto maximus rumor fuit te a Q. Pompeio in itinere occisum.*

⁷⁸ As suggested by Allen (see note 32).

do not know whether he favored Pompey or Lentulus Spinther.⁷⁹ Perhaps he renewed his intellectual interests in these days and composed his geography. Also he may have enjoyed the companionship of Varro. Curio's mind was surely not so circumscribed as Cicero would have us believe. In 53 he died,—fortunate in avoiding the sight of one more civil war.

One question arises, why did Curio speak in favor of Cicero in 58 and 57? Cicero's exile proved of course that he had not given way to Caesar's attempts to win him. Indeed the older man may have felt real sympathy for Cicero in his time of trouble, and this would account for his aiding in Cicero's recall and as *pontifex* in the moot point as to whether Cicero's house had been duly consecrated. Curio's sense of honor could in such a case overcome any feeling of personal grudge. We need not assume that Pompey intervened with Curio as he almost certainly did with Metellus Nepos (cos. 57). Possibly Curio had a wry sense of humor and could now balance *officium* and *beneficium*—thus restoring his balance with the younger man.

The supreme irony in Curio's career was posthumous. The younger Curio with that incredible extravagance which characterized some of the politicians of his day honored his father's memory and furthered his own career by giving games in two wooden theaters which revolved to form an amphitheater (Plin., *H. N.*, XXXVI, 116-20). Thus he squandered a patrimony inherited from a frugal father⁸⁰ so thoroughly that he was rescued by Caesar in 50 by a huge bribe (Dio, XL, 60, 2-3).⁸¹

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⁷⁹ Gruen (p. 84, see note 67) assumed that he opposed any additional grants to Pompey, but Cicero's comment is so ambiguous that it is not safe to speculate.

⁸⁰ Curio *pater* seems to have had only moderate resources in his early life. He probably improved his financial position by his service in the east with Sulla, and as *triumphator* in 72 he would have attained real wealth. He was able to rescue his son who had become guarantor for the debts of M. Antonius. He seems to have been modest in his own expenses and as a consequence to have left a considerable sum for Curio *filius* to squander.

⁸¹ I wish to thank my friend, Professor Allen M. Ward of the University of Connecticut, for many valuable suggestions.

THE DATE OF THE *SENATUS CONSULTUM*
DE AGRO PERGAMENO.

The important Republican document, which I propose to study here, has long been known in two fragmentary Greek copies from Adramyttium (A) and Smyrna (B). Recently Sherk has reexamined the Smyrna copy and published an excellent revised text, supplemented in places from A. I shall use this as a basis for my discussion.¹ Scholars now generally agree on dating the document 129 B.C. Indeed David Magie has been left almost alone in opposition, since, if others have doubts, they do not appear to have voiced them.² Yet this accepted dating has had awkward consequences. It has led many to discount absolutely Appian's assertion that the Greek cities formerly subject to Pergamum were not taxed by Rome before 123 B.C. It has also complicated discussion of C. Gracchus' law on the Asiatic taxes, since it seems to show *publicani* active in the province already by the early months of 129 B.C.—presumably under contracts let by the censors of 131 B.C., as Tibiletti has argued.³ Now one of the consuls at the time of

¹ For the texts see *I.G.R.R.*, IV (1927), 262 (Adramyttium); A. Passerini, *Athenaeum*, N.S. XV (1937), pp. 252-83 (Smyrna). For Sherk's revision and good commentary see *G.R.B.S.*, VII (1966), pp. 361-9 and *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (1969), pp. 63-73 (no. 12). He underlines letters read by Passerini, but no longer surviving on fr. b owing to a fresh break.

² See Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950), II, pp. 1005 f., n. 25. Acceptance in standard works has made the 129 B.C. dating canonical. I note as examples Broughton, *M.R.R.*, I (1951), pp. 496 f.; L. R. Taylor, *Voting Districts* . . . (1960), pp. 170-5; Greenidge and Clay, *Sources for Roman History* . . .² (1960: revised by E. W. Gray), p. 23 and App. II A (p. 278); C. Nicolet, *L'ordre equestre* . . . , I (1966), pp. 348-50.

³ See Appian, *B. C.*, V, 1, 4 (M. Antonius' speech to Asiatic Greeks); Rostovtzeff, *S.B.H.H.W.* (1941), II, pp. 811-14; Sherk, *Roman Documents*, p. 72; G. Tibiletti, *J.R.S.*, XLVII (1957), pp. 136-8. Scholars have shown remarkable ingenuity in reconciling the new "fact" with previous knowledge.

the decree was certainly M'. Aquillius.⁴ But *were* the two consuls mentioned in line 9 the consuls of the current year? If they were, then enough remains of one name to rule out 101 and impose 129 B. C. instead.⁵ Historians have perhaps too tamely accepted this basic proposition since Passerini first framed it in 1937. It is in fact most precarious.⁶

We must go right back to the bare text of lines 5-12, forgetting most modern supplement. The investigation of the Pergamene boundary dispute was carried out by an urban praetor at Rome and this is the vital clue for understanding the passage which brings in the consuls. All that can be read with reasonable certainty is the following:

5 [---ca. 14---] περὶ δὲ τῆς χώρας, ἣτις ἐ[ν ἀντιλογίᾳ ἐστὶν κα
[---ca. 15---]
[---ca. 10---] ὅπως περὶ τούτων] τῶν πραγμ[άτ]ων, περὶ ὧν λόγους
ἐπ[οίησαντο] ---ca. 6---]
[---ca. 10---] στρατηγὸς ἐ]πιγινῶ τίνας ὄρο[ι] Περγαμῶν εἰσὶν
[---ca. 15---]
[---ca. 23---] σμα ὑπεξειρημέ[νο]ν πεφυλαγ[μένον] ---ca. 18---]
[---ca. 28---] νιος ὕπατοι ἀνὰ μέ[σ]ον ἀφ[τῶν] ---ca. 15---]
[---ca. 20---] στρατ[η]γὸς κατὰ δῆμον[---ca. 24---]
[---ca. 24---] ἐπιγινῶ περὶ τούτων τῶ[ν] πραγμάτων ---ca. 15---]
[---ca. 10---] ὡσαύτως τ]ῇν σύγκλητον θέλειν κα[---ca. 24---]

⁴ [-----] ὕλλιος ὕπατος ὅταν αὐτῷ φαίνεται (line 17). The lettering of Copy A seems to fit the late second century; together with topographical considerations and the apparent immunity of Pergamum at the time of the decree this rules out M. Tullius Decula (cos. 81 B. C.). M. Tullius Cicero is quite out of account. See Sherk, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 63 and 68 with n. 1.

⁵ All that survives is [----] νιος ὕπατοι ἀνὰ μέ[σ]ον ἀφ[τῶν] ---]. The younger Aquillius' colleague was, of course, C. Marius; the elder's was C. Sempronius Tuditanus.

⁶ *Op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 258-61. His followers admittedly have been more positive than Passerini himself, whose judicious treatment should have been a warning.

⁷ I base this on Sherk's text, taking over his underlining (on which see my note 1). Copy A provided the evidence on the praetor. As Foucart saw, it was in form a letter from a Roman official communicating the praetor's decision to Adramyttium. This is clear from the construction in lines 1 ff. (third person and accusative): [-----] ατ[. .]ον[πρὸ ἡμερῶν τριῶν καλανδῶν][---ca. 12---] ἐν[κομεσίῳ μετὰ|συμβουλίου ἐ]πεγνωκότα δό[γματι συγκλή]του περὶ χώρας ἣ[τις ἐν

The praetor's decision was not given until the very end of June. If the year was 129 B. C., M'. Aquillius will long since have departed for Asia and even Tuditanus must have had to proceed to Histria by early May.⁸ Both these events were surely foreseen. So there could hardly have been any serious question of one of the consuls reporting back the praetor's verdict to the Senate, as Passerini envisages in his reconstruction.⁹

The Pergamene boundary dispute has to be seen against the background of Attalus III's will. He had left Pergamum "free" and at the same time had assigned definite territory to the city, which was presumably intended to be immune from tax. He seems to have excluded from his grant certain royal lands, which Rome will have inherited. The Romans evidently respected Pergamum's special status, even when they taxed the other Greek cities.¹⁰ The *publicani*, however, could challenge

ἀντιλογία ἐστὶν δημοσίῳ | [ναὶ πρὸς Περγαμῆνους. I would suggest that the clause was governed by ὑμᾶς πυνθέσθαι βούλομαι. The restoration [στρα]τ[ηγ]ὸν—already almost inevitable—was seemingly clinched by the [---]ηγος κατὰ δῆμον of Copy B, line 10. But I doubt whether this phrase can translate *praetor urbanus*. The normal rendering is *στρατηγὸς κατὰ πόλιν* (*I. G.*, XII, 3, 173, 16 f.—from 105 B. C.; *S. I. G.*,³ 732,4—from 94 B. C.). Passerini (*op. cit.*, pp. 256 f.) can quote only *I. G. R. R.*, IV, 96 (*στρατηγὸς δῆμον Ῥωμαίων*) as a parallel—and this is of Hadrianic date! Perhaps we should consider reading κατὰ δῆμον [ἐκάτερον?] or even κατὰ δημοσ[ιωνῶν] instead.

⁸ The date of the decision (*a. d. III k. Quinct.*) is assured by the *Κοινκρελίων* of Copy B, line 21. For Aquillius note Justin, XXXVI, 4, 10: . . . M'. Aquillius consul . . . *ad eripiendum Aristonicum Perpernae . . . festinata velocitate contendit*. Passerini himself noted Aquillius' sense of urgency (p. 263). For Tuditanus' triumph see *Inscr. Ital.*, XIII, 1, p. 83 (Oct. 1st 129 B. C.). He was still in Rome at the time of the Latin festival (April?): see Cic., *de rep.*, I, 9, 14 and 19, 31 with Appian, *B. C.*, I, 19, 78-80.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 258-61. Passerini's restoration basically runs thus: [ὅπως]----ὑπατοὶ ἀνὰ μέ[σ]ον αὐ[τῶν] φροντίσωσι ὅπως ἢ|[αὐτοὶ ἢ]----ὁ δεῖνα---στρατηγὸς---περὶ τούτων τῶ[ν] πραγμάτων εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον|[ἀπαγγεῶσι]----]. Sherk simply took it over.

What Latin would this represent? Presumably something like "utique]-----consules inter se curarent ut aut ipsi aut---praetor-----de eis rebus senatui renuntiarent." This is possible Latin, but realistically—in 129 B. C.—only the praetor was likely to be in a position to report back after the case had been judged.

¹⁰ See *O. G. I. S.*, I, 338 and II, 435; Sherk's commentary on no. 435 (*op. cit.*, no. 11, pp. 60 ff.). Note in no. 338, 6 *προσορίσας αὐτῇ*

the city on two grounds. Either they could claim as royal land what Pergamum treated as its own or they could assert that Pergamum had encroached on the land of its neighbours. Significantly there is talk both of royal land and of Elaea—the port of Attalid Pergamum—in later arbitrations appended to the copy of the senate's decree in the Smyrna "dossier."¹¹ The fact that the other copy was set up in Adramyttium strongly suggests that that city too was involved in the boundary dispute as Pergamum's neighbour to the north.¹²

Passerini acutely spotted in line 8 the translation of the Roman formula *exceptum cavitumve*, which is found in the Lex Agraria of 111 B. C. The reference may be to some censorial regulation, but we cannot be certain even about that.¹³ It does, however, point the way to understanding line 9. Reference back to existing Roman rulings or arrangements is naturally common in these kinds of documents. The officials are named in the nominative with verbs such as ἔδωκε, διέταξαν, προσώρισε and συνεχώρησεν. Here the allusion would be to previous consular arbitration.¹⁴ Passerini himself noted the sug-

καὶ πολε[ιτικῆ] γ[ὰρ] χώραν ἣν ἔκριν[εν], on which Dittenberger has a good comment. Pergamum's status under Attalus III's will and under Rome is well discussed by Rostovtzeff, *S. E. H. H. W.*, II, pp. 811-14.

¹¹ For the later texts see Passerini, *op. cit.*, pp. 273 and 276; M. Segre, *Athenaeum*, N. S. XVI (1938), pp. 119-27; L. Robert, *Anatolian Studies presented to W. H. Buckler* (1939), pp. 227-30; Sherk, *op. cit.*, no. 54. Note [ἐ]κτὸς βασιλικο[ῦ] in line 7 of Passerini's fr. e (letter of Julius Caesar) and the allusions to Elaea in fr. f, lines 5 and 7 ([χ]ώρας Ἐλα[ιτικῆς] and [τῶν Ἐ]λαειῶν?). Both Rostovtzeff (*loc. cit.*) and J. H. Oliver (*G. R. B. S.*, IV [1963], pp. 141-3) argue that Pergamum's temple lands were involved in some way in the original dispute.

¹² This has been generally recognised, as by Passerini (*op. cit.*, p. 283). Robert (*op. cit.*, p. 228, n. 3) thought that Copy B was published at Smyrna because it was a *conventus* centre: Elaea (Pergamum's neighbour) was involved in the dispute along the south border—not Smyrna, whose territory was not contiguous. Sherk (*G. R. B. S.*, VII [1966], p. 365, n. 5) inclines to agree. This seems altogether more plausible than Passerini's view that Smyrna was directly concerned in the original arbitration and in Caesar's (pp. 274 f.).

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 255 and 257; *C. I. L.*, I², 585, lines 6 and 23 (partly preserved); Cic., *de invent.*, II, 135 (*ita cautum una quaque de re, ita . . . exceptum*).

¹⁴ From now on I quote normally for convenience from Sherk's

gestive parallel in ἀνὰ μέ[σ]ον αὐ[τῶν] with lines 3 ff. of the *S. C. de Oropiis*, where the consuls write: ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι βουλόμεθα ἡμᾶς — — ἐπεγνώκεναι περὶ ἀντιλογιῶν τῶν ἀνὰ μ[έσον] θεῶι Ἀμφιαράω καὶ τῶν δημοσιωνῶν γεγονότων.¹⁵ He also noted that the second epigraphic parallel for ἀνὰ μέσον—from Augustus' fourth Cyrene edict—concerned a judicial decision between two parties.¹⁶ He then argued that the only way in which two consuls could have been involved in the dispute between Pergamum and the *publicani* was by virtue of a senatorial decree empowering them to investigate. This was how the consuls of 73 B. C. became involved in the affair of Oropus and the *publicani*.¹⁷ These are all good points. It is therefore surprising to find Passerini rejecting this solution out of hand. The Senate, he argues, could not have allowed the matter to be reopened, if the consuls had once determined it on their authorisation.¹⁸ But can we be so sure? Those consuls may have been given a restricted brief or new facts might have emerged in the interval.¹⁹ And even points which they *had* decided would not necessarily be considered sacrosanct. In 135 B. C. the Senate invalidated a ruling made by Manlius Vulso and his senatorial commission in favour of Samos, preferring a Rhodian judgement. Still more pertinent is the Senate's decision—probably in 120 or 119 B. C.—to revoke the grant of Greater Phrygia to the King of Pontus. Little more than five years earlier this had been approved as part of M'. Aquillius' Asiatic settlement.²⁰

Roman Documents. See no. 9, 51 f. and 64 f.; 10, B 6; 17, 7 f.; 18, 53 ff., and 95 ff., 104 f.; 20, E 13 ff.; 23, 25 ff. and 38 ff.; 54 ff.; 25, 15 (?).

¹⁵ See Sherk, no. 23 (*S. I. G.*,⁸ 747); Passerini *op. cit.*, pp. 258 f.

¹⁶ *S. E. G.*, IX, 8, 68 ff.: ὧν δ' ἂν ἀπὸ μ[έσον] . . . κριταὶ δοθήσονται.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 258 f. ("suppergiù come i due consoli dell' anno 73 presiedettero la corte, che sentenziò fra Oropii e publicani . . . in forza di una disposizione senatoriale . . .").

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 259 ("ma non c'è nessuna probabilità che, se i consoli avessero già una volta regolata la questione per volere del Senato, questo fosse disposto riaprire il dibattito").

¹⁹ Perhaps we could supply ἀνὰ μέ[σ]ον αὐ[τῶν] καὶ Ἑλαττων ἐπέγνωσαν] in line 9 f. That would mean that Adramyttium and other neighbours, also the royal land and possibly temple estates, were not involved.

²⁰ For 135 B. C. see Sherk's commentary (p. 58) on his no. 10, B 4-12. For the *S. C. de Phrygia* (*O. G. I. S.*, II, 436) see now Sherk, no. 13. Sherk wants to date it soon after Mithradates V's death,

Now this view of line 9 could be squared at first sight with the 129 B. C. dating of the Pergamene affair. It has become so firmly entrenched that many may not readily be prepared to abandon it, even after the only cogent argument has been refuted. The consuls of line 9 could conceivably be L. Valerius Flaccus and P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus.²¹ But other evidence in fact rules this out.

We have just enough texts of senatorial decrees to be able to trace certain changes in formulation over generations. In the *S. C. de Narthaciensibus* (140 B. C.?) and the *S. C. de Prieniensibus* of 135 B. C. we find that gifts are to be provided for each embassy at a specified cost of 125 sesterces.²² Later a general phrase is substituted. In the *S. C. de scaenicis Graecis* of 112 B. C. and the *S. C. de Astypalaeis* of 105 B. C. gifts were simply authorised *ex formula*. The same phrase was used in the *S. C. de agro Pergameno* and in decrees of the Sullan period.²³ Now clearly it *could* have emerged as early as 129 B. C., but there are other weightier points to consider. In the *S. C. de Astypalaeis* and in decrees firmly dated before it we find *munus* (ξένια) alone in this context. But in a decree of 78 B. C. we have *munusque . . . locum lautiaque*, for which the Greek version offers ξενιά τε . . . τόπον παροχήν τε.²⁴ Now in the *S. C. de agro Pergameno* the text is here tantalisingly defective. I first print just what is reasonably assured:

[ὅπως τε Μάριος Ἀκ]ύλλιος ὕπατος ὅταν αὐτῷ φαίνεται θη[—^{ca.} 20 —]
[—^{ca.} 12 —] ξενιά τε κατὰ τὸ διάταγμα ἐὰν αὐτῷ φαίν[ηται τὸν
ταμίαν —^{ca.} 8 —]

probably in 119 B. C., (p. 77). The presiding officer was apparently C. Licinius P. f. Geta and that year is the latest possible for his praetorship. For the grant to Pontus see Appian, *Mith.*, 2, 13 and 8, 57.

²¹ Crassus' departure for Asia—despite his own eagerness—must have been delayed significantly by the dispute over the Asiatic command between himself, his colleague, and Scipio Aemilianus. See Cic., *Phil.*, XI, 8, 18.

²² Sherk, no. 9, 67 ff.; 10, A 9 ff. and B 12 ff.

²³ Sherk, no. 15, 64 ff.; 16, 9 ff.; 12, 17 ff. (Pergamum); 18, 89 ff.; 22, 13 f. (Latin version) and 25 f. (Greek); the Greek for *ex formula* is κατὰ τὸ διάταγμα throughout. In Caesar's day we have κατὰ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἔθος instead (Sherk, no. 26, col. b 23 ff.).

²⁴ Sherk, no. 22, 13 (Latin) and 25 f. (Greek). The Caesarian formula omitted *munus*: see Sherk, no. 26, 24 (τόπους χορήγια only).

[—^{α.12}— κελεύ]σῃ οὕτως καθὼς ἂν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων [πραγμάτων
πίστεως τε]
[τῆς ιδίας φαίνεται. ἔδοξεν].

At first sight there seem to be two separate recommendations to the consul in office. But it would be difficult to restore a plausible first clause in the space available and I cannot see how to make sense of the only surviving letters *θη*. Passerini indeed thought that they were the first two letters of the name of a Pergamene envoy and that the mason had clumsily repeated *ἐὰν αὐτῷ φαίνεται*, as another certainly cut *ἐπεγνωκέναι* twice in lines 4 f. of the *S. C. de Oropidis* (Sherk, no. 23). This is all fairly plausible and Sherk accepted Passerini's restorations with only minor modification—*τόπον παροχὴν* at the start of line 18, *μισθῶσαι* at its end and *ἀποστέλλαι τε* at the beginning of 19. The clause would thus be close in content to the one of 78 B.C., but the ordering of the elements is significantly different.²⁵ By this criterion the *S. C. de agro Pergameno* should be later than 105 B.C. The restoration, however, remains uncertain and I therefore choose to rely instead on a formal feature which no one can deny. In the Sullan period and later, when the Senate recommends specific action by consuls or other officials, the tactful phrase *sei ei(s) videretur* is regularly added.²⁶ This addition is not yet found in either of the decrees of 112 B.C. or in the *S. C. de Astypalaeis* seven years later.²⁷ But it does occur in lines 17 f. of the *S. C. de agro Pergameno*, as we have seen, and Passerini was probably right in restoring it in line 7 as well. Its presence surely ties the document down to 101 B.C., where Magie wanted to put it.²⁸

²⁵ See Sherk, no. 12, 17-20 for what is basically Passerini's text; Passerini, *op. cit.*, pp. 261 f. Passerini read *ΘΗ*, but Sherk is doubtful and prints *ΘΙ*.

²⁶ Sherk, no. 18, 103 ff.; 20, E 4 f.; 22, 12 and 15 (Latin) and 24 f. and 28 f. (Greek). There is an apparent exception in the *S. C. de Stratonicensibus* of 81 B.C. (Sherk, no. 18, 88 ff.), but the current restoration may be faulty. The clause *could* refer to gifts already sent by Sulla to the envoys.

²⁷ Sherk, no. 14, 69 ff.; 15, 62-6; 16, 5-15. This bare form of recommendation is regular *before* 112 B.C. See Sherk, no. 2, 10 ff.; 7, 47 ff. and 58 ff.; 9, 67 ff.; 10, B 12 ff.

²⁸ Passerini completely missed the chronological significance of the

The consuls of line 9, I suggest, will have been the pair of 122 B. C.—Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Fannius. Arbitration over Pergamene boundaries was surely unavoidable in some form when C. Gracchus introduced his law on the Asiatic taxes. And at the least we can now again credit him with instituting the *decuma* and the associated *publicani* for Asia.²⁹

Finally I would look at the prosopographical evidence for the praetor's *consilium*. It really fits the 101 B. C. dating much better. The *consilium* was composed of at least fifty-five members. The first thirty-three are certainly senators, but many of the later names look equestrian. In 101 B. C. a mixed *consilium* need cause no real surprise. The knights after all were playing a prominent part in public affairs through the extortion and treason courts.³⁰ The last certain senator—L. Domitius Cn. f.—should be an Ahenobarbus, the consul of 94 B. C. He was probably either the most senior *quaestorius* or a very recent aedile. He must anyway have been in his late thirties and this gives a useful control for the panel as a whole.³¹ P. Popillius P. f. Ter. (no. 32) is presumably the son of the consul of 132 B. C. and the elder brother of C. Popillius Laenas, the legate of L. Cassius Longinus in 107 B. C. Both were still *adulescentes* when their father was recalled by Bestia's plebiscite in 120

phrase. He apparently restored it in line 7 because he thought that it was obligatory at all times ("siccome questa non può mancare"; p. 257).

²⁹ See my note 3 for some of the modern controversy on this. Broughton (*op. cit.*, I, pp. 497 and 501) tried to date references to Asian *publicani* in Lucilius (203-5 M.) before 123 B. C., but this can no longer be upheld.

³⁰ For a convenient list of the *consilium* see Sherck, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 f. Taylor (*op. cit.*, pp. 173 ff.) and Nicolet (*op. cit.*, pp. 348-50) thought that all on the *consilium* were senators, since it must on their view be dated before the first equestrian jury-courts. Syme (*C. P.*, I [1950], p. 137) and Badian (*J. R. S.*, LII [1962], pp. 208 f.) were less sure. For the date of the *lex Serviliae Glauciae* and the *lex Appuleia de maiestate* see pp. 163 f. of my article in *J. R. S.*, LX (1970).

³¹ Passerini (*op. cit.*, p. 269) proposed this identification with the 129 B. C. dating—but this is quite impossible. Broughton (*op. cit.*, I, p. 497) suggested an otherwise unknown uncle of the cos. 94 B. C. M. Antonius (cos. 99 B. C.) was born in 142 B. C. and L. Crassus (cos. 95) in 140 B. C. See Cic., *Brutus*, 43, 161. Domitius was surely about Crassus' age.

B. C.³² Gaius may have been below praetorian rank as a legate, like Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus under Aquillius in Asia. The brothers could have been in their very early twenties at their father's return. The elder would seem to have lagged behind the younger. That was not so unusual. We find the same phenonemon in the careers of Q. Minucius Rufus and Sex. Pompeius at this very time.³³

C. Numitorius C. f. Lem. (no. 29) should be the son of the moneyer of ca. 130 B. C. He is surely the man whom the Marians killed in 87 B. C.³⁴ With M. Cosconius M. f. Ter. (no. 12) we move out of the circle of Domitius' contemporaries and are presumably among the *praetorii*. This man will be the elder brother of L. Cosconius M. f., one of the moneyers for the Narbo colony, and son of the Macedonian governor of 135 B. C. The governor gave valuable assistance to Cyzicus and seems later to have served in some capacity in Asia—if indeed the honorific inscription from Erythrae (to M. Cosconius C. f.) belongs to *him*. He could well have been one of the five envoys sent out in 132 B. C. or a member of the ten-man commission that helped M'. Aquillius in settling the new province.³⁵

³² Passerini (*op. cit.*, p. 269) and Taylor (*op. cit.*, p. 247) agree with me on P. Popillius. This is barely possible on their dating, even if we interpret *adulescentes* in Cic., *post red. in sen.*, 15, 37 and *post red. ad Quir.*, 3, 6 as meaning that Publius was just over thirty—and Gaius just under—in 120 B. C. For Bestia see Cic., *Brutus*, 34, 128. For C. Laenas see Cic., *Brutus*, 25, 95 (P. f.) and Broughton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 552.

³³ For Ahenobarbus see Broughton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 505. In *post red. ad Quir.*, 3, 6 the Popillii *adulescentes* may be contrasted with Q. Metellus Pius *iam spectata aetate filius*. Praetor in 89 B. C. (Cic., *pro Archia*, 4, 7 f.) Pius was at least thirty in 99 B. C., when he helped secure his father's return. Q. Rufus was legate to his younger brother in Macedonia from 110 to 107 B. C. See Broughton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 544. Sex. Pompeius, Strabo's elder brother, apparently had no real senatorial career (Cic., *Brutus*, 47, 175).

³⁴ See Sydenham, *Roman Republican Coinage*, nos. 466 f.; M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coin Hoards* (1969), Table X; Appian, *B. C.*, I, 72, 332.

³⁵ For the governor see Broughton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 489. Münzer (*R.-E.*, IV, col. 1669) identified him with the man honoured in *I. G. R. R.*, IV, 1537 (Erythrae). Taylor (*op. cit.*, pp. 208 f.) doubted this, but as an alternative suggested that the record of the *consilium*

L. Memmius C. f. Men. (no. 5) must be the senator of high rank who was present in Alexandria as an envoy in 112 B. C. He was most probably the uncle of the ill-fated C. Memmius and his younger brother Lucius.³⁶ M. Pupius M. f. Scapt. (no. 3) is possibly the most senior *praetorius*. He will be the adoptive father of M. Pupius Piso. Piso seems to have been adopted in the late 90's, when M. Pupius was very old and infirm.³⁷ Just how old should we imagine him to have been at that time? He was evidently a near contemporary of Cn. Aufidius, the adoptive father of Cn. Aufidius Orestes (cos. 71 B. C.). Though blind and enfeebled by age, Cn. Aufidius continued to perform his duties as senator and counsellor into Cicero's boyhood. Broughton put his praetorship *ca.* 107 B. C., but without any very good reason. He could well have held the office a full decade earlier and this would fit M. Pupius also. Both men would then have been in their late sixties when they adopted their sons, which would have been old enough to justify Cicero's language under Roman conditions.³⁸ If C. . . . ius C. f. Men. (no. 2) is a *praetorius* still more senior than M. Pupius, the best guess would seem to be C. Fannius C. f. His name precedes P. Rutilius P. f. (Rufus) on a list of five envoys to Crete.³⁹ But

might be in error on the filiation. For the *legati* sent to Asia see Strabo, XIV, 1, 38. For the moneyer (Syd., no. 521) see Crawford, *op. cit.*, Table XI.

³⁶ See P. Tebt., I, p. 127, no. 33 and A. Wilhelm, *J. R. S.*, XXVII (1937), p. 145. For the brothers Memmii see Cic., *Brutus*, 36, 136. For the Memmii in Menenia see Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 233 ff. and T. P. Wiseman, *Num. Chron.*, 1964, pp. 156 f.

³⁷ For Piso see *R.-E.*, XXIII, col. 1987. He was adopted before 91 B. C. (Cic., *de orat.*, I, 22, 104). For the adoption see Cic., *de domo*, 13, 35.

³⁸ For Cn. Aufidius see *R.-E.*, II, col. 2298, no. 6; Cic., *Tusc.*, V, 38, 112 and *de fin.*, V, 19, 54 (with *de domo*, 13, 35); Broughton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 551 f. We should not press Cicero's *summa senectute* in the *de domo* passage too hard. He uses the same phrase about Q. Scaevola (cos. 117 B. C.) in the context of 90 B. C. (*Phil.*, IX, 10, 31) and describes him as already *confectus senectute* a decade earlier (*pro Rab. perd.*, 7, 21). Now Scaevola was born *ca.* 160 B. C., since he was still *adulescens* and *iam aetate quaestorius* in 129 B. C. (Cic., *de rep.*, I, 12, 18). Münzer (*R.-E.*, XVI, cols. 430 ff.) exaggerates his age. M. Pupius and Cn. Aufidius would have been Scaevola's close contemporaries.

³⁹ See *R.-E. A.*, XLIV (1942), pp. 31-51 and Broughton, *op. cit.*,

the man is more probably a consular and we can choose between C. Atilius Serranus and C. Flavius C. f. Fimbria.⁴⁰

L. Iulius Sex. f. Fal. (no. 7 on the list) can surely only be the son of Sex. Iulius Caesar (cos. 157 B. C.) and younger brother of the homonymous urban praetor of 123 B. C. In 90 B. C. his own son was consul, so that he was probably born *ca.* 160 B. C.—which suits the later dating of the *consilium* very well.⁴¹ So too in fact does the identification of no. 4 as C. Cornelius M. f. Cethegus, a presumed son of the consul of 160 B. C. Curiously champions of the 129 B. C. dating have used this identification, with those offered above for M. Pupius and L. Iulius Sex. f., as supporting evidence for *their* thesis. They have overlooked one important factor and not really thought through the consequences.⁴²

I, pp. 519 and 536 f. with n. 5. Rufus competed with Seaurus for the consulate of 115 B. C. (Cic., *de orat.*, I, 69, 280), so that he must have been praetor by 118 B. C.

⁴⁰ Willems already guessed Fimbria (*Senat.* . . , I, p. 700). Both names fit the available space. Atilius' filiation is unknown. Badian (*Historia*, XII [1963], p. 132) suggested Sex. f. and Camillia for his tribe, identifying him with no. 50 on this *consilium* (—ilius Sex. f. Cam.). Uncertain even on the 129 B. C. dating this thesis, of course, falls with that. The consul of 106 B. C. is probably the Atilius Serranus killed by the Marians in 87 B. C., together with no. 29 on this list. See Gabba's note on Appian, *B. C.*, I, 72, 332 (p. 197 of his edition). With other consulars he helped crush Glaucia and Saturninus in 100 B. C. (Cic., *pro Rab. perd.*, 7, 21), but otherwise Cicero thought little of him. Note *pro Plancio*, 5, 12 (*stultissimum hominem*).

⁴¹ See Münzer in *R.-E.*, XIX, cols. 183 f. (stemma of the Caesares) with 465 (no. 141) and 475 f. (nos. 148/149 and 150). With Taylor (*op. cit.*, p. 222) I believe that Falerna—instead of the Caesars' Fabia—arose from confusion between Fab. and Fal.; Sherk notes a similar confusion between Pup. and Pop. in this same document (p. 67: here the two copies differ).

⁴² Taylor (pp. 207, 249, 222 with 172) uses all three. Broughton (I, p. 497) and Sherk (pp. 71 f.) put most weight on L. Iulius Sex. f. The fatal flaw lies in a failure to notice that he is likely to be the *younger* brother of the urban praetor (who was presumably born *ca.* 165 B. C.) and so would not even be a *praetorius* by 129 B. C. Badian (*Acta of the Fifth Epigraphic Congress* . . . 1967 [1971], p. 209) clearly felt that 129 B. C. fitted the evidence on M. Pupius Piso's adoption best. But the adopter would then probably be in his eighties in the 90's! Cicero's *summa senectute* surely does not have to be pressed so hard. Sallust

There remains Q. Caecilius Q. f. Ani. (no. 1). The obvious choice is Metellus Balearicus, the censor of 120 B. C. He was the man who first gave effect to C. Gracchus' law on the Asiatic taxes. Unfortunately we cannot trace him with any certainty after 115 B. C. He may still have been alive in 101 B. C., but he seems to have been dead before the end of the following year.⁴³ Even if new evidence should show that Balearicus died before 101 B. C., however, there would still be a perfectly good identification for no. 1—namely Balearicus' son, who was consul in 98 B. C. Nepos could have been either *praetor peregrinus* or *praetor repetundarum* in 101 B. C. and as such a natural member of the urban praetor's *consilium*. The only peculiarity would seem to be the omission of his title.⁴⁴

There are then eight convincing identifications for members of the *consilium* and two plausible pairs of alternative choices. Champions of the 129 B. C. dating score far less satisfactorily. They can offer Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus as the senior consular and he was censor in 131 B. C., for them the crucial year. Otherwise there is just the possibility that no. 2 might be C. Laelius C. f.⁴⁵ On prosopographical grounds there is no reason for preferring any longer 129 to 101 B. C. and we must surely follow the other strong indications of the true date.

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uses *extrema aetate* of Q. Catulus in 63 B. C. (*Cat.*, 49, 2), when he was not yet even sixty. See *R.-E.*, XIII, col. 2082 (no. 8).

⁴³ Balearicus is known to have survived his father (*Cic.*, *de fin.*, V, 27, 82), but is mentioned neither in connection with Saturninus' fall nor with the recall of Numidicus. See *Cic.*, *pro Rab. perd.*, 7, 21; *post red. in sen.*, 15, 37; *post red. ad Quir.*, 5, 11.

⁴⁴ I can no longer urge C. Claudius Glaber (no. 2 on the *consilium* for the Oropus affair) as a parallel. Broughton still listed him as a praetor of that very year (73 B. C.) in *op. cit.*, II, p. 114; but he withdrew this suggestion in his *Supplement* (1960), p. 15. He was persuaded by the arguments of Taylor (*op. cit.*, pp. 176, n. 22, and 204)—which were reinforced by Badian in *Hist.*, XII (1963), p. 133.

⁴⁵ See Passerini, *op. cit.*, pp. 265 f.; Broughton, *op. cit.*, II, p. 488; Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 172; Sherck, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

EMENDATIONS IN MAXIMUS TYRIUS.¹

In citing the text of Maximus I shall refer by page and line to Hobein's edition.²

All extant codices of Maximus, as Mutschmann and Schulte have shown,³ derive from the *Parisinus* 1962. In Hobein's edition and in the present paper this codex⁴ is indicated by the letter R.

P. 13, 4. R has ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ ποιητικῆς; part of the *apographa* (followed by the older editors) omit ἐκ ποιητικῆς; Markland proposed ἐντευθενὶ (in Maximus ἐντεῦθεν is also attested on pp. 169, 12; 334, 8; 366, 12 but we nowhere find ἐντευθενὶ) and (following Davis²) deleted ἐκ; Schenkl conjectured ἐκ<πρεπή> or ἐκ<ποικιλτικὴν> (neither of these adjectives is found in Maximus); Hobein read ἐκ<πλεων> ποιητικῆς (the adj. ἑκπλεως is not attested in Maximus). I am inclined to believe that we should delete ἐκ ποιητικῆς which in my opinion entered the text as gloss on ἐντεῦθεν. The adv. ἐντεῦθεν 'from *that* source' was felt obscure. Which is the *source* meant? Maximus of course with ἐντεῦθεν meant ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων 'from my speeches' (cf. p. 12, 15-16 παρελήλυθεν εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὧ νέοι, παρασκευὴ λόγον αὐτῇ), but someone having read ποιητικῆς (line 2) and being either too careless or too dull to understand the meaning of ἐντεῦθεν glossed it as ἐκ ποιητικῆς. Subsequent copying allowed ἐκ ποιητικῆς to enter the text. The construction is: τὴν δὲ ἄλλην

¹ I wish to express my sincere thanks to Professor Robert Renehan for reading and constructively criticizing this paper.

² H. Hobein, *Maximus Tyrius* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1910).

³ H. Mutschmann, "Die Überlieferungsgeschichte des Maximus Tyrius," *Rh. Mus.*, LXVIII (1913), pp. 560-83. His stemma, *ibid.*, p. 583. F. Schulte, *De Maximī Tyrii Codicibus, Dissertatio Inauguralis* (Göttingen, 1915), pp. 1-76. His stemma, *ibid.*, p. 73. For the value of R cf. also Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur*, II, 2, p. 769; *R.-L.*, s. v. (37) Maximus von Tyros Sophist [the article written by W. Kroll with additions in brackets by H. Hobein], col. 2561; B. A. Van Groningen, *Greek Palaeography* (1955), p. 40.

⁴ A description of R may conveniently be found in the above-mentioned edition by Hobein, *praef.*, pp. xxi-xxxii.

χορηγίαν (sc. τῆς ποιητικῆς) λαμβανέτω ἐντεῦθεν (= ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων), τὸ σοβαρὸν κτλ. (the words from τὸ σοβαρὸν to ἀπαιστρον explain ἄλλην χορηγίαν). The omission of the words ἐκ ποιητικῆς in some of the *apographa* (and in the editions of Heinsius, Dukas, Duebner) is a scholarly deletion. Whether the deletion was performed only on the basis that these two words are meaningless or also on the understanding that they form a gloss on ἐντεῦθεν we cannot say.

P. 24, 1-5. Τὰ μὲν Αἰγυπτίων τοιαῦτα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐκείνος, Πέρσας ἐλὼν, καὶ Βαβυλῶνος κρατήσας, καὶ Δαρείον χειρωσάμενος, ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν ἄβατον οὖσαν τέως στρατιᾷ ξένη, ὡς Ἴνδοι ἔλεγον, πλήν γε Διονύσου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου. The translation of this passage is: "But Alexander the Great, having conquered the Persians, having become the master of Babylon, and having captured Darius, came to the land of the Indians which, as the Indians narrated, was hitherto [i. e. until the time Alexander came] untrodden by a foreign army, except of course that of Dionysus and of Alexander." On the basis of general usage the word τέως (= 'hitherto', 'previously') must refer to a time before the time of ἦλθε, i. e., τέως = πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐλεύσεως εἰς τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν. Consequently the words καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου are hardly meaningful. If we keep καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, it is as if we say 'none came up to the time B came, except A and B.' Elsewhere in Maximus τέως occurs on pp. 12, 12; 23, 15; 36, 21; 82, 1; 106, 19; 122, 8; 250, 1; 309, 4; 397, 10. Nowhere, however, do we find a time *extension* of τέως (i. e. 'previously-and-now,' etc.) which may defend καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου on p. 24, 5. I am inclined to believe that καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου should be deleted. Of course in deletions of this kind the danger remains that we do not correct an error of the manuscripts but a carelessly writing author.

P. 48, 7-11. The soundness of the text in line 7 is very doubtful and the text has been variously emended (see Hobein's *app. crit.*). Markland, observing that φδῆ (line 10) matches ᾄδων (line 8), μῦθον (line 9) matches μῦθον (line 8) but αἰνίγματος (line 8) remains unmatched, draws the probable conclusion that before καὶ μῦθον (end of line 7, beginning of line 8) the word αἰνίγματα is missing. He, therefore, writes αἰνίγματα in place of ποιητῆς in line 7. The general direction of Mark-

land's thought seems to me to be the correct one, but at the same time I am inclined to believe that he failed to restore the hand of Maximus. The words *ψιλῶς λέγῃ* in line 10, 'speak in prose' (cf. pp. 308, 12 *ψιλῶ λόγῳ*; 48, 5 *ψιλὸν λόγον*) clearly suggest the opposite 'speak in verse,' and the latter strongly implies that Markland's treatment of *ποιητῆς* in line 7 is too violent. On the basis of the adverb *ψιλῶς* in line 10 I am inclined to write in line 7 *κἂν ποιητικῶς λέγῃ* <, *κἂν αἰνίγματα λέγῃ* >, *κἂν μῦθον λέγῃ* κτλ. For the adverb *ποιητικῶς* cf. p. 88, 13 (I may add that *ποιητικός* in Maximus occurs twenty-five times). The subject of *λεγέτω* in line 7 and *λεγέτω* in line 10 becomes now *ὁ χρώμενος* (understood *ἀπο κοῖνου* from the immediately preceding *τοῦ χρωμένου* in line 7) or else an indefinite 'one.' But of course no matter which alternative we choose the meaning of the context (cf. especially lines 14-15) clearly suggests that the subject of the first *λεγέτω* (line 7) is concretized into a *ποιητῆς* while the subject of the second *λεγέτω* (line 10) is concretized into a *φιλόσοφος*. Notice that if we keep *ποιητῆς λέγῃ* in line 7, the *λεγέτω* in line 10 remains without subject. The omission of *κἂν αἰνίγμασιν λέγῃ* can most easily be explained as product of haplography because of the sequence *λέγῃ . . . λέγῃ*. As for the change of *ποιητικῶς* to *ποιητῆς* we may assume that it happened under the influence of *ποιητοῦ* in lines 12 and 14. In line 8 we should follow all the editors and write *ἔψομαι* instead of the meaningless *ἔψομαι* (R). The translation of lines 4-15 (with lines 7-10 emended as I have proposed) would be: "In the present case, then, also liken measure and verse to gold, but prose to popular matter; and pay attention neither to the gold, nor to the leather, but to the virtue of him who is using them [=gold-poetry or leather-prose]. Let a man [=a poet] speak the truth though he speaks poetically, though he speaks in riddles, though he speaks in fables, though he speaks in verse. I shall unravel the riddles, I shall investigate the fables nor shall I be seduced by the song [so as not to detect whether he says the truth]; let a man [=a philosopher] speak the truth though he speaks in prose, I shall embrace the facility of this mode of writing [if he tells the truth]. But if you take away truth from the poet and the philosopher you will make the poem incongruous and the prose narration a fable. Without truth you will not entirely trust either the fable of a poet, or the discourse of a philosopher."

P. 66, 8. If with R and Hobein we keep γνωριμώτατα, Maximus says (lines 7 ff.): "And divine science, indeed, we shall perhaps discuss hereafter; but for the time being let us proceed to that which is *most* known, namely what it is for man to possess scientific knowledge, to know, to learn. . . ." In what follows, however, from p. 66, 12 ff. the questions 'what it is for man to possess scientific knowledge, to know, to learn, etc.' prove to be quite thorny so that they could hardly be referred to as γνωριμώτατα, 'most known,' on p. 66, 8 (it would be far-fetched to assume that Maximus used γνωριμώτατα ironically). The reading γνωρίσματα belonging to codices which the philological consensus has classified as *apographa* must be considered as having no stemmatic value. Judged on its merits as a conjecture, γνωρίσματα is not attractive for two reasons: (I) Without a limiting genitive (e. g. ἐπὶ τὰ γνωρίσματα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιστήμης) the text becomes obscure. (II) γνωρίσματα is not meaningful in connection with the following τί ποτ' ἐστὶν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ ἐπίστασθαι, καὶ εἰδέναι, καὶ μαθάνειν . . . , for these are not γνωρίσματα, 'marks' or 'tokens for recognition,' but either the very question τί ἐστὶν ἀνθρωπίνη ἐπιστήμη, or questions related to the larger question of τί ἐστὶν ἀνθρωπίνη ἐπιστήμη. I wish to direct attention to p. 135, 15-17 ἐστὶν δὲ τούτων κατὰ μὲν τὴν ὁμιλίαν θάτερον γνωριμώτερον, τὸ αἰσθητόν· τὰ δὲ νοητὰ ἄγνωστα μὲν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις, γνωριμώτερα δὲ τῇ φύσει, "of these, the sensible essence from our daily converse with it is *more known*; but intelligibles are indeed unknown to the multitude, but are naturally *more known* than sensibles." Adducing this passage as parallel, on p. 66, 8 I propose to emend the superlative γνωριμώτατα to the comparative γνωριμώτερα. Maximus says that questions pertaining to 'human science' are questions we know *more* about than questions pertaining to 'divine science'—we are humans and not gods.

P. 113, 8. I fully share the uneasiness of Markland and Dukas concerning ὑποπτα. Deubner, keeping ὑποπτα, translates πάντα ὑποπτα θεωμένη as 'omniaque *infra se posita videbat*.' But such meaning of ὑποπτος is not found in LSJ and further the word is never attested elsewhere in Maximus. Markland's conjecture ἀποπτα, 'from far away' (opp. to ἐγγύθεν) makes sense since the soul is high up in the ether (line 7), but the adj. ἀποπτος is again not attested in Maximus. Now, on p. 440, 3 ff.

Maximus repeats the story of Aristes in the following words: *ἔφασκεν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῷ καταλιποῦσαν τὸ σῶμα, ἀναπτᾶσαν εὐθὺ τοῦ αἰθέρος, περιπολῆσαι τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον, καὶ νήσους πάσας, καὶ ποταμούς, καὶ ὄρη . . . ἐποπτεύσαι δὲ πάντα ἐξῆς νόμαια καὶ ἦθη πολιτικά, καὶ φύσεις χωρίων καὶ ἁέρων μεταβολάς, καὶ ἀναχύσεις θαλάττης, καὶ ποταμῶν ἐκβολάς.* Very instructive are also the following three passages: p. 108, 1 *ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἀπαλλαγῇ ψυχὴ ἐνθένδε ἐκείσε, ἀποδυσμένη τὸ σῶμα, καὶ καταλιποῦσα αὐτὸ . . . ἐποπτεύει μὲν αὐτὴ τὰ οἰκεία θεάματα καθαροῖς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς κτλ.*; 273, 6 *εἰ δὲ καὶ Περσεὺς εὐδαίμων, ὅτι πτηνὸς ἦν καὶ περιεφέρετο ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι πάντα ἐποπτεύων τὰ ἐν γῇ παθήματα καὶ χωρία*; 272, 6 *πάντα μὲν χωρία ἐποπτεύοντα.* On the basis of these passages I strongly believe that on p. 113, 8 *ὑποπτα* is a corruption of a form of *ἐποπτεύω*. Notice especially that on p. 113, 8 the sequence created by *πάντα* plus a form of *ἐποπτεύω* will be stylistically analogous to *ἐποπτεύσαι . . . πάντα* on p. 440, 7; *πάντα ἐποπτεύων* on p. 273, 6; *πάντα . . . ἐποπτεύοντα* on p. 272, 6. I should add here that having reread the whole of Maximus with a view to collecting every piece of material which could be helpful in emending *ὑποπτα* on the basis of Maximus' thought and idiom, I have concluded that on p. 113, 8 beyond reasonable doubt under *ὑποπτα* we can have nothing but a form of *ἐποπτεύω*. Utilizing such aids as the *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache* by Kretschmer and Locker one could suggest conjectures such as (τὰ) *ἐποπτα* or (τὰ) *εὐοπτα* in place of *ὑποπτα*. It will suffice, however, for refutation to say that Maximus has never used either *ἐποπτος* or *εὐοπτος* in his text although the subject offered him many opportunities to use those words had they only belonged to his vocabulary. Starting, then, with the premise that under *ὑποπτα* we must have a form of *ἐποπτεύω*, let us turn to the context in order to determine what this form should be. One solution will be to read, for example, *πάντα τ' <ἐ>ποπτ<εύουσα καὶ πάντ>α θεωμένη.* Such restoration will preserve the participle *θεωμένη* and will explain on the basis of the *ductus litterarum* how *ὑποπτα* could derive from T.ΠΟΠΤ A (elsewhere in Maximus we have confusion between T and Y⁵). Personally, however, I am in-

⁵ See G. L. Koniaris, "On the Text of Maximus Tyrius," *C. Q.* (1970), p. 132 (the emendation referring to Hobein's edition, p. 374, 13). For redundant τ(ε) . . . καὶ (where simple καὶ would suffice) see J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*² (1954), p. 512.

clined to delete *θεωμένη* and to read πάντα ἐποπτ<εύου>α [*θεωμένη*]. I observe that Maximus has never brought together ἐποπτεύω and θεῶμαι although his text contains ἐποπτεύω four times (pp. 108, 1; 273, 6; 272, 6; 440, 7) and θεῶμαι (not counting p. 113, 8) twenty-two times (pp. 17, 6; 162, 3; 313, 9; 45, 15; 76, 17; 100, 4; 148, 12; 174, 12; 227, 13; 257, 3; 289, 1; 290, 3; 291, 7; 291, 9; 17, 10; 79, 18; 80, 12; 104, 5; 315, 18; 82, 14; 259, 18; 263, 12). On p. 108, 1 ἐποπτεύει . . . τὰ οἰκεία θεάματα can only doubtfully be offered as a parallel in support of ἐποπτεύουσα καὶ θεωμένη.

In obelizing *θεωμένη*, we should answer the question how this participle entered the text. Here we are perforce in the realm of speculation. It will suffice if I offer one possibility out of many: ἐποπτεύουσα corrupted to .ποπτ. . . .a left the passage without the participle which the construction demanded, a participle of a verb meaning 'to see,' as the meaning of the context eloquently suggested. As a result *θεωμένη* entered the text, and this done the corrupt .ποπτ. . . .a led by conjecture to ὑποπτα, the whole now reading πάντα ὑποπτα θεωμένη. This becomes more plausible if we assume that *θεωμένη* was originally written as a gloss above ἐποπτεύουσα. I hope to have established that under ὑποπτα lurks a form of ἐποπτεύω and that most probably this form is the participle ἐποπτεύουσα. I leave to others to pass final judgment on the question whether *θεωμένη* should be deleted or maintained.

P. 120, 13. I suspect the genuineness of the *ordo verborum* ἡ δὲ γὰρ ψυχῆς (R and the majority of the editors). Everywhere else Maximus has δὲ following γὰρ, pp. 199, 19; 201, 17; 316, 13 (where in a quotation from Plato Maximus changes Plato's ὁ μὲν δὲ to ὁ γὰρ δὲ); 340, 2-3; 394, 13. Probability strongly suggests that we should write ἡ γὰρ δὲ ψυχῆς. Neither ἡδὺ (*codex Arlenii* followed by Heinsius, Davis¹), nor ἡδὲ or ἰδιον by Heinsius seems to me worth recording in the *app. crit.* In line 14 one could conjecture τί δ<ν> ἄλλο εἴη *pro* τί δ' ἄλλο ἐστίν, citing p. 45, 20. But Maximus as a rule presents the sequence τί ἂν εἴη ἄλλο ἢ (cf. pp. 117, 8; 148, 13; 230, 12; 308, 19; 432, 1-2). It would be more prudent if with Davis,² Duebner we only delete δ' (for τί ἄλλο ἐστίν ἢ cf. p. 452, 12). Whatever course we follow we should of course put a comma (instead of a semi-

colon) after ξύμφυτος (line 14) and accentuate ἄλλο ἐστὶν (line 14).

P. 198, 14. Hobein following R reads πολυαμαθία, which is certainly wrong. So far as we know no Greek author ever used the noun πολυαμαθία (ῆ) or for that matter any compound of πολὺ(s) + a noun beginning with ἀ(ν) στερητικόν. Markland, Reiske, Duebner wrote ἀνάγκη πολλή, ἀμαθία τέχνης which makes good sense (ἐστὶν understood with ἀνάγκη πολλή) and is an *'usitatissima locutio . . . praecipue Platoni. . .'* As Markland observed (the conjecture was suggested by the *ductus litterarum* in πολλῇ ἀμαθίᾳ found in the *codex Arlenii* (an *apographon* of R) and adopted in the texts of Stephanus, Heinsius, Davis, Dukas). Davis proposed πολὺ (acc. of extent?) ἀμαθία and Knebel <ἐπὶ> πολὺ ἀμαθία. Before I attempt to emend the text I wish to draw attention to the fact that elsewhere in the text of Maximus neither ἀμαθία (occurring nine times) nor ἀνάγκη (occurring fifty-one times) has ever been modified by an adjective. On the strength of pp. 106, 8 (ἀνάγκη που); 125, 3 (ἀνάγκη που); 326, 16 (ἀνάγκη γάρ που) and 389, 10 (πᾶσα που ἀνάγκη) I am inclined to emend on p. 198, 14 ἀνάγκη πολυαμαθία τέχνης to ἀνάγκη που ἀμαθία τέχνης (understanding ἐστὶν with ἀνάγκη). The translation: "it is necessary, I presume, that the user will fail through ignorance of art. . . ." In the same line we should most probably follow Stephanus, Heinsius, Davis, Dukas, Duebner, and write ἀπορία *pro* εὐπορία (R). The word εὐπορία may possibly be defended (Hobein keeps it in his text) by assuming that an abundance of instruments in a state of ignorance is likely to increase confusion and multiply mistakes. I am inclined to believe, however, that such defence of εὐπορία is far-fetched.

P. 229, 10. Hobein following R reads ὁ δὲ οὔτε μητρὸς τοσούτων αὐτῷ μέλει, ὅσον ἐκείνης, λέγει (Hector addressing Andromache). These words clearly refer to *Il.*, VI, 450-4:

ἀλλ' οὐ μοι Τρώων τόσσον μέλει ἄλγος ὀπίσσω,
οὔτ' αὐτῆς Ἑκάβης οὔτε Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος
οὔτε κασιγνήτων, οἳ κεν πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοὶ
ἐν κονίῃσι πέσοιεν ὑπ' ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν,
ὅσσον σεῦ, . . .

On account of οὔτε (p. 229, 10), which can hardly occur alone, and in combination with the above passage from the *Iliad*,

Knebel and Meiser proposed οὔτε μητρός <οὔτε πατρός> τοσούτονι κτλ. where οὔτε πατρός was supposedly omitted by homoioteleuton. But if Maximus referring to the above Homeric passage could leave out the *brothers* from his text (as Knebel—Meiser assume), I see no reason why he could not also omit the father, thus centering on the mother who after all is not only mentioned first in Homer but also stressed by αὐτῆς (see Smyth, § 1205). But what of the difficult οὔτε in Maximus' text? Obviously we should emend it to οὐδὲ (— 'not even,' adverb) which will stress μητρός as αὐτῆς does in the Homeric text. I may add that in codices confusion between οὔτε and οὐδὲ is frequently attested.

Pp. 283, 22-284, 1. R followed by the editors gives ὁ Τριπτόλεμος. The rhetorical balance of the passage suggests <δ>ὲ Τριπτόλεμος. The passage from p. 283, 20 ff. reads as follows: ἀλλ' ὅψ' ἐ μὲν Δημήτηρ γεωργεῖ μετὰ πολλὴν πλάνην, ὅψ' ἐ δὲ Διόνυσος μετὰ τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τὸν Πενθέα, ὅψ' ἐ <δ>ὲ Τριπτόλεμος μετὰ τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον καὶ τὸν Κέκροπα. Notice further that Δημήτηρ and Διόνυσος (p. 283, 21-2) are not preceded by the article, which is an additional reason to suspect the article before Τριπτόλεμος.

Pp. 304, 23-305, 3. R gives: εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡδονῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀγωγὴν ταύτην δεησόμεθα καὶ τυράννου, δότω μοί τις ἡδονήν, οἷαν καὶ ἐπὶ σάλπιγγος ἁρμονίαν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ὀπλίταις τεταγμένη καὶ ἐξορμώσῃ τὰς ψυχὰς τῷ μέλει. The passage has been extensively and variously emended. The first problem is the words καὶ τυράννου. Baudius and Heinsius propose καὶ Τυρρήνου; Markland, Reiske, and Duebner write καὶ Τυρταίου; Meiser writes τερπνοῦ; Davis deletes καὶ τυράννου; Hobein, who keeps καὶ τυράννου, mentions in his *app. crit.* that Dukas defended καὶ τυράννου. I was unable to find Dukas' edition of Maximus and consequently I do not know his arguments. In my opinion, too, these two words should not be deleted. On p. 304, 19-21 Maximus speaks with approval about λόγων . . . ἀκολακεύτων, καὶ ἡσκημένων ὑγιῶς, καὶ δυναμένων ἄγειν πειθοῖ καὶ βίᾳ ἐκπληκτικῇ τὸ πλησιάζον πᾶν [= πάντας τοὺς πλησιάζοντας = πάντας τοὺς ἀκροατάς]. The following τυράννου becomes meaningful if we realize that it takes over βίᾳ. In Maximus' imagery, τύραννος is the representative *par excellence* of βίᾳ. For example, on p. 58, 20 ff., where inexorable fate is

discussed, Maximus styles *είμαρμένη* as *τυραννικόν*, describes its course with the words ἡ [sc. *είμαρμένη*] βία σπᾶ καὶ προσαναγκάζει συναπονεύειν ταῖς αὐτῆς [R, Hobein αὐτῆς] ἀγωγαῖς (notice further the use of *ἀγωγαῖς* in this passage and that of *ἀγωγὴν* on p. 304, 23), and then likens this process of fate to the behavior of four tyrants, Dionysius, Pisistratus, Periander, and Thrasylbulus. With reference to *ἡδονή* as *τύραννος* cf. pp. 383, 17; 383, 9; 385, 16. I suggest that on p. 304, 23 ff. the song of the *σάλπιγξ*, which gives the signal for some military activity, is meant as a combination of *ἡδονή* and *τύραννος*. It is *ἡδονή* as enjoyable music, it is *τύραννος* in that it gives a command which the soldiers have to *obey* no matter how much they may disagree.

The text further presents three difficulties with reference to *ἀρμονίαν* and the two following participles, *τεταγμένη* and *ἐξορμῶση*. Many conjectures have been proposed. We must continue with *τεταγμένην* and *ἐξορμῶσαν*⁶ if we write *ἀρμονίαν* (Markland, Duebner); with *τεταγμένη* and *ἐξορμῶσα*⁷ if we write *ἀρμονία* (Heinsius); with *τεταγμένη* and *ἐξορμῶση* if we write *ἀρμονία* (Hobein). The following τῷ μέλει invariably refers to *ἀρμονία*. But Reiske, assuming a *lacuna* before *ἀρμονίαν* which he fills with the words *ἐνεργεστέραν ἐγείρη*, makes *ἀρμονίαν* the object of <ἐγείρη> and writes <ἐν>τετα[γ]μένη and *ἐξορμῶσα*, which he refers to οἷα (pro οἷαν).⁸ We must discard Reiske's conjectures because, on the one hand, they amount to an arbitrary rewriting of the text by the addition of two words and the change of the perf. part. of *τάττω* to the perf. part. of *ἐντείνω*, let alone οἷα pro οἷαν, while, on the other hand, it requires considerable imagination to explain how a text, written in the form Reiske suggests, could have ended in the form appearing in R.

⁶ I. e. ἐπὶ σάλπιγγος, ἀρμονίαν . . . τεταγμένην . . . ἐξορμῶσαν (referring to οἷαν).

⁷ I. e. ἐπὶ σάλπιγγος, ἀρμονία . . . τεταγμένη . . . καὶ ἐξορμῶσα (referring to οἷα).

⁸ Reiske gives the whole passage as οἷα καὶ ἔτι [pro ἐπὶ] σάλπιγγος <ἐνεργεστέραν ἐγείρη> ἀρμονίαν, ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐντεταμένη [of ἐντείνειν]. I am not sure about the function of the subjunctive ἐγείρη (the verb cannot be the 2nd pers. sing. ind. of ἐγείρομαι). It is hardly possible that a Hellenist of the stature of Reiske would have used the subjunctive of exhortation in the 3rd person. Perhaps ἐγείρη is a typographical error pro ἐγείρει.

I believe that the two participles refer to *σάλπιγγος* and that even if we preserve *ἄρμονίαν* (we may possibly keep *ἄρμονίαν* between two commas as epexegetis to *οἷαν καὶ ἐπὶ σάλπιγγος*) we most probably must write *τεταγμένης* and *ἐξορμώσης*. It is obviously far more meaningful to place the *σάλπιγξ* [= the trumpeter] and not *ἄρμονία* among the hoplites, and to make this *σάλπιγξ* exhort the soldiers by means of *its* song (cf. p. 15, 2 . . . *σάλπιγγι, νῦν μὲν τὸ ἐφορητικὸν φθεγγομένη, νῦν δὲ τὸ ἀνακλητικόν*). I believe that *ἄρμονία* cannot properly be said to be *τεταγμένη* among the hoplites (*ἄρμονία* cannot be 'placed'). Further, while Maximus elsewhere (pp. 146, 5; 298, 16; cf. also 128, 3-4; 161, 11-12; 461, 10) speaks of *ἄρμονία μέλους*, the 'mode' of a song, he nowhere speaks of *μέλος ἄρμονίας* (nor do I find examples of *μέλος* [or *ῥῆσμα κτλ.*] *ἄρμονίας* in LSJ or Stephanus and so *τῷ* (sc. *αὐτῆς*) *μέλει* most probably means *τῷ μέλει* (*τῆς*) *σάλπιγγος* not *τῷ μέλει* (*τῆς*) *ἄρμονίας*. Finally the perfect participle *τεταγμένη* or *τεταγμένη* indicating time *before-and-up* to the time of *ἐξορμώση* or *ἐξορμῶσα* is meaningless for *ἄρμονία*, because exhortation by *μέλος-ἄρμονία* does not begin after one *has heard* the song but while he is hearing it. With *ἄρμονία* as subject of the participle we ought to have the participle in the present tense. On the contrary, the perfect part. *τεταγμένης* is wholly meaningful for the trumpet. A *σαλπιγκτής* blows his trumpet *having taken his place* among the ranks of the army. The genitives *τεταγμένης* . . . *ἐξορμώσης* may well have been turned to datives by the influence of the neighboring datives *ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ὀπλίταις* and *τῷ μέλει*. I am inclined to believe that we should delete *ἄρμονίαν* (rather than take it as epexegetis) which may have entered the text as a gloss on *οἷαν* (sc. *ἡδονὴν δίδωσιν οὗτος* [= *τις*]) *καὶ ἐπὶ σάλπιγγος*. Surely, *ἄρμονίαν* is idle as long as we have *τῷ μέλει*.

P. 335, 5. R gives *ἐξ ἑτέρου λόγου*, which is beyond doubt meaningless. Different conjectures have been proposed, *ἐξαίρω λόγου* by an unidentified hand in H followed by Davis,² *ἐξαιρῶ λόγου* by Duebner, *ἐξαιρετέον λόγου* by Hobein. But in Maximus neither *ἐξαίρω λόγου* nor *ἐξαιρῶ λόγου* is attested. I am inclined to write *ἐξελῶ λόγου* (future of *ἐξελαύνω*) or perhaps *ἐξελατέον λόγου*, in support of which I cite p. 44, 8 *Ἐπίκουρον δὲ ἐξελῶ λόγου καὶ ποιητικοῦ καὶ φιλοσόφου*; p. 382, 14 *βάνανσος γὰρ ψυχῇ καὶ ἀπεληλαμένη λόγου*.

P. 357, 14-15. The words συνοῦσα ἀγαθοῖς ἐστερημένοις give no satisfactory meaning. In place of ἐστερημένοις Stephanus mentions an 'adnotatum' ἐστραμμένοις which we now know is a conjecture, Davis¹ conjectured ἐφημέροις, Davis² ἀσφαλείας *vel* βεβαιότητος ἐστερημένοις, Markland ἐστηριγμένοις, Reiske ἐστερησομένοις, Meiser ἐπτερωμένοις. In my opinion we can offer a more successful remedy than those proposed. Maximus argues that ἡδονή passes to λύπη and conversely, so that if a person chooses the one he will soon get the other as well. It is interesting to observe that Maximus in lines 11 f. uses the verb ἐπιρρεῖ, thus presenting the passing of ἡδονή to λύπη as movement, as a *flow*, and in line 13 by using the noun παλιρροίας presents this flow more accurately as flux and reflux, as moving from ἡδονή to λύπη and from λύπη to ἡδονή endlessly. Obviously what Maximus is driving at is that the different ἡδοναί (for the plural see p. 359, 10 ff.) cannot be viewed as real ἀγαθά because the ἀγαθά must be characterized by *stability*, not by continuous change. And surely this *stability* is likely to be expressed by a word capable of indicating in a physical sense the opposite of ἐπιρρεῖ and παλιρροίας, i. e. the opposite of movement. I believe that we should write ἀγαθοῖς <στάσεως> ἐστερημένοις on p. 357, 14-15, in support of which I cite p. 361, 3-5 (the beginning of the second speech περὶ ἡδονῆς) where we read οὕτως καὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ εἴ τις ἀφέλοι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὴν στάσιν, συναφείλεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φύσιν. For the connection of *unchangeability* with στάσις cf. p. 452, 9-10 ἐπειδὴν γὰρ μέτρον εἴηης, στάσιν λέγεις (no doubt the standard μέτρα do not change for otherwise measuring is impossible). For στάσις as opposed to flux-changeability cf. p. 137, 16 ἐν ποτέρῃ δὴ τῶν φύσεων τούτων τὸν θεὸν τακτέον; ἄρα οὐκ ἐν τῇ στασιμωτέρῃ καὶ ἑδραιωτέρῃ, καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένη τοῦ ρεύματος τούτου καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς; (cf. also p. 137, 5-15). With <στάσεως> ἐστερημένοις it is easy to explain palaeographically the omission of στάσεως, assuming a time when the text was written in *scriptio continua*. The scribe wrote CT, the first two letters of στάσις, and then skipping to CT of the following word (the second and third letter of ἐστερημένοις) produced CTEPHMENOIC instead of στάσεως ἐστερημένοις. The easiest correction which would come to any Byzantine's mind would of course be to change στερημένοις to ἐστερημένοις. This would

explain the omission of *στάσεως* as a product of an optical error on the part of a scribe. Of course it is also possible that *στάσεως* simply disappeared as a result of physical damage. Maximus does not use *στερέω* elsewhere, but cf. *ἀπεστερημένω* on p. 419, 15 (we might possibly propose *ἀγαθοῖς* <*στάσεως ἀπ*>*εστερημένοις*).

P. 387, 10. R presents *καταβολῆς* (which is meaningless whether or not we choose to translate it as ‘*initii*’ with Hobein). The *apographa* followed by the older editors give *ἀναβολῆς* which is not particularly meaningful seeing that in this context there is no point in ‘delay’ when the soul has been introduced already in the state of *ἡδονή* (cf. p. 387, 6 ff.). Furthermore, Maximus never used *ἀναβολή* (or *καταβολή*). Surely we can think of a much more convincing emendation if we recollect p. 397, 6 ff. *ἡλιον ποθεῖ ἄνθρωπος καὶ νύκτα μεθ’ ἡλιον, καὶ λιμὸν μετὰ κόρον, καὶ δίψαν μετὰ μέθην· κἀν ἀφέλῃς αὐτοῦ τὴν μεταβολήν, λύπην τὴν ἡδονὴν ποιεῖς*, which passage is a parallel to p. 387, 9-11. With confidence we should write *μεταβολῆς* on p. 387, 10. The text now from p. 387, 6-11 will translate as follows: “And what soul can suffer such a crowd of pleasures streaming and rushing on it [= the soul], which [= crowd of pleasures] offers no intermission, nor any respiration [to the soul]. But under the influx of such a crowd of pleasures is it not likely that the soul would lead a most wretched life and desire of some *change* and wish for some repose? For long continued pleasure produces pain.” I should add that the word *μεταβολή* occurs frequently in Maximus (in addition to p. 397, 8 cf. pp. 137, 7; 101, 6; 481, 6; 481, 14; 133, 1; 163, 17; 287, 11; 308, 4; 440, 9).

P. 410, 8. Reiske suspected a *lacuna* after *στρατοπέδων* containing the dative of a noun on which the genitive *στρατοπέδων* must depend as the preceding sequence (lines 6-8) *στρατηγῶν τέχναις, . . . ὀπλοποιῶν δημιουργίαις, . . . μισθοφόρων ἀθροισμῶ, . . . συνθημάτων παραδόσει, . . . φρουρίων ἐπιτεχίσει* eloquently suggests. Reiske conjectured *στρατοπέδων* <*παρεμβολῇ*> but Maximus never used *παρεμβολή*, *παρεβάλλω* κτλ. I believe we increase the probability of reaching the hand of Maximus if we write *στρατοπέδων* <*τάξει*> *πάλιν* or better *στρατοπέδων* <*τάξεσιν*> *πάλιν* for which *additamentum* I cite p. 49, 17 *ξυνάγει καὶ Ἄρης στρατοπέδων τάξεις*. I would further like to draw attention to

the fact that on p. 410, 8 the word *πάλιν* which is doubtful (corrected to *πάντες* in some of the *apographa*, to *πάλαι* by Markland, Duebner, to *πάλη* by Meiser) may well be a corruption of an original *τάξεις*. Consequently it is possible, or even probable, that Maximus wrote *στρατοπέδων τάξεις* (or *τάξει*) without *πάλιν* following, and that the word *πάλιν* developed out of a corrupt *τά(ξε)σιν* or *τά(ξε)ι*.

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THE PANEGYRIC OF CLAUDIUS MAMERTINUS ON THE EMPEROR JULIAN.*

The verdict in Pauly-Wissowa¹ upon the low historical worth of the panegyric of Claudius Mamertinus on the Emperor Julian has hardly been upheld by the later studies of R. Pichon, H. Gutzwiller, and E. Galletier.² These scholars have shown that the speech is, on the one hand, a personal statement of Mamertinus' gratitude to Julian, but, on the other, a well thought out and carefully written work with a dual political purpose—first, by praising Julian's achievements as Caesar and by contrasting his virtues with the failings of his predecessors to remove the stigma of usurpation and to suggest that he is a true Emperor; secondly, to present, as it were, a manifesto, an outline of Julian's programme for the future.

The analysis of the speech both as propaganda and as a political document of some importance can be taken further. I propose to add to this analysis by arguing that: 1. the desire to contrast in detail the characters of Julian and of Constantius as rulers strongly influences the tone and content of the speech, and the characters themselves which emerge are very similar to the portraits in Ammianus and Libanius; 2. not only is the religious question treated in a very circumspect manner because of the time and place of the delivery of the panegyric, but also the fact that Julian's military exploits in

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¹ "Claudius" 212, *R.-E.*, III, 2 (1899), col. 2730 (Gensel).

² R. Pichon, *Les derniers écrivains profanes* (Paris, 1906), pp. 116 ff. H. Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede des Konsuls Claudius Mamertinus vor dem Kaiser Julian* (Diss. Basle, 1942), pp. 81 ff. E. Galletier, *Panegyriques Latins*, III (Paris, 1955), pp. 7-9. G. Barbarino, *Il panegirico dell' Imperatore Giuliano* (Genova, 1965), in her chapter 6, "Il programma politico" (pp. 49-61), adds little new that is relevant to the present paper. She is primarily concerned to set the speech in its historical context.

Gaul are almost ignored is to be explained by similar considerations.

Mamertinus does not often attack Constantius directly, preferring rather to censure the vices of the recent past.³ But that the deceased Emperor is the primary target of such censure is clear from the nature of the charges made and from a comparison with direct attacks, especially of Ammianus and Libanius. This policy of refraining from open attacks upon Constantius was Julian's own⁴ and was dictated by caution, since, when the new Emperor had declared war upon his predecessor, he soon found himself facing considerable opposition, not only in the East⁵ but also in areas of the West.⁶ Certainly to some extent affection for Constantius seems to have outlasted the reign of Julian.⁷

Mamertinus states that the reign of Constantius was marked by a bad choice of officials. When Julian arrived in Gaul as Caesar (winter 355-6 A. D.) he found much of the land ravaged by the German invaders (3, 1; 4, 1), whom he easily crushed in one battle (4, 3). Far more formidable were the "wicked brigands who were called governors" (4, 2), who devastated the parts which were safe from the Germans, insulting, injuring, and torturing the inhabitants, allowing to escape only those who could pay a bribe and creating such a desperate state of affairs that people longed for the barbarians to come as saviours (*ibid.*). When Julian strove to mend their vices, they retaliated by arousing the jealousy of Constantius against him (4, 3-7).

Later Mamertinus broadens his attack. The majority of office holders had achieved their positions through sycophancy

³ E.g. 19, 3-20, 4 referring to *paulo ante*. This is noted by Pichon, *op. cit.*, pp. 118 ff. and Gutzwiller, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁴ See especially Julian, *Ep.*, 9 (ed. Wright); *Misopogon*, 357B; Ammianus, XXI, 16, 20; Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 120.

⁵ Especially in Constantinople and Antioch (G. Sievers, *Das Leben des Libanius* [Berlin, 1868], pp. 86 ff.).

⁶ E.g. in Italy (Ammianus, XX, 9, 1; XXI, 10, 7; 11, 2-3) and Africa (Ammianus, XXI, 7, 2; cf. Mamertinus, 14, 5). Cf. G. Dagron, "L'Empire romain de l'Orient au IV^{me} siècle et les traditions politiques de l'hellénisme," *Travaux et Mémoires*, III (1968), p. 69, n. 202.

⁷ Ammianus, XXVI, 7, 10.

and bribery, especially of the women and eunuchs who had the Emperor's ear. Then they went off to plunder their provinces in order to subsidise their own further advancement (19, 3-5). The emphasis of the reign was upon the amassing of wealth; military service and legal or oratorical skill counted for nothing (20, 1-3; cf. 17, 3). Thus the cities fell into ruin (cf. 7-9); and Mamertinus himself, when *comes sacrarum largitionum*, found the provinces wasted and the soldiers unpaid (1, 4).

A similar, gloomy picture is painted by Libanius and confirmed in points by Ammianus. The former alleges widespread sale of offices and pillaging of subjects and whole cities, especially by eunuchs, notaries, and *agentes in rebus*;⁸ and he echoes the claim made by Mamertinus that the captives of the barbarians were as well off as those who remained in Gaul.⁹ Ammianus notes the extortion of the tax collectors;¹⁰ the fiscal abuses which Julian had to correct in Gaul;¹¹ the plotting at the court of Constantius which aroused the jealousy of the Emperor against Julian (XVII, 11, 1; cf. 9, 7); the corruption of Constantius' eunuchs,¹² who, he says, together with the Emperor's wives, had excessive influence over him (XXI, 16, 16; cf. XX, 2, 4) and whose favours were vigorously sought (XVIII, 3, 3). Julian himself accuses his predecessor of personal avarice (*Misopogon*, 357B).

Mamertinus further censures the orientalizing court which was cultivated by Constantine I and his sons,¹³ with its pomp and magnificence and stylized ceremonial. The attack is two-fold. First, the enormous numbers of servants, the lavish and luxurious feasts, and the extensive use of marble and gold in the decoration of the palace occasioned excessive expenditure

⁸ Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 130-45. On the low quality of Constantius' officials in Gaul see Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.*, 281D-82D.

⁹ Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 35.

¹⁰ Ammianus, XXI, 16, 17 (cf. XVI, 5, 14; XVII, 3); Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.*, 280A.

¹¹ XVIII, 1, 1-2 (cf. XXIV, 3, 4).

¹² XIV, 11, 3; XV, 2, 10; XVIII, 5, 4. This particularly reflects Julian's personal hatred of Eusebius (cf. *Ep. ad Ath.*, 274A-B).

¹³ The court style of Constantine I and Constantius II is praised by their panegyrists, Eusebius and Themistius: J. Straub, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart, 1964 [1939]), pp. 168 ff.

and added to the financial misery (11). Secondly, the arrogance of the courtiers who controlled access to and influenced the Emperor forced those who sought advancement to grovel at their knees and to recognize that favours given were not as a result of benevolence or judgement but of *miser cordia* (20, 4), an idea especially associated with the absolutist regime, implying as it does the unfettered power of the giver.

Such charges are repeated by Ammianus and Libanius,¹⁴ the former also accusing Constantius of personal arrogance.¹⁵ The strong distaste which the pro-Julian sources feel for the court of Constantius is itself a reflection of the policy of Julian, who reacted away from the absolutist orientalizing monarchy of his predecessors and back towards the traditional notion of the Emperor as a constitutional ruler¹⁶ and with it a simpler style of court life.

Finally Mamertinus notes the jealousy of Constantius, which, he says, was aroused against Julian by the corrupt officials whom he had angered in Gaul (4, 3-7) and which, according to the panegyrist, could only be assuaged if the Caesar would acquiesce in the *status quo* and allow the provinces to be destroyed by the greed of their governors (5, 1-3). This the virtue of Julian would not permit him to do (5, 4); and when Constantius called in the barbarians against him (6, 1), he invaded Illyricum to the joy of all the cities through which he passed (6, 2-7, 3).¹⁷

The jealousy and suspicion of Constantius is a commonplace in all hostile sources.¹⁸ But more interesting is Mamertinus' treatment of Julian's usurpation, in that he does not actually

¹⁴ Ammianus, XV, 5, 18 and 27; XVI, 10, 2 and 10-12 (contrast XXI, 16, 7); XIX, 12, 16; etc. Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 130 ff.

¹⁵ XV, 1, 3; 5, 35; 12, 68; XVII, 4, 12; XX, 8, 2.

¹⁶ Cf. F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, II (Washington, D. C., 1966), pp. 659 ff.

¹⁷ The joy of the cities is overstated. Julian had not left Dacia when he received the news of the death of Constantius (Ammianus, XXII, 1, 3). For opposition to Julian in the West see note 6.

¹⁸ Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 90; 12, 43 and 57; Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.*, 272A (Constantius' jealousy of Gallus), 274D, 277D; Ammianus, XIV, 5, 2 and 4; 9, 2; 11, 4; XV, 3, 9; XVI, 7, 1; XIX, 12, 5; etc.; Eunapius, fr. 14, 4; Zosimus, III, 8, 6.

mention the circumstances in which the Caesar was declared Augustus. Ammianus, Libanius, and Julian himself are at great pains to explain the act, stressing that the new Emperor was elevated by the soldiers against his own will¹⁹—which was certainly the official version.²⁰ The motives of the troops are variously described: anger that Constantius, jealous of Julian, was withdrawing the Gallic troops to the East (an action which, it is claimed, broke Julian's promise to the auxiliaries at least that they would not have to cross the Alps, and which would render Gaul defenceless);²¹ desire to make their successful leader more than a Caesar;²² or the fulfilment of God's will.²³ The version of Mamertinus ignores the claim that Julian was forced to usurp and implies that he himself actually took the decision to revolt, which is probably nearer to the truth.²⁴ There was a lapse of time between Julian's usurpation and his invasion of Constantius' territory, during which negotiations took place.²⁵ By ignoring the act of usurpation Mamertinus can suppress this interval and imply that Julian was finally aroused to action by Constantius' incitement of the barbarians to attack him (a move which is noted by other pro-Julian sources, but which is usually placed after the usurpation).²⁶ Thus justice

¹⁹ Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 95 ff.; 12, 58; 13, 33-4; Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.*, 283A-B; Ammianus, XX, 4, 2 ff.; 8, 5-10. Also Zosimus, III, 9.

²⁰ P. Petit, "Recherches sur la publication et la diffusion des discours de Libanius," *Historia*, V (1956), p. 480.

²¹ Ammianus, *loc. cit.*; Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.*, *loc. cit.*; Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 95 ff.; Zosimus, *loc. cit.*

²² Libanius, *Or.*, 13, 33-4 (cf. Ammianus, XX, 8, 7; XVI, 12, 64).

²³ Libanius, *Or.*, 12, 58. On the circumstances contributing to the different interpretations in Libanius see Petit, *loc. cit.*, pp. 479-81.

²⁴ Cf. I. Mueller-Seidel, "Die Usurpation Julians des Abtrünnigen im Lichte seiner Germanenpolitik," *H. Z.*, CLXXX (1955), pp. 225-44.

²⁵ Ammianus, XX, 8-10.

²⁶ Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 107-8; Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.*, 286A; Ammianus, XXI, 3, 4-5 (stressing that it was only a rumour). Constantius is also said to have called the barbarians in against Magnentius: Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 33; Zosimus, II, 53, 4. Gutzwiller, *op. cit.*, p. 125 is wrong to cite Socrates, 3, 1 and Sozomen, 5, 2 as evidence to confirm the pro-Julian claims that Constantius summoned the barbarians against Julian. Since in these Christian writers the claim of the Germans that they obeyed Constantius is made before the battle of Strassburg, it clearly refers to the earlier summons against Mag-

is placed wholly on the side of the usurper who is presented as the saviour of the Empire from the corruption of Constantius' regime.²⁷

Julian's advance along the Danube and into the Balkans is described by Mamertinus as a triumphal procession. As he sailed down the river the right bank was lined by the provincials who turned out to greet him, the left by the barbarians who begged for mercy and received it.²⁸ The cities which he visited were given freedom and hope and revived by immunities, privileges, and money (7, 3; 8, 3-4). Mamertinus describes the ruinous state of the towns (9) and pictures them and their lands renewed by the benefactions of Julian (10).²⁹ All of this is a rather overdone reflection of a genuine concern of Julian to lower taxation and to revive the cities.³⁰

Mamertinus claims that this reverse flow of wealth to the cities is made possible by Julian's personal parsimony (10, 2-3). *Tam severe parcus in semet* (12, 1), he rejects the luxury of Constantius' court,³¹ preferring to eat only when necessary and taking the food of a common soldier out of any chance vessel (11). He labours with his troops (6, 4) and by his own energy eases the burden of his officials (12, 1 and 3; cf. 7, 1). In short, Julian is a slave to the liberty of his people. The toil and the battles which he endures, the continence and justice which he imposes upon himself would have terrified usurpers

nentius. Thus there is no Christian evidence that the Germans were summoned against Julian. (For other arguments that the charge is genuine see E. A. Thompson, "Three Notes on Julian in 361 A.D.," *Hermathena*, LXII [1943], pp. 83-8).

²⁷ Mamertinus mentions in passing (27, 4) that Constantius named Julian as his heir. Ammianus (XXI, 15, 2 and 5) treats this as a rumour; but in XXI, 2, 1 he indicates that the messengers who reported the Emperor's death to Julian announced it as a fact.

²⁸ Mamertinus, 7, 2-3. This clemency to the barbarians is noted a number of times by Ammianus, e.g. XVI, 12, 65; XVII, 8, 4-5; 10, 4; etc.

²⁹ Cf. Mamertinus, 14, where Julian is said to have eased a famine at Rome.

³⁰ See Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 23; 146-8; 163; 193; 13, 44; Ammianus, XVII, 3, 5-6; 9, 11; XVIII, 1, 1-2; XXI, 5, 8; Julian, *Misopogon*, 365B; 367C-371B (cf. *Or.*, I, 42D-43A).

³¹ See especially Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 130 and Ammianus, XXII, 4.

such as Nepotianus and Silvanus, who looked forward to a life of dissipation (13, 3). This appeal to the commonplace that a tyrant (=usurper) is a man full of vices (which is, of course, the regular view of the failed usurper in the late Roman Empire) reinforces what is implied in the whole speech, that Julian, because he is virtuous, cannot be a tyrant.³²

As usual the other friendly sources advertise Julian's moderation in eating, his general temperance,³³ and his willingness to undertake toil.³⁴ Ammianus (XV, 8, 20) says that after his elevation to Caesar, Julian *murmurans querulis vocibus saepe audiebatur: nihil se plus assecutum, quam ut occupatio interiret*.

According to Mamertinus (and in this he is supported by Libanius),³⁵ not only does Julian help both cities and individuals by his generosity, but he has also improved the general condition of the provinces through his appointment of good officials.³⁶ In contrast with Constantius he rejects servility and wealth as a recommendation for office and friendship, demanding instead honesty and hard work. The official will be judged by his service and the possession of four virtues, *iustitia, fortitudo, temperantia, prudentia* (17, 3-4; 21; cf. 25, 1-2; 26, 4-5).³⁷ This new breed of administrator is characterized as *hominum genus... rude (ut urbanis istis videtur), parum come, subrusticum* (21, 2)—obviously a reference to the untidy appearance of the Emperor himself,³⁸ rather than to any intellectual awkwardness. Julian looks for skill in war, oratory, and legal science in his

³² Cf. Gutzwiller, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Barbarino, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

³³ Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 174-81; 13, 44; 12, 94-5; 17, 27; Ammianus, XV, 8, 10; XVI, 5, 1-5; XXI, 9, 2; XXIV, 4, 27; XXV, 2, 2; etc. (cf. Julian, *Misopogon*, 340B-42A; 345C-D; 354B-C; *Or.*, I, 11A-B).

³⁴ Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 174-6; 276 (cf. Julian, *Ep. ad Them.*, 259B-D; *Or.*, II, 87D-88A).

³⁵ Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 194; 13, 43 (cf. Julian, *Or.*, II, 90C-91D).

³⁶ Menander Rhetor, in his discussion of a panegyric on a king (L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, III [Leipzig, 1856]), p. 415, 12-14, makes this one of the regular categories of praise of an Emperor.

³⁷ These are listed as the four royal virtues by Menander (Sp. III), p. 373, 7-8. Mamertinus, 5, 4, ascribes to Julian *aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, and providentia* (cf. Ammianus, XXV, 4, 1-10; Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 281).

³⁸ Cf. Julian, *Misopogon*, 338B-339D.

officials (23, 3-5), and during his reign the study of philosophy and the liberal arts, which lapsed under Constantius,³⁹ has revived (23, 4). Julian and Ammianus,⁴⁰ and other pagans of the fourth century A. D.,⁴¹ lay great stress upon the importance of education and its value as a means of inculcating virtue.

Julian is generous not only to the cities and citizens of the Empire, but also to his friends. This generosity which Mamertinus praises (12, 2-3), and other sources confirm,⁴² made him a prey to the greed of unscrupulous men, as Gregory Nazianzen alleges and Libanius admits.⁴³ Julian made a special effort to cultivate *civilitas* towards his officials and, as far as possible, towards people in general,⁴⁴ a virtue which is claimed for him by Mamertinus more strongly and at greater length than any other (12; 28-9; 30), reflecting not only the contrast with the ceremonious remoteness of Constantius, but also the need felt by the new regime to calm the fears which had been engendered by the hostile propaganda of Constantius and which must have lingered in the East.⁴⁵

Nevertheless Julian's care for people was genuine and is illustrated, far better than by Mamertinus, in the report of Ammianus that upon his death bed the Emperor refused to

³⁹ Constantius gave offence to those who had enjoyed the traditional classical education by selecting persons without this background for administrative positions (A. J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne* [Paris, 1959], pp. 92-4; G. Dagron, *loc. cit.*, pp. 71-2).

⁴⁰ Julian, *In Galileos*, 229D-E (cf. G. Downey, "Julian and the Schools," *C.P.*, LIII [1957-8], pp. 97-103). Ammianus, XXIX, 2, 18 (cf. XVI, 7, 5; XVII, 3, 31; XXIX, 1, 42).

⁴¹ E.g. Themistius, *Or.*, XI, 143C-46C. Aurelius Victor (W. den Boer, "Rome à travers trois auteurs du quatrième siècle," *Mnemosyne*, ser. 4, XXI [1968], p. 258). The *S.H.A.* (R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* [Oxford, 1968], p. 126).

⁴² Ammianus, XXV, 4, 15; Eutropius, 10, 16; John of Antioch, fr. 180.

⁴³ Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.*, 4, 44 and 72; 5, 19. Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 200-3.

⁴⁴ Ammianus, XXV, 4, 7; Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 154; 189-92; 12, 82. In *Or.*, 18, 155-6 Libanius praises Julian for rushing from the senate house to greet the philosopher Maximus (cf. Eunapius, *Vit. Soph.*, 476 ff.), an action which Ammianus (XXII, 7, 3-4) condemns as cheap popularity seeking.

⁴⁵ Cf. 14, 6 where Mamertinus claims that Julian refused to intercept Constantinople's corn supply.

mourn himself, but grieved deeply over the loss of his Master of the Offices, Anatolius (XXV, 3, 21). In the opinion of many, including Ammianus, Julian at times carried his *civilitas* too far and his behaviour degenerated into mere popularity seeking,⁴⁶ an interpretation which, according to Ammianus (XXII, 7, 1), was placed by many upon the action of the Emperor, praised by Mamertinus (30, 2), of proceeding on foot to the inauguration of the consuls for 362 A. D.

Although such behaviour on the part of Julian was conditioned by the conscious reaction away from the remoteness and pomp of the court of Constantius, it had one very salutary effect, as Mamertinus notes (26, 1-3). Since the officials could be open and honest towards Julian, the servility and deceit of the court of the previous regime was swept away. This *libertas* is stressed by Ammianus in his account of Julian's reign; and throughout his history he makes it one of the central virtues of a good official to correct boldly and openly the errors of his master.⁴⁷

These are the major traits of the regimes of Constantius and Julian which are discussed by Mamertinus. His proposition is that during the reign of Constantius the state suffered financial ruin as a result of the corruption of its administrators and the lavish court, and that the despotic Emperor himself was a prey to jealousy and to the intrigues of his servile courtiers. On the other hand, Julian is generous both to the cities and to his friends; he chooses his officials wisely; and is as unsparing of himself as he is affable towards others. Thus the panegyrist builds up a contrast between the characters of the regimes of the two rulers and (in accordance with the practice of the age, which ascribed the vices and virtues of a regime to its head) of the rulers themselves.

The virtues ascribed to Julian, affability, honesty, care in the choice of officials, and public and private liberality (virtues which were associated with the Hellenistic king in his role as *euergetes*), appear regularly in the works on kingship

⁴⁶ Ammianus, XXII, 7, 3-4; XXV, 4, 18; Eutropius, 10, 16; Anon., *Epit. de Caes.*, 43, 7; John of Antioch, fr. 180; Zonaras, 13, 13.

⁴⁷ Ammianus, XVI, 7, 6; XXII, 7, 2; 10, 3; XXV, 4, 16 (cf. XVI, 8, 7; XXVII, 6, 14; 7, 10; etc.).

and the panegyrics of the fourth century A. D. and earlier. On the other hand, the praise for the revival of the cities reflects the philosophy of the opposition to the regime of Constantius which bemoaned the increasingly bureaucratic centralization of the age and the consequent decrease in the prestige and the power of the local city governments in the East.⁴⁸ Thus too Julian's deference towards the senate of Constantinople contrasts with Constantius who, according to Libanius, never entered it.⁴⁹

The contrasting details of character, even though, as Barbarino says,⁵⁰ they are probably more than mere *topoi*, are nevertheless, in the manner in which they are used by Mamertinus, of the nature of pro-Julian propaganda. This is clear not only from Mamertinus' speech itself, but also from the use of the same details of character by Julian in his *Letter to the Athenians* and elsewhere and by Libanius in his *Epitaphios*. More interesting is the appearance in Ammianus' *History* of similar characterizations.⁵¹ Galletier has suggested, from a comparison of certain passages of Ammianus and Mamertinus, that the former had read the latter.⁵² Most I do not find convincing; but in one passage there is striking verbal similarity. Mamertinus, 2, 3, describes Julian as *quasi quoddam salutare humano genere sidus* and Ammianus, XXI, 10, 2, calls him *sidus salutare* (also XXII, 9, 14). Since such panegyrics were popular and widely read,⁵³ it is quite likely that Ammianus had seen that of Mamertinus. This is not to suggest that the historian modelled his account of Julian's career up to 362 A. D. upon the version of the panegyrist; his description, for instance, of Julian's revolt differs. Nevertheless the possibility that he knew this (and other) pro-Julian propaganda, together with the striking similarity of detail in the char-

⁴⁸ Cf. Dagron, *loc. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.

⁴⁹ Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 154 (cf. Pichon, *op. cit.*, p. 138).

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 58-9.

⁵¹ The fact that Ammianus draws a contrast between Constantius and Julian has been noted by a number of scholars, e.g. S. Jannaccone, *Ammiano Marcellino* (Naples, 1960), p. 39; C. di Spigno, "Studi su Ammiano Marcellino: il regno di Costanzo II," *Helikon*, II (1962), pp. 456 ff.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, III, p. 9, notes 4 and 5.

⁵³ Straub, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-53.

acterizations of Julian and Constantius, suggests that here Ammianus was strongly influenced by such propaganda and must be used with caution.

As important as the positive aspects of Mamertinus' propaganda are his omissions. He says little either on religious or military matters. In religion he was probably pagan, but his solitary reference, to the god of the old poets (28, 5), is vague and hardly provocative. As the commentators have noted,⁵⁴ this reticence reflected the official policy of the moment, caution.⁵⁵ When Mamertinus delivered his speech, in early January 362 A.D., Julian had already openly professed his paganism and had probably issued his edicts for the restoration of the worship of the old gods and toleration for all creeds and recalled the Christians exiled by Constantius.⁵⁶ But the edicts can only have been in force for a short while, with little or no time to have taken effect. Thus the Emperor and his supporters could not as yet have had an opportunity to evaluate their reception in the markedly Christian city of Constantinople, which Julian had only entered on Dec. 11, 361 A.D.⁵⁷

The treatment of the religious problem is what one might expect for the date of delivery. Apparently more surprising is the lack of interest in Julian's military exploits, upon which there is nothing beyond a short account of the expedition along the Danube and into the Balkans against Constantius. Yet Julian's success in Gaul ranks as one of his major achievements, and in general military exploits form one of the most important ingredients of panegyric. Ammianus, Libanius, and Julian himself devote much space to the Gallic campaigns,⁵⁸ whereas

⁵⁴ Gutzwiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-4; Pichon, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Galletier, *op. cit.*, III, p. 5; Barbarino, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁵⁵ Certainly while Constantius was still alive Julian had only cautiously practised his paganism (Ammianus, XXI, 5, 1; Eunapius, *Vit. Soph.*, 476 *ad fin.*).

⁵⁶ Ammianus, XXII, 5. W. Ensslin, "Kaiser Julian's Gesetzgebungswerk und Reichsverwaltung," *Klio*, XVIII (1923), p. 110.

⁵⁷ Ammianus, XXII, 2, 4.

⁵⁸ Libanius, *Or.*, 18, 42-83; 13, 30-2; Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.*, 278D-281C; Ammianus, XVI, 2-4; 11-12; XVII, 1-2; 8-10; XVIII, 2. If Zosimus, III, 3-8 is an accurate reflection of Eunapius, then the latter also stressed Julian's military exploits in Gaul.

Mamertinus, who notes that they have already been well publicized in the East (3, 1), dismisses the fighting of a number of years against the Germans with the words, *una acie Germania universa deleta est, uno proelio debellatum* (4, 3). This, of course, is itself good panegyric in so far as the ease of this difficult exploit serves to emphasize its brilliance; and the personal nature of the *actio gratiarum* might be thought to account for the lack of stress laid upon military matters by Mamertinus, whose career seems to have been a civil one. But there are two positive reasons for playing down this aspect of Julian's success. First, Julian's triumphs in the West were the triumphs of the western army, and as such would have been of little interest to the people of Constantinople. To flaunt them might have aroused the jealousy of the eastern forces which Julian had only lately taken over, which had recently been preparing to fight him, and which could not have been happy at the presence of the victorious western army in the vicinity of the capital.⁵⁹

Secondly, when Mamertinus was delivering his speech, the trials of the civilian officials of Constantius were taking place at Chalcedon.⁶⁰ Julian, for personal and political reasons, was allowing the military to use these trials to attack the civilian officials of the dead Emperor;⁶¹ and since in this way he was making his peace with the soldiery, at the cost of some unjust condemnations (especially of the wholly blameless Ursulus, who had been a good friend to Julian but who had incurred the wrath of the troops by his criticism of the great expenditure upon the army and its ineffectiveness against the Persians⁶²), there was no need to use the speech of Mamertinus towards this purpose; although Mamertinus is careful to note that the Emperor does have the support of the military (24, 5-7). Better

⁵⁹ The division between the generals of the two armies never completely healed, and reopened after the death of Julian as the two sides supported their own candidates for Emperor (Ammianus, XXV, 5, 2).

⁶⁰ Ammianus, XXII, 3. W. Ensslin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 116-18, argues that the trials began in the second half of Dec. 361 and continued into Feb. 362.

⁶¹ For the argument for this interpretation of the trials at Chalcedon see the appendix to this article.

⁶² Ammianus, XXII, 3, 7-9; XX, 11, 5.

to use it to justify the condemnations of some of the accused against the protests which were to arise and which had perhaps already begun.⁶³ Thus in attacking the regime of Constantius, Mamertinus concentrates on civil affairs and especially the alleged crimes of the civilian officials, which (in Gaul at least) are stressed by contrasting the ease of the campaign against the Germans with the difficulty of the fight against the corrupt governors.

APPENDIX: THE TRIALS AT CHALCEDON

In his discussion of the trials at Chalcedon E. A. Thompson has argued that Julian, under pressure to try some people, attempted to create a fair tribunal of six men which included two civilians (Salutius and Mamertinus himself) and four generals, Agilo, Arbitio, Nevitta, and Jovinus (the first two being ex-officers of Constantius).⁶⁴ Julian thought that the attack would come upon Constantius' men and tried to compensate for this, whereas in fact the soldiers used the tribunal to attack the civilians, who fell victim to strong military animosity when the two civilian members of the tribunal, one of whom, Salutius, was in the chair, failed to check the four generals.⁶⁵

Two weaknesses undermine this theory. First, it is unlikely that Julian was unaware of the split between the civil and the military, which was chronic at this period. Secondly, if, as Thompson suggests, Mamertinus and Salutius were weak characters (which is extremely doubtful in the case of the latter),⁶⁶ Julian must have been aware of this. But if he was aware of it, then his reason for putting them on the tribunal cannot have been the one suggested.

A more plausible interpretation of these events is less favour-

⁶³ Ammianus, XXII, 3, 4, 7-8 and 10. Taurus, one of those considered to have been unjustly punished, was condemned during his own consulship (i. e. before the end of Dec. 361 A. D.).

⁶⁴ *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus* (Cambridge, 1947), pp. 74-5.

⁶⁵ Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-8.

⁶⁶ Salutius opposed Julian's anti-Christian measures (Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.*, 4, 91; Sozomen, 5, 20) and stood up to the angry Valentinian I (Zosimus, IV, 1, 1).

able to Julian. Most of his enemies were civilian officials. He knew of the enmity between the civil and the military. Therefore the accusations which were voiced against Constantius' men⁶⁷ gave him an opportunity to achieve a number of things at one stroke by creating a tribunal which would be hostile to the civilians because, although there were two civilians on it for appearance's sake (both Julian's supporters), it was loaded towards the military. By allowing the generals to destroy their enemies he would: 1. destroy many of the persons to whom he was personally hostile (e. g. Eusebius, Florentius the Praetorian Prefect of Gaul, Apodemius, and Paul); 2. without directly attacking Constantius (a policy which had been tried and proven bad)⁶⁸ discredit the regime of the dead Emperor by branding many of his senior ministers as criminals through an apparently impartial court; 3. conciliate the leaders of the eastern army. It is likely, as Thompson suggests,⁶⁹ that many of the charges arose out of the bad relations between the civil and the military; but Julian's personal interest in the affair appears in the accusations levelled against certain of the defendants that they aided the destruction of his half-brother Gallus.⁷⁰ Convictions against some were obtained only on very dubious grounds;⁷¹ yet the Emperor himself, who, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, was a very fair man, and who, with his great interest in the law, regularly judged cases,⁷² on this occasion took no part. This gives rise to the suspicion that Julian, wanting convictions but unwilling to be seen acting against his own advertised principles, left the dirty work to a tribunal constituted for that purpose—four generals plus two civilians who had no intention of opposing the majority. The Emperor stood aloof, and if a storm broke, could cast the blame elsewhere—which he did.⁷³

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⁶⁷ Julian, *Ep.*, 13, 390A (Wright).

⁶⁸ Ammianus, XXI, 10, 7.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 76-7.

⁷⁰ Ammianus, XXII, 3, 3 and 5.

⁷¹ Ammianus, XXII, 3, 3, 4, 6 and 7.

⁷² Ammianus, XVI, 5, 12-13; XVIII, 1; XXII, 9, 9; XXV, 3, 8-9.

⁷³ Ammianus, XXII, 3, 8.

A PUBLICA FAMES IN A. D. 68.¹

It is recorded in Suetonius' *Life of Nero* (45, 1) that at a time of famine in Rome a ship arrived from Alexandria bearing no more than a consignment of sand for use by the court wrestlers. This added to the ill-feeling already directed against Nero who in some way was using the high price of grain to his own financial advantage:

ex annonae quoque caritate lucranti[a] adcreuit inuidia;
nam et forte accidit, ut in publica fame Alexandrina naus
nuntiaretur puluerem luctatoribus aulicis aduexisse.

Whatever the details of the price manipulation on Nero's part, the facts nonetheless of the *publica fames* and the arrival of the vessel are plain enough.²

The passage belongs to Suetonius' account of the demise of Nero which occupies some ten sections of the biography (40-9). This account is introduced by the rebellion of Vindex in Gaul (40, 1) and concludes with the suicide of Nero himself (49, 4). Analysis of these sections shows that basically two types of compositional method are being used. First, a broad chronological narrative, possibly derived from a single source, which incorporates, for example, the announcement of the rebellion (40, 4), Nero's return from Naples to Rome (41, 2), the spread of the revolt to include Galba in Spain (42, 1), Nero's despair, flight, and death (47, 1-49, 4). Secondly, a cataloguing style by which corroborative *exempla* are adduced in support of introductory generalisations. Thus are included, for instance, predictions of Nero's fate (40, 2), and a list of omens and portents (46). Although the importance of contextual evidence

¹ I wish to thank Mr. A. N. Sherwin-White and Dr. J. Joel Farber for improvements to an earlier version of this paper. I acknowledge also financial assistance from Franklin and Marshall College.

² There is little reason to suspect the literal truth of the phrase *publica fames* unless it is to be imagined that Suetonius elsewhere exaggerates the meaning of *fames*. This does not appear to be the case. Cf. A. A. Howard, C. N. Jackson, *Index Verborum C. Suetonii Tranquilli* (reprint, Hildesheim, 1963), s. v. *fames*.

has been overlooked in dating the present passage, it clearly belongs to a time in the late spring / early summer of A. D. 68:³ news of Vindex' insurgence reached Nero at Naples on the anniversary of the death of Agrippina (40, 4), some time, that is, between 19th and 23rd March, the dates of the festival of the Quinquatrus during the celebration of which nine years earlier the matricide had taken place,⁴ while Nero's death occurred on 11th June, A. D. 68.⁵

The notice cannot be confirmed by any other evidence from the literary tradition, but this in itself does not warrant disbelief in Suetonius' testimony. The narrative of Tacitus is, of course, missing at this juncture, while the absence of similar material in the account of Dio Cassius indicates only that Suetonius had access to information unavailable to or disregarded by Dio.⁶ It is likely that the preceding items in section 44 of the biography were independently researched and catalogued by Suetonius in order to illustrate Nero's combative response to the emergency situation of the rebellion; the chronological narrative, that is, was not being followed here. Yet the list of measures reputedly taken by the *princeps* means in effect that the present passage is slightly misplaced for in itself it has no direct reference to any deterrent action but rather completes the technique followed throughout section 44, whereby material is presented tendentiously in order to reflect discredit on Nero through insistence on the inefficacy of his precautionary activities. For example, in the description of Nero's preparations for a military expedition against the rebels (44, 1) the emphasis given by Suetonius to the point that the emperor's concubines and water-organs were to accompany

³ Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps* (Oxford, 1969), p. 126, n. 7, is rightly sceptical on associating 45, 1 with measures taken by Nero regarding the corn supply after the great fire of A. D. 64; cf. Tac., *Ann.*, XV, 39, 2; Dio, LXII, 18, 5. Yet he does not evaluate the passage from contextual criteria to establish a fixed date.

⁴ Quinquatrus: see W. W. Fowler, *The Roman Festivals* (London, 1899), pp. 57 ff.; Agrippina's death: Tac., *Ann.*, XIV 1-8; Suet., *Nero*, 34; Dio, LXI, 12-14, 1.

⁵ B. W. Reece, "The Date of Nero's Death," *A. J. P.*, LXXXIX (1969), pp. 72 ff.

⁶ Cf. K. Heinz, *Das Bild Kaiser Neros* (Bern, 1948).

him detracts from the essentially sound idea of organising such an expedition. But despite this incongruity some relevance to the events of the spring and summer of A.D. 68 must be assumed, otherwise the inclusion of the item at this stage would positively be alien to the whole content of the ten sections. As observed already, this incongruity is not felt on stylistic grounds. What, then, is the point of this passage?

Profiteering in diminished stocks of grain by Nero can have naturally enough resulted only from a shortage. But immediately may be discounted any association between this and developments in Gaul and Spain since these areas were no more than minor suppliers of grain to Rome.⁷ Indeed, in attempting to ascertain the source of the shortage it is more instructive to focus attention on the main provincial centres of grain supply and to remember also the time of year under consideration. Although Africa and Egypt provided the bulk of Rome's grain,⁸ obviously there was no year-round cycle of supply, for, except in unusual circumstances, grain transportation took place only in the months of late spring, summer, and early autumn when sailing conditions were most suitable.⁹ Consequently some overlapping of transportation is to be assumed from both areas. Now the time of Vindex' uprising coincides well with the opening of the sailing season when current stocks of grain in Rome could be expected to be low before the new provisioning season was under way and when the first ships could be expected to be arriving with their cargoes. The average sailing time from Alexandria to Rome has been computed to be a period of fifty-

⁷ T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, III (Baltimore, 1937), pp. 175 (Spain: J. J. Van Nostrand), 579 (Gaul: A. Grenier).

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV (Baltimore, 1938), pp. 39 f. (Africa: R. M. Haywood); II (Baltimore, 1936), pp. 481 f. (Egypt: A. C. Johnson). Cf. especially Josephus, *B. J.*, II, 383, 386.

⁹ For discussion of the sailing season see E. de Saint-Denis, "Mare Clausum," *R. E. L.*, XXV (1947), pp. 196 ff.; J. Rougé, "La navigation hivernale sous l'empire romain," *R. E. A.*, LIV (1952), pp. 316 ff.; *idem*, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'empire romain* (Paris, 1966), p. 33; L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971), pp. 270 f. For transportation from Alexandria in particular see Casson, pp. 297 ff.; cf. A. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 10, 302 f.

three to seventy-three days and from Carthage to Rome a period of only two to four days,¹⁰ so the normal expectation would be for the African ships to arrive first. In addition, it may be noted that it was not unknown for winter voyages to be made in critical circumstances; observe, for instance, Claudius' encouragement of winter sailing in A.D. 51 (Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 43, 3; Suet., *Claud.*, 18, 2). Hence, if an urgent situation arose an appeal to Africa would be expected, and it is unreasonable to assume that a vessel could not have made the crossing at some stage on an occasion like this. The situation in A.D. 68, therefore, seems to have been that famine in the capital was caused by the delay of the African ships once the sailing season had begun, at a time when existing stocks were almost exhausted. Nero turned this to his own financial good before the arrival of the first Egyptian ships had occurred.

The question must naturally now arise why no appeal to Africa for a relief supply was made once supplies in Rome were seen to be diminishing, and the most logical answer is that no access to African grain was to be had.

It may be proposed that indeed the African corn supply had been deliberately interrupted and that, moreover, this case was directly related to the activities of L. Clodius Macer, legate in Africa in A.D. 68 (Tac., *Hist.*, IV, 49; Suet., *Galb.*, 11). Of Macer little is known,¹¹ the evidence coming from coins and stray references in Plutarch's *Life of Galba* and Tacitus' *Histories*. But with the support of Plut., *Galba*, 6, there is general agreement that he followed the example of Vindex and Galba, yet that his insurgence was independent of that of the other dissidents.¹² He issued his own coins and professed an allegiance to the senate. The success of his venture, however, was undermined through lack of sufficient military power in spite of an attempt to raise locally a legion additional to the standing garrison of the province.¹³

¹⁰ L. Casson, "Speed Under Sail of Ancient Ships," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXII (1951), p. 145.

¹¹ *P.I.R.*,² C 1170.

¹² Cf. G. B. Hainsworth, "Verginius and Vindex," *Historia*, XI (1962), p. 93; P. A. Brunt, "The Revolt of Vindex and the Fall of Nero," *Latomus*, XVIII (1959), p. 537.

¹³ For Macer's coinage see *R.I.C.*, I, pp. 194 f.; cf. *P.I.R.*, *loc. cit.*

An important piece of information is to be found in Tac., *Hist.*, I, 73, where it is stated that a certain Calvia Crispinilla left Rome to join Macer and herself counselled a policy of starving the capital:

magistra libidinum Neronis (*sc.* Crispinilla) transgressa in Africam ad instigandum in arma Clodium Macrum famem populo Romano haud obscure molita. . . .

In the interpretation of this text scholars have, it seems, made two errors. It has often been said that Crispinilla was "sent" to Africa by Nero. Furneaux, for example, wrote that "Nero sent 'Calvia Crispinilla to instigate Claudius (*sic*) Macer, the imperial legatus in Africa, to ensure the fidelity of Rome by threatening it with famine'."¹⁴ Momigliano had the same notion: "He (*sc.* Nero) sent his mistress, Calvia Crispinilla, to urge the legatus in Africa, Clodius Macer, to intervene in his favour. . . ."¹⁵ Similarly Henderson¹⁶ and Hainsworth¹⁷ in their respective treatments. But in the Tacitean notice on whose support most of these would rely there is no evidence for such a notice, and indeed the interpretation may be said to depend on a mistranslation. The phrase *ad instigandum in arma* certainly denotes an idea of purpose. But Nero's name is not connected with this idea nor is such an implication conveyed. Although information on Crispinilla herself is scant,¹⁸ it may equally well be that she had reasons of her own for joining Macer and that she was inciting not a demonstration on Nero's behalf but rebellion against him. Her motivation cannot be safely understood. Later, however, she became the wife of a consular, powerfully rich, and lived unharmed under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius (Tac., *Hist.*, I, 73). Such progress from *magistra libidinum* is striking, and may well indicate desertion of Nero and espousal of an insurrectionist cause.¹⁹ Secondly, there has been the notion that Crispinilla

¹⁴ H. Furneaux, *The Annals of Tacitus*² (Oxford, 1907), II, p. 482.

¹⁵ *C. A. H.*, X, p. 740.

¹⁶ B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero* (London, 1905), p. 407.

¹⁷ Above, note 12, p. 92.

¹⁸ *R.-E.*, s. v. "Calvius," no. 4 (Groag, 1899); *P. I. R.*,² C 363.

¹⁹ The idea that Crispinilla fomented rebellion is suggested by H.

went to Africa only once Nero was dead. Thus the *P.I.R.* entry dates her departure from Rome *post necem Neronis* and the *R.-E.* entry is in agreement.²⁰ Yet this is to rely again too heavily on Tacitus who has nothing of this in his statement. Nor is the context of the passage of any relevance here. There does, however, seem to be some support for such a theory in Plutarch, which shows that at some stage Macer did interrupt the grain supplies: Nymphidius Sabinus informs Galba who is still in Spain after Nero's death that Macer is harassing the supplies at that time.²¹ But this does not of necessity mean that the tactic of hampering the supplies came into operation solely after Nero's suicide. Since at this point of the Plutarch text there is a special need for Nymphidius to increase the anxieties of Galba by whatever means possible, it may well be that the author reserved this information particularly for this context.²² The only unquestionable facts to be taken from Tacitus are that Crispinilla did arrive in Africa and that she gave her advice to Macer. Plutarch shows that the advice was followed. Consequently Furneaux's belief in a Neronian appeal to Macer as part of a strategy by which Nero planned to evacuate Rome is as unrealistic as it is fanciful.²³ The belief that Crispinilla left Rome well before the death of Nero and encouraged Macer to unequivocally rebellious action against Nero is much more compelling.

The suggestion may now be made that the passages from Suetonius, Tacitus, and Plutarch be juxtaposed and regarded as commonly explanatory. Macer is certainly to be accredited with the starvation policy, but rather than following upon the death of Nero it should be viewed as part of his strategy from the outset of his rebellion. The uprising probably began

Heubner in his commentary on Tac., *Hist.*, I, 73 (Heidelberg, 1963). He cites Vell. Pat., I, 12, 1: *Corinthiis in arma . . . instigantibus*, as a parallel to Tacitus' *ad instigandum in arma*. But he does not suggest that this hostility was directed against Nero.

²⁰ See note 18, above.

²¹ *Galba*, 13, 3.

²² For observations on "Plutarch's Biographical Aims and Methods" see J. R. Hamilton, *Plutarch: "Alexander." A Commentary* (Oxford, 1969), pp. xxxvii ff.

²³ Above, note 16, p. 482, n. 14.

at the very end of March when the sea became open to shipping, and was so successful a manoeuvre that its effects were felt directly in Rome in the form of a food shortage. In support of this may be cited the case of Sextus Pompeius, who, in his occupation of Sicily from 43 B. C. to 36 B. C., held Rome in jeopardy because of his interruption of the supplies and the famine which resulted from this. Only briefly did he have control over Africa; nonetheless it seems obvious that the African supplies would have been cut off.²⁴ Secondly Vespasian, after apparently having withheld supplies from Egypt in the late summer of A. D. 69, meditated a move to Africa when news of the battle of Cremona had been received, in order to prevent relief from famine in the capital by additionally suppressing supplies in that area (Tac., *Hist.*, III, 48). Moreover, since a delay in the departure of the corn fleet could be visualised simply as a sign of potential revolt in Africa (*ibid.*, IV, 38), it is not too much to say that withholding the grain was the most natural tactic for adoption by any would-be African insurgent, and that this would be an immediate undertaking once rebellion had been decided upon and once conditions allowed.

Two of Macer's coin legends were SICILIA and CARTHAGO and these have reasonably been understood to signify that Macer seized Carthage and that he at least planned to invade Sicily.²⁵ Such manoeuvres become more significant given that control of the African corn ships and extension of the starvation plan by domination too of the Sicilian supplies²⁶ were the initial and primary aim, Macer following the precedent of Sextus Pompey.

Further, while the specific mention of an Alexandrian ship in the text of Suetonius does not prove absolutely that corn ships from other sources were not available, the public reaction of *invidia* against Nero is explicable if it be understood that the situation in Africa, possibly Sicily also, was already beyond

²⁴ For sources on Sextus Pompeius see *M. R. R.*, II, pp. 348 ff., 362, 374, 383, 391 f., 397, 399 f.

²⁵ *R. I. C.*, I, p. 193; Hainsworth (above, note 12), p. 93.

²⁶ For Sicily as a grain supplier see T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, III (Baltimore, 1937), pp. 349 f. (V. M. Scramuzza).

A NOTE ON OVID, *MET.*, VI, 115-116.

fecit et Asterien aquila luctante teneri:
 fecit olorinis Ledam recubare sub alis:
 addidit, ut Satyri celatus imagine pulchram
 Iuppiter implevit gemino Nycteida fetu,
 Amphitryon fuerit, cum te, Tirynthia, cepit,
 aureus ut Danaen, Asopida luserit ignis,
 Mnemosynen pastor, varius Deoida serpens.
 te quoque mutatum torvo, Neptune, iuvenco
 virgine in Aeolia posuit. tu visus Enipeus
 gignis Aloidas, aries Bisaltida fallis;
 et te flava comas frugum mitissima mater
 sensit equum, sensit volucrem crinita colubris
 mater equi volucris, sensit delphina Melantho.

(Ovid, *Met.*, VI, 108-20)

The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (s.v. Aeolis, I, col. 990) and the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (s.v. Aeolius, fasc. I, 1968, p. 65) have lent their influence to the view that the *virgo Aeolia* (116) is Canace, daughter of Aeolus. In the last hundred years acquiescence to this view can be found in numerous editions, e. g. those of Magnus (Berlin, 1914, p. 724, s.v. Aeolus), Lafaye (Budé, Paris, 1928, *ad loc.*), and Van Proosdij (Leiden, 1968⁶, *ad loc.*).

I find it hard to understand why this theory has won perhaps unanimous approval in the past half-century. What are its merits? On two counts it is plausible. Canace is *virgo Aeolia*. In addition, she was loved by Neptune (Diod., V, 61, 3; Callim., *H.*, 6, 99); but the latter is a minor tradition and far overshadowed by the tale of Canace's incestuous love with her brother, made famous by Euripides. One doubts whether Ovid's audience would have associated Canace with Neptune. As for *virgo Aeolia*, one does not have to search far to find other paramours of Neptune who also were *virgines Aeoliae* (e. g. Tritogeneia, see schol. Pind., *Pyth.*, 4, 122. Antiope, see Hygin., *Fab.*, 157). Why should they not be equally plausible candidates?

Finally, there is the direct objection that nowhere is Neptune said to have loved Canace in the form of a bull nor is there

any kind of evidence which might make us think that such a tradition existed.

Many, with less confidence in Canace, have offered the following alternatives: "Canace or Arne," e. g. Ehwald, following Haupt, in his 1903 revision of Haupt's commentary. Long ago N. Heinsius (Amsterdam, 1702) had proposed Arne without resort to a "vel Canace."

A third suggestion, that of Micyllus in his Venice edition of 1556, is Aeolus' daughter, Melanippe. A few later editors mention this view (though none, to my knowledge, since Burmann in 1727), but it has never been adopted. Indeed, Micyllus mentions Melanippe, but notices Arne and Canace as well, and in the end he leaves the question in the air.

Arne is certainly a better choice than Canace. She is the daughter of Aeolus and mistress of Neptune. Most important, she is the mother by Neptune of a son called Boiotos who, upon birth, was placed in a cowshed and nursed by the cows (See Euphorion, fr. 96, in Powell, *Coll. Alex.*; *Etym. Mag.*, 203, 8, s. v. Boiotos; Preller-Robert, I, p. 587, n. 3). Both the name Boiotos and the story may reflect (or may have motivated) a tradition that Neptune adopted the shape of a bull in impregnating Arne.

But the same tale is more commonly told of Melanippe. She too is attested as daughter of Aeolus and mother by Neptune of a son, Boiotos, who is nursed by the cows (see Hygin., *Fab.*, 186). Moreover, additional evidence favors Melanippe. Of the *Aeoliae virgines* only she is actually ever associated with a bull in extant sources. Varro, *De re rustica*, II, 5, 5, writes of the *nobilis taurus*:

hunc esse, qui filios Neptuni a Menalippa [=Melanippa] servavit, ne in stabulo infantes grex boum obtineret,

which accords well with the hypothesis of Euripides' *Melanippē hē sophē*:¹

τὰ βρέφη τινὲς τῶν βουκόλων φυλαττόμενα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ταύρου, θηλαζόμενα δὲ ὑπὸ μᾶς τῶν βοῶν, ἰδόντες κ. τ. λ.

We can only guess whether this bull was Neptune himself, but the likelihood is perhaps increased by the fact that the infants

¹ Nauck², p. 509; *P. Oxy.*, 2455, fr. 2.

are placed among the cattle at Neptune's orders. We must certainly note that Ovid's *virgine in Aeolia* does not itself imply sexual relations. All it says is that in connection with a *virgo Aeolia* Neptune took the shape of a bull. The sexual aspect is clear only from the context.

Finally, the fact that Euripides treated the myth of Melanippe twice, Ennius once, makes it probable that Ovid and his contemporaries were familiar with this story with Melanippe in the woman's role. In contrast, we know of no important treatment of Arne.

In sum, Arne may be possible here, but Melanippe is a much more likely candidate. And, at all events, we can be quite certain that Canace, so often championed by scholars in the last century, has no place here in our commentaries, translations, or dictionaries.²

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² I am indebted to Professor R. P. Oliver for valuable suggestions.

TWO QUESTIONS OF ATTRIBUTION IN ARISTOPHANES' *VESPAE*.

It appears that there is a difficulty with the assignment of verses in the discussion between Bdelycleon and his two slaves before the parodos of the *Vespae* and in the *scène de bataille* that follows the entrance of the dicasts.¹ Recent editors seem undisturbed that their assignment of the verses allows the same slave who boasts a threat against the wasps in 228 and hears Bdelycleon's rather specific description of them in 223-7 to exclaim, after the parodos, his amazement at the wasp-human confection in 420 and his cowardice at 426-7. The text would be improved if the two sets of verses could be so assigned as to relieve what approaches dramatic contradiction. Coulon, who is followed by Cantarella, prints *Οικέτης β'* in both places, and from the first two lines of the play we know that the second servant must be Xanthias. The same error, or so it seems to me, is seen in two earlier editions, not with Xanthias but with Sosias in both places.² Curiously, it is only the usually deficient Oxford text of Hall and Geldart which offers two different players to deliver the lines before and after the parodos.

However we are to assign the two sets of verses, we are left to rely upon our own devices since the manuscripts are of little help. In determining to which slave Bdelycleon gives his description of the wasps' dual nature the crucial verse is 211, but the only hint from the manuscripts is a paragraphos, although *B* does express a preference for Xanthias at 216, and even in the few lines of the play that it preserves the only extant papyrus of the *Vespae* is in disagreement with the manuscripts on at least one attribution of a line to a character.³

¹ P. Mazon, *Essai sur la composition des comédies d'Aristophane* (Paris, 1904) made the words *scène de bataille* into a *terminus technicus* for Old Comedy.

² W. J. M. Starkie, *The Wasps of Aristophanes* (London, 1897) and J. van Leeuwen, *Aristophanis Vespae* (Leiden, 1909).

³ *P. Oxy.*, 1374. The manuscripts assign 459 to the same person who delivered 458, but the papyrus indicates a change of speaker. See J. C. B. Lowe, "Some Questions of Attribution in Aristophanes,"

After the parodos and just before the attack by the wasps the verse which commands our attention is 395, in which Bdelycleon awakens a sleeping slave. Presumably at some point in the tradition the change of speaker from 394 to 395 was marked only with a paragraphos leaving an ambiguity in attribution and doubt as to whether Bdelycleon's partner in the first part of the defense of the house against the wasps was Xanthias or Sosias.

But does the Oxford text go far enough, having one partner in dialogue for Bdelycleon before the parodos and another after, or is an even more consistent assignment of parts possible?

After the preliminaries to the struggle with the remarks of the slave that the chorus actually do have stingers and the threats of the chorus to destroy the opposition completely, the two sides begin to fight with the cry to battle given by Philocleon (430-3). Bdelycleon calls on reinforcements from the house, at least three by the number of names.⁴ The battle seems to go in favor of the wasps, at the start, or at least it is the chorus that has the most to say during the early progress of the encounter. In 453-4 the chorus still seems hopeful enough, but in 456 Bdelycleon addresses Xanthias by name and urges him to drive the wasps away. The slave acknowledges the encouragement in the next verse and offers the same to his master. Sosias speaks in the next verse with his own curses at the wasps and the scene is ended with a pair of verses given to Xanthias.

The point at which Bdelycleon addresses Xanthias seems to be the turning point of the battle. After that the wasps have to give up the fight and the rest of the disagreement is con-

Hermes, XCV (1967), pp. 53-71, who has handled some of the problems regarding the later sections of these papyrus fragments.

⁴ A. Y. Campbell, "Aristophanes' *Wasps* 436-37," *C.R.*, XLIV (1930), p. 216, attempted to offer grounds for attributing 436 to the chorus but his efforts have not found approval. Wilamowitz, "Über die Wespen," *S.P.A.W.* (1911) suggested that there must have been as many slaves as there were wasps, but that is probably an exaggeration of their number. To have had as many combatants on the side of virtue as on the side of vice would have undoubtedly detracted from the heroism of the upholders of justice as opposed to jurisprudence, and seems dramatically unnecessary as well.

ducted on the verbal level. It seems that Bdelycleon's address to Xanthias in 456 may be encouragement given to a newly arrived helper, as in 453 where the three new slaves appear for the first time. It was one of the virtues of the older texts of Starkie and van Leeuwen that their choice of Sosias as Bdelycleon's partner in conversation before and after the parodos allowed Xanthias to return to the stage at this point. Certainly verses 421 and 426-7 fit the character of Sosias better than they do that of the ever sanguine Xanthias. It might, therefore, be better considered to have Xanthias participate in the conversation with Bdelycleon before the parodos (202-29) and have Sosias speak the first three verses for a servant after the parodos (421, 426-7), allowing Xanthias to appear like the cavalry at the end of the scene and scatter the wasps in the fashion which he had promised before the parodos and attributing to him verses 457 and 460.

Xo.	νῦν δὲ τὸν ἐκ θήμετέρου γυμνασίου δεῖ τι λέγειν καινόν, ὅπως φανήσῃ —	526
Bd.	ἐνεγκάτω μοι δεῦρο τὴν κίστην τις ὡς τάχιστα ἀτὰρ φανεί ποῖός τις ὢν, ἣν ταῦτα παρακελεύῃ;	530
Xo.	μὴ κατὰ τὸν νεανίαν τονδὲ λέγων. . . .	

So the Oxford text. The manuscripts attribute verses 529 and 530 to the chorus, but the corrector of V gives them to Bdelycleon. The chorus begins the opening ode of the agon by stressing the fact that its representative must say something new about the subject, but is interrupted in mid-sentence by two verses attributed to Bdelycleon by the corrector. Bdelycleon asks that his *κίστη* be brought out for taking notes during the debate. The next verse is the one upon which van Leeuwen stumbled: "530: *versum non expedio* . . ." ⁵ His confusion was understandable for Starkie was the first to parse *φανεί* as a third person singular, echoing *φανήσῃ* with which it must share Bdelycleon as a subject. ⁶

⁵ van Leeuwen, *ad loc.*

⁶ Starkie, *ad loc.*: "530. *φανεί*: as *ἀράρ* shows (line 28 n.) Bdelycleon returns to the subject after the interruption. He has heard the last words of the Chorus addressed to Philocleon and turns to them,

The problems of the ode are far from solved and many of the most often accepted suggestions entail moving one or another exchange of verses from one part of the ode to another or attributing the tetrameter interruptions of the chorus to actors other than those assigned by the manuscripts. The solution recommended by Willems is the most satisfactory of the sort and his thinking has had the greatest effect upon the recent criticism of this text.⁷ Pointing out that *καὶ μὲν-γέ* in 538, an expression of agreement, was misplaced and that 539 was pointless in its present position, he suggested that at some point in the transmission 529 had been omitted and written in the margin and that its restoration to the text had involved even more displacing of verses. He gained Coulon's agreement and the editor prints the suggested alteration in our standard text and explains it succinctly: "538 post 526-528 et 530 post 531-537 transposuit Willems."⁸ Prato has more recently argued that the manuscript order of the verses should be retained and that the proposed transposition is irrelevant and has printed a second version of the same text with the verses in the order of the manuscripts, but 529 spoken by the chorus and 530 by Philocleon with both 539 and 540 assigned to Bdelycleon.⁹

The real solution to all of these difficulties and transpositions, I believe, lies in retaining the order of verses as given in the manuscripts, a first step which has already been recommended

asking their meaning; 'What sort of man do you wish him to show himself when you give him this encouragement?' *φavei* is 3rd person sing., not 2nd as it is usually taken, for it obviously takes up *φανῆσαι*, and so the subject of the two must be the same." That laid to rest some of the older conjectures, several of which Starkie cites.

⁷ A. Willems, "Notes sur les Guêpes d'Aristophanes, à propos d'une édition récente," *B.A.B.*, XXVII (1894), pp. 408-9. Another of Willems' objections to the present assignment of the verses and their order was that the connotation of the word *κλῆρη* as something connected with writing could not have been understood without some preparation. But the hint need not have been verbal and I believe that we can safely assume that the commotion on stage might have made clear which specific meaning of the word was meant.

⁸ Coulon, critical apparatus *ad loc.*

⁹ C. Prato, "Revisioni sul testo di Aristofane," *P.P.*, IX (1954), pp. 150-1 and *I canti di Aristofane. Analisi, commento, scoli metrici* (Rome, 1962), pp. 106-7.

by Prato; but they must be attributed to different characters from those assigned by the manuscripts. The first difficulty in the tetrameters is that 529 is given to the chorus, which must be an oversight on the part of the copyist. In fact it is the chorus in the *Ranae* that has books in front of them to follow the argument and see that no fouls are committed (*Ran.*, 113-14), but here the only possibility for assigning the verse is to Bdelycleon who during the agon twice makes written note of points scored by his father (559, 576). In deciding what to do with 530 I think it profitable to look at the second interruption of the ode, 539-40. There it must be Philocleon who delivers the second verse of the interruption because the chorus would only predict such dire results if their own candidate were defeated.¹⁰ If we attribute 529 to Bdelycleon and 530 to Philocleon we can create the same sort of exchange between father and son at the beginning of the ode that we have at the end.

Xo.	νῦν δὴ τὸν ἐκ θήμετέρου γυμνασίου δεῖ τι λέγειν καινόν, ὅπως φανήσῃ —	526
Bd.	ἐνεγκάτω μοι δεῦρο τὴν κίστην τις ὡς τάχιστα.	
Φι.	ἀτὰρ φανεῖ ποῖός τις ὢν, ἣν ταῦτα παρακελεύῃ;	530
Xo.	μὴ κατὰ τὸν νεανίαν τονδὶ λέγων. ὀρᾷς γὰρ ὥς σοι μέγας ἐστὶν ἄγων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀπάντων, εἴπερ, ὃ μὴ γένοιθ' οὐ- τός <σ'> ἐθέλει κρατῆσαι.	535
Bd.	καὶ μὴν ὅσ' ἂν λέξῃ γ' ἀπλῶς μνημόσυνα γράψομαι ᾗ γώ.	
Φι.	τί γὰρ φάθ' ὑμεῖς, ἣν ὀδί με τῷ λόγῳ κρατήσῃ;	
Xo.	οὐκέτι πρεσβυτῶν ὄχλος	540

¹⁰ E. S. Thompson, "Notes on the Wasps of Aristophanes (341, 539, 1291, 1050, 1119)", *C.R.*, IX (1895), pp. 306-7, attempts to attribute all of the tetrameters of this passage to Bdelycleon in an effort at achieving a parallel correspondence to the answering verses (631-47). That necessitates a conjecture: μὴ for με in 539. The alteration has not found favor with editors; there is no need for the changes of speaker in ode and antode to correspond. A pair of examples of this are *Ach.*, 929-36 = 940-51 in which the Boeotian's remark in 947 interrupts the second ode; *V.*, 291-302 = 303-15 where there is hardly any effort to hold fast to a correspondence of change of speaker.

χρήσιμος ἔστ' οὐδ' ἀκαρῇ·
 σκωπτόμενοι δ' ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς
 θαλλοφόροι καλούμεθ', ἀν-
 τωμοσιῶν κελύφη.

545

The ode would then develop in the following way. First the chorus urges its champion Philocleon to offer something new on the topic, 526-8, but is interrupted by Bdelycleon when he asks for his writing chest to be brought out, 529. That diverts the ode, and the chorus, from its train of thought, but Philocleon, in 530, returns them to it with the same word which they had used: what sort of man will his son seem if he recommends this sort of thing? Bdelycleon continues with his preparations for writing, oblivious to the chorus which continues, 531-8, with its request for something novel from its representative. The son interrupts them again with another remark which like the first has to do with his preparations for writing, 539. Again the father turns the chorus back onto the previous theme with a question, 540, which it answers in the last five verses, 541-4.

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REVIEWS.

ROBIN T. LAKOFF. *Abstract Syntax and Latin Complementation*. Cambridge, Mass., The M. I. T. Press, 1968. Pp. xiii + 240. (*Research Monograph* No. 49.)

One would have expected that this doctoral dissertation would be a major contribution. For one thing, it is one of the few attempts at applying the new transformational (or generative) grammar to Latin.¹ Secondly, the author has achieved wide recognition for her work in generative semantics. It is perhaps necessary only to remark that she considers Chomsky to be conservative (p. 215) to indicate the revolutionary nature of her ideas. But although the book is full of brilliant insights, provocative questions, and tantalizing suggestions, it is a failure.

Her goal is admirably stated (p. 10): "We want a grammatical theory that tells us how sentences are grammatically related to other sentences when they are and informs us that they are not grammatically related when they are not." The most important part of her work, whether correct or not, is the attempt to show that the deep structure of Latin, at least for complementation, is essentially like the deep structure of English (p. 73); she quotes with tacit approval the view of "some of the more radical transformationalists, that the deep structure is the same in all the Indo-European languages and may possibly be language-universal" (p. 168). She makes an excellent defense of this admittedly controversial position, arguing that such a theory, even if eventually proved wrong, will be more productive than a theory in which the base is language-specific (p. 215).

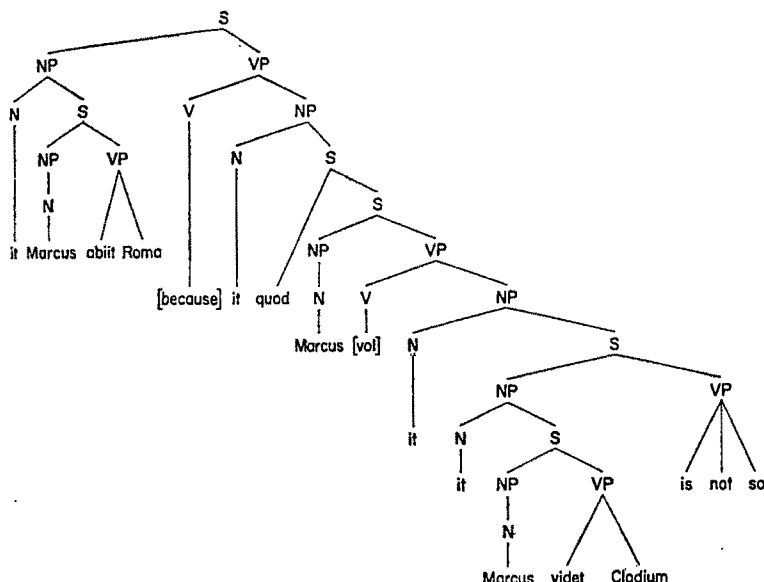
It is now clear that the neo-Bloomfieldians were quite wrong in trying to reduce or eliminate semantic criteria from syntax. The new school of generative semantics has shown that in constructing acceptable sentences we must consider positive and negative semantic features inherent in a word, such as concrete versus non-concrete, animate versus inanimate, etc. By such a system she explains (p. 75) why we cannot say **Edi Marcum venire* in Latin or *"I ate that Marcus was coming" in English: the sentences

¹ P. H. Matthews, in "Latin," *Lingua*, XVII (1967), pp. 153-81 says: "No generative grammar of Latin yet exists—not even a sketch or a segment adduced to illustrate some point of theory." Allan R. Keiler, "Some Problems of Latin Deep Structure," *C.J.*, LXV (1970), pp. 208-13: "Latin, however, has been the subject of only a few studies in transformational grammar": he lists four articles published in American journals. A recent dissertation (The University of Michigan, 1970) is Peter J. Binkert's *Case and Prepositional Constructions in a Transformational Grammar of Classical Latin*. Allan R. Keiler has just published "Latin Possum" (*Essays in Honor of Louis Francis Solano* [Chapel Hill, 1970]).

violate semantic concord. It is more clear than ever that in Latin, for example, such distinctions as \pm personal, \pm time, or \pm concrete are essential for a description of syntax. Personal nouns, for example, in Latin behave quite differently from non-personal nouns. This was sensed by the earlier grammarians and lexicographers with their entries like *aliquem aliquid rogo* but the new linguistics promises far more system and greater insight.

A major contribution of this school is the concept of the abstract verb. She postulates nine such abstract Latin verbs in the deep

(36) Marcus abiit Roma ne Clodium videret.



structure to account for the different meanings of the subjunctive in the surface structure (p. 172). She argues (p. 168), "Without it (the abstract verb), deep structures are not very abstract." Here is a tree illustrating the presence in the deep structure of both [vol], an abstract verb, and the abstract [because]² to indicate a clause of purpose.

With such abstract verbs, "Deep structure will, then, contain only subject noun phrases, verbs, and direct object noun phrases" (p. 169).

Because of these virtues it is unfortunate that the book is so poorly written that it is virtually unintelligible. For this her doctoral

² P. 203. The abstract verb [because] is apparently a misprint for [cause], which occurs on p. 140; in any case, neither [cause] nor [because] is listed in the nine abstract verbs which she discusses in this chapter.

committee and publisher must share part of the blame. Let us examine what its faults are.

First, much of the knowledge of the new school has been handed down by oral tradition, and the book is full of references to unpublished dissertations, oral communications, and the like. Symbols essential to understanding the analysis are introduced without explanation. There are numerous undefined terms and tacit assumptions which make the argument difficult or impossible to follow. The work is addressed neither to classicists nor to linguists but to a small group of specialists of a new school. When they talk to each other, they may be as esoteric as they please, but when they write for scholars in adjacent fields, they have an obligation to make themselves intelligible.

Second, the new school relies upon intuition, instead of a recorded corpus, to determine whether a sentence is acceptable. On the one hand, Chomsky identifies "misery loves company" as a deviant sentence³ while Ronald W. Langacker⁴ tells us that the sentence "That that that Josephine came is annoying is surprising is obvious," although "too involved for most people to grasp immediately," is "grammatical and meaningful." This reviewer, however, accepts the first sentence but not the second. In the same way he disagrees with many of the judgments in this book about acceptability. It is difficult to understand a rule which demonstrates why a sentence is ungrammatical if in fact one finds the sentence acceptable. Dr. Lakoff rejects sentences like "I said for John to leave" (p. 24), "I demand that I go" (p. 36), and "I was very surprised by John" (p. 39), all of which sound grammatical to the reviewer.

In addition, the reviewer finds acceptable, if not always stylish, the following English examples labeled ungrammatical: Chapter 1, (2b); Chapter 2, (41a), (46c), (53a), (56c), (75a), (76a), (76b), (78b), (81b), (83a), (83b), (83c); Chapter 4, (56d), (56f), (73a); Chapter 5, (2a),⁵ (32b), and (32c); and these unnumbered sentences, *I intended for John to go* (p. 58), *John is in Chicago tomorrow* (p. 200), *John is the man not to see about that* (p. 207), *I want to be king this very minute* (p. 102), *John is not happy* (p. 109), *I am not ordering you to leave*, and *I think I am making a wish that I were king* (both on p. 170).

She makes several intuitive statements about Latin, some of which sound doubtful but are difficult to check, others which can be disproved. She rejects the following as ungrammatical: *Impero ut nemo veniat* (p. 150). [She claims that only *Impero ne quis veniat* is possible.] *Impero ut veniamus* (p. 172). [She rejects this because one can never give an order to a group which includes one's self; however, she accepts *Hortor ut eamus* on the next page.] *Altus sis!* (as a command) (p. 160). [Her argument is that a stative verb can never have a command form; surely one can say

³ *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, p. 149.

⁴ *Language and Its Structure* (New York, 1967), p. 94.

⁵ The number (2a) has been assigned to two separate sentences in this chapter. We refer to the one on p. 172, not the one on p. 158.

"Be tall!" just as one can say "Be a man!", and there is after all the imperative form *esto*.]

She says that "for most speakers of classical Latin," **Imperavi Marcum venire*, **Mandavi Marcum venire*, and **Marco iussi ut veniret* are not grammatical (p. 83). [While it is true that the more common constructions are *impero* plus the dative, *ut*, and the subjunctive, and *iubeo* plus the accusative and infinitive, examples of the other combinations are numerous enough to make the statement about "most speakers" meaningless.]

On the other hand she constructs Latin sentences for which we are unable to find parallels. She says (p. 91) that *Licet matri me ire*, in the sense of "It is permitted to my mother for me to go," is acceptable but adduces no comparable sentence as proof. This reviewer's intuition rejects these sentences, perhaps wrongly, but surely the burden is on the writer to furnish the evidence.

Particularly frustrating is her statement (p. 85) that *Volo esse bonum* is "generally considered ungrammatical. There are one or two instances of it in later writers such as Pliny." Which Pliny she means and in what passage (or passages) this construction is found is left for the reader to discover.

On page 117 she gives contrived examples of various ways of expressing *Nullum puerum vidi*, such as *Non vidi ullum puerum*, etc. They are contrived in order to present them in minimum contrast. In her footnote (p. 156) she says, "Real sentences exist in Latin corresponding to all of these," and examples follow. This method should have been used consistently for all important points: contrived examples for clarity of exposition, backed by actual quotes of parallels for verification.

Here are further errors, which could have been avoided by proper use of dictionaries, grammars, and concordances.⁶ She claims that one may not use the connective *et* when the second clause is negative, that the change to *nec* or *neque* is "obligatory" (p. 115). [For the retention of *et* and a negative to give emphasis, see Hale-Buck, 307.3.b.]

"*Dico me venire* . . . is grammatical in Latin but **Dico venire* was not" (p. 224). [A few minutes' search turned up four examples in the second book of the *Gallie Wars*, two of them in chapter 31.]

"The negative in purpose clauses is always *ne*" (p. 201).

⁶ The standard Latin grammars which she lists in her bibliography are Allen and Greenough, Bennett (*Syntax of Early Latin*), Ernout and Thomas, Lindsay, and Woodcock. There is no reference to Kühner or to Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr, or to any dictionary at all, although one can see from her examples that she obviously used Lewis and Short. She apparently did not use concordances at all. [Since writing this I have read the review by Fred W. Householder (*Language Sciences*, no. 6, August, 1969, pp. 11-18). He has checked all her citations against the originals and stresses her careless use of Lewis and Short, charging that she has not verified the references in their original context. He claims that among other errors she has "misinterpreted the Latin noticeably" in 35 of her approximately 200 quotations.]

[Taking Caesar again, we quickly find *Acie[m] instructam habuit ut, si vellet Ariovistus proelio contendere, ei potestas non deesset* (B. G., I, 48, 3).]

"Other verbs of similar meaning—*peto, posco, flagito*—cannot undergo *ut*-deletion" (p. 98). [Usually true, but for *peto*, compare Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, XIII, 34, *abs te peto cures ut is intellegat*, and for *efflagito*, Tacitus, *A.*, IV, 74, 7, *Efflagitabant visendi sui copiam facerent*.]

She says that all verbs of saying take the accusative and infinitive construction, and "There are no examples in Latin of any verb of this class which is irregular" (p. 82). [It is not clear what she means by "irregular," but *inquam* never takes this construction, and it is morphologically irregular.]

"*Abduco* is transitive, but it can take concrete nouns only following it" (p. 196). [She has ignored all uses of *abduco* that do not take concrete objects. In Lewis and Short there is plenty of evidence for non-concrete nouns with *abduco*, with such meanings as "distinguish." Merguet's *Handlexicon zu Cicero* gives an example which is not even tropical: *abduco parumper animum a molestiis* (*Ad Att.*, IX, 4, 3), "I remove my mind for a while from my troubles."]

We are told (p. 89) that *delectari* is not a true passive because it is not found with the ablative of agent. [Lewis and Short lists the passive of *delecto* with the agentive ablative as a separate entry, gives three examples from Cicero, and concludes, "*et saepe*."]

"*Id scio, quod Marcus venit* is Vulgar Latin" (p. 96). [But cf. Martial, XI, 64, 2, *Hoc scio, quod scribit nulla puella tibi*.]

Some of these rules, like the change of *et . . . non* to *neque* would have been valid had she called them "regular" rather than "obligatory" and then explained that failure to follow the rule creates a rhetorical effect.

The work is flawed by contradictions. Compare "classical Latin was, in fact, probably never a spoken language" (p. 2) with "the lexicon of a typical speaker of classical Latin" (p. 82) and "most speakers of classical Latin" (p. 83). Again, on page 205 she says that there are "five alternative ways of expressing purpose" in addition to the *ut*-purpose clause.⁷ Then she lists *six* ways, including the infinitive, but overlooks *ad* with the gerund and the dative of the gerund and the gerundive.

Muddy writing often obscures the point which she is trying to make. It took a long time for the reviewer to discover why she rejects "**I said John's leaving*" (p. 23). It turns out that here "*John's*" is not the contraction of "*John is*" ("*I know John is leaving*") but rather the possessive. Had she written "**I said his leaving*" there would have been no ambiguity.

Since deep structures are not identified by special type or any

⁷ She purposely omits relative purpose.

other device, it is often difficult to tell which level she is discussing.

Because of these deficiencies, typographical errors are correspondingly baffling and sometimes hard to identify. One easily spots the slip in the use of the accusative with *noceo* (p. 107), misspellings (pp. 135, 150, 196, 236), or wrong titles (p. 196). But references to the wrong examples (p. 8, where "(1a)" should be "(1b)") and p. 137, where "1(b)" surely does not refer to "(1b)" and probably stands for "(71b)" or reference to non-existent examples (p. 33, "(41c)" and p. 119, "(39b)") interfere with understanding.

Poor organization also creates difficulties. Chapter Six, "Diachronic Change in the Complement System," seems to have no place in a synchronic description of such brevity. On page 130 we are told that the preceding two pages "are not relevant" but that they offer "interesting examples of apparent exceptions," although she admits "we do not know what they are." The term "flip" is introduced without definition, as the fifth of eleven rules for producing "complement-containing sentences" (p. 19). This term is next mentioned on page 38, "Although Rule (5), flip, cannot be stated formally, it accounts for variations like the following." We are thus expected to deduce from a few examples a rule which the author herself cannot formulate. "Flip" refers to verb forms which look like passives but are not, like the Latin verb *videtur* (in the meaning of "seem"), which never occurs with the agentive ablative. It is used to account for the difference between "I was surprised by John" and "I was surprised at John." When she discusses flip in Latin (p. 89), her discussion is hard to understand because her first three examples are wrong: *delecto*, which she mistakenly says (see above) does not take the agentive ablative, and the deponents *laetor* and *miror*, which she says "are not deponents, because they are apparently (*sic*) passive in meaning."

An inadequate index makes it difficult to compensate for the confused writing.

She often admits that her explanations are inadequate. Such frankness is usually laudatory, but here it is excessive. In the conclusion of the chapter on complementation (p. 99), we are told that the rules just given are based on the assumption of a "syntactic cycle" (the nature of which is not explained) but that recent work has suggested that the syntactic cycle may not exist. "If there is no cycle," the author continues, "then many of the arguments for ordering change and, with them, many of the crucial arguments dictating the actual form of the rules themselves are questionable," including the undefinable flip.

We find most disturbing her constant assumption that the deep structure of Latin always has the same word order as English. Similar to this is her confusing mixture of English and Latin in the deep structure of a Latin sentence, no doubt caused by her view that the deep structures of the two languages are probably identical.

There are four objections which the new linguistics must eventually answer. First, when the transformationalists talk about deep structures, even suggesting that they are language-universal, have they

added anything of substance to the concept of Aristotelian logic, which was the basis of grammatical analysis for so many years and was felt by many to be insufficient?

The second difficulty was foreseen by Zellig S. Harris in his *Methods in Structural Linguistics* (Chicago, 1951). Speaking of the danger of using logical categories, he wrote (p. 2), "If such categories were applied, especially to the meanings of forms in various languages, it would be easy to extract parallel results from no matter how divergent forms of speech." The issue at present is not whether such a procedure is easy (it is not) but whether it is productive.

The third objection is crucial. The vast majority of the work in transformational grammar has been done on English. In the present book, is the author talking about Latin or about her English translation of the Latin?

Finally, it is essential to account for metaphor, which the new school often ignores, even metaphor of the most banal type. Metaphor can perhaps be described as the deliberate violation of one of the rules of semantic concord.

Even with these difficulties, the theories of the new school offer exciting possibilities of reconciling many of the apparent discrepancies between the received grammatical tradition of Hale-Buck and the neo-Bloomfieldians.

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RUSSELL MEIGGS and DAVID LEWIS. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B. C.* Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1969. Pp. xix + 308.

It is safe to say that for the next twenty years at least most students of classical antiquity in the English speaking world (and, I would hope, beyond) will derive their knowledge of Greek inscriptions largely from this book. They will be in good hands. The indispensable collection of Tod has been revised and supplemented so thoroughly that it is now justifiably Meiggs-Lewis (I trust we can be spared *GH I*³ and similar refinements of bibliographic madness). In increasing the pages from 266 to 302, valuable new inscriptions have been included and most of the important old ones, with improved texts, kept. The bibliographies have been selected judiciously and the histories of some important controversies neatly sketched. On occasion one would like a clearer indication of the source of the text that has been adopted and the date of the *editio princeps*. It seems to be taken for granted by the editors that readers will understand that they have checked stones, squeezes, and photographs wherever possible (the consumer of collections of inscriptions should be, but is not usually, so well served) and in several cases improved texts, not at that time published, were made available by other scholars: No. 5 (Foundation of Cyrene), readings by Peter Fraser; No. 27 (The 'Serpent-

Column'), help from G. E. Bean; No. 76 (Treasure Inventory), from W. E. Thompson; No. 78 (The Sicilian Expedition), K. J. Dover, now in A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, IV (Oxford, 1970), pp. 225-7; No. 86 (Draco's Homicide Law), R. S. Stroud [on which more below].

There have been improvements in format: the orthography of Attic inscriptions has been left as inscribed; the aspirate when written on the stone is shown in the now accepted convention; line divisions are those of the stone which are at once easier to use and give a better sense of the lay-out of the inscription. The introductory note on transcriptions (including an explanation of the Attic numeral system), the list of abbreviations, an improved archon list, and the indexes are all admirable. A half-page concordance to *I.G.* would have been a kindness.

The commentaries are both learned and useful. Where Tod said it best he is repeated verbatim. The standard of clarity and balance is very high. Inevitably some of the commentaries are overly condensed. E. g., p. 1, read "Kyme of Euboean foundation" for the misleading "Euboean Kyme." P. 15, where quotation of Jeffery's correction of herself is mysterious. P. 18, on No. 9, "Down through Νεμέαι" would have avoided ambiguity. No. 32, p. 72: "Ionic script" is misleading. Alphabet does not determine dialect. The text is in Ionic dialect and that is what matters. On No. 81 it is said of the 400's use of Ionic letters that it was "perhaps on principle." What principle? It is noted on p. 254 that Thasian oligarchs seem to have revived the use of the traditional Parian alphabet. On the other hand, most of p. 29 on the location of the Athenian monument for victory over Boeotia and Chalkis seems unnecessary.

Because of the number, variety, and importance of the surviving inscriptions of Vth cent. Athens, the history and operations of the Athenian empire bulk large among the subjects of the book. A number of the commentaries are, in fact, essays on aspects of the study of the empire and are more up-to-date, reliable, and accessible than anything we have had (see especially No. 58 and No. 69). Wisely, large bodies of material such as the Tribute Lists (pp. 83 ff.) have been shown in brief samples with more comprehensive essays. So too No. 21, Ostracism at Athens, is an excellent essay on the subject with a few examples; in this case, unfortunately, the table of statistics on pp. 45-7 is now invalidated by the new discoveries in the Kerameikos (see, e. g., *B. C. H.*, XCII [1968], pp. 732-3, in "Chroniques des Fouilles"), and in general pp. 43-7 are rather technical for most users of the book. Casualty lists are more interesting to have than to read; however, one does not begrudge the space given to Nos. 33, 35, 48 (repeated from Tod) that are included for they are more than lists of names. Outside of Attica, the Gortyn Code (No. 41) is represented by only one section with a humane translation and good bibliography and commentary. Even beyond Attica one can bring together a number of texts to illustrate a subject: thus, early law (Nos. 2, 8, 41); colonization (Nos. 5, 13, 20, 49), the republication of earlier, or purportedly earlier, texts in antiquity (No. 5, The Foundation of Cyrene; No. 12, The Letter of Darius; No. 23,

The Decree of Themistocles; No. 86, Draco's Homicide Law—in the first three the date of the relevant historical problems rather than the date of inscription determines inclusion).

The texts printed are conservative. On the whole, blank spaces are preferred to restorations that may mislead, and considering how many novices will use the book the policy is particularly wise. In the commentaries, however, the editors have not hesitated to make clear their position on many controversial points. In general, they do not accept the effort of Mattingly to lower the date of a series of Athenian inscriptions from the mid-V cent. by a quarter of a century (on the importance of the controversy see Meiggs' remarks in *J. H. S.*, LXXXVI [1966], p. 98). The difficulty of dealing adequately with the purely epigraphic criteria in a work such as this will be considered below. Meanwhile I indicate their position on a number of issues and then add comments and information on a few texts.

For the Foundation Decree of Cyrene (No. 5) they doubt that there was a single preparation of the text in the fourth century but rather that there was "a long and complex moulding of a genuine original within the tradition of Thera." On the Decree of Themistocles (No. 23) they minimize the differences between a genuine original that was edited and a composition of the IVth cent. using "the source material available, taking that phrase in its widest sense." On Athens' Alliance with Egesta (No. 37) they favor 458-7 B. C. and the archon Habron on grounds of the historical situation and the epigraphic style. On No. 38 (The Victory of Selinus) they do not believe the text is metrical and are non-committal on Calder's suggestion of a date in 413 B. C. They do not believe the *lapis primus* of the Athenian Tribute Lists had a crowning member (p. 84). On The Political Expulsions from Miletus (No. 43) they reject supposed Neleid control and Neleid expulsion. On the Appointment of a Priestess of Athene Nike (No. 44) they see an implication that a temple was not yet to be built. Both the Coinage Decree (No. 45) and the Kleinias Decree (No. 46) (on Tightening-up of Tribute Payment) they keep in the early 40's. On No. 47, also put in that period, they doubt the planting of an Athenian colony at Kolophon. They believe that there was no Tribute List for 449/8 but that the collection may have been used for a single project, perhaps for Athena Nike (an earlier suggestion of Meritt, see pp. 134-5 on No. 50; but since the temple was not built then what happened to the money?). In the settlement with Chalkis (No. 52, which they date to 446/5) the *xenoi* of lines 52 ff. are not Athenian cleruchs. For the Accounts of Phidias' Parthenos (No. 54) Lewis proposes a new arrangement of the fragments to be justified elsewhere (p. 149). The Kallias decrees (No. 58) are put in 434/3, "a firm date," against Mattingly's 422/1. That No. 63 is a renewal in 433/2 of an Athenian alliance with Rhegion first made in the forties is accepted but with some hesitation and particular disquiet at a "dead proposer," i. e., that the original proposer's name should be allowed to stand. Should we not compare the use of the proposer's name as identifying a decree so that in this case the original text is still identified by the proposer's name, whatever his condition? For the Spartan

War Fund (No. 67) study of the squeeze has resulted in a cautious text. The editors disagree on the date, Meiggs favoring 427, Lewis 396-5. The Decree of Thoudippos is taken to be the work of the followers of Kleon but the *stratia* referred to is probably that of Nikias to Corinth. No. 70 is in honor of Herakleides, the Klazomenian, 424/3, not the Byzantine of the early IVth cent. The text of No. 72, the Logistai inscription, is closer to that of Lang and Meritt than that of Pritchett, but a number of the latter's restorations are accepted and there are a few of their own. The discussion does as much as, and perhaps more than, one could have hoped, towards clarifying this most difficult text.

For the following I record additional information or disagreement (I omit here and among corrections below what McGregor has covered in his review in *Phoenix*, XXIV [1970], pp. 176-82). On No. 1, 'Nestor's Cup,' there is now the article of K. Rüter and K. Matthiessen, "Zum Nestorbecher von Pithekussai," *Zeitschr. f. Papyrol. und Epigraphik*, II (1968), pp. 231-55. On the Kallimachos dedication (No. 18) Miss Evelyn Harrison will demonstrate the probability of a dedication of a Nike, not an Iris, and so reinforce the interpretation that the *agon* refers to a contest in the games. On the Law of the East Lokrians (No. 20) the editors (and Tod before them) mislead with their overly interpretative translation of lines 2-4: "May have civil rights" for *λανχάνειν* of *λανχάνειν καὶ θύειν* and "he shall sacrifice and participate both in a commune and in a society" for *θύειν καὶ λανχάνειν κὲ δάμο κὲ φωνάων*. *λανχάνειν* here can only mean "get shares in sacrifice" (cf., e.g., *I.G.*, I², 188 C, lines 46-53). That privilege may, indeed, define the character of the colonists' rights in the mother city. Meister and Graham, both cited in the commentary, have this right. Incidentally, I can not feel that the earlier inscription of a Lokrian community (No. 13) has yet been explained. On the Decree of Themistocles (No. 23) and the Decrees for the Sicilian Expedition (No. 78, specifically Fr. c, line 13), B. Jordan, "The Meaning of the Technical Term *Hyperesia* in Naval Contexts of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B. C.," *Calif. St. in Cl. Ant.*, II (1969), pp. 183-207, argues that *hyperesia* refers to trained crews of slave rowers. If Jordan is right (which I doubt) the reference I proposed for the term in No. 23 (to the marines and archers) is a minor casualty in the ruins of our understanding up to now of the Athenian navy after the Persian Wars. The Regulations for Erythrai (No. 40) are presented with a much more conservative text than usual. But I do not understand lines 3-4 where the Erythraians are to bring *σ[τ]ρογ[υ]* to the Great Panathenaia of no less than three minai in value and distribute (presumably the grain) to those Erythraians present. At a price of 2-1/2 drachmas per medimnos of wheat (or per two choinikes of barley, but the ration of barley was also twice that of wheat) this would mean 5760 choinikes or 5760 individual daily rations (on the prices and rations see, e.g., A. French, *The Growth of the Athenian Economy*, p. 129). The Great Panathenaia required at least four days (cf. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 24). Allowing six days for the festival we get rations for 960 individuals which can be made to include women, children, and servants, who did

not get full rations, but still requires an impossibly large number of Erythraians at the festival. If one supposes that the Erythraians were to supply grain for the festival as a whole (the distribution being of only part of the grain or perhaps of portions of sacrificial meat) we get into other difficulties.

On No. 44 (Athena Nike), see McGregor's review for further contributions to the problem by Alan Boegehold and Donald Bradeen with McGregor. The treatment of the Athenian Coinage Decree (No. 45) should be extremely helpful. However, the doubt (repeated from *J.H.S.*, LXXXVI [1966], pp. 97 f., n. 44) that an Athenian emigré engraver on Kos would be old-fashioned in his use of *sigma* "when none of his other letters suggests that he was old-fashioned" continues to mistake Pritchett's argument: he was perfectly normal in his tastes when he left Attica in the forties at a time in which by Meiggs' demonstration in *J.H.S.*, the appearance of the three-barred *sigma* along with other more "modern" forms would not be remarkable; twenty years later, the argument goes, he was still using the forms of his epigraphic youth. The issue here is the likelihood of the hypothetical emigré with his retarded style. It might seem that the opposing probability, or improbability, is that of a piece of island marble being engraved in Attica. Assuming that the Koan fragment is on Parian marble, we have to ask if Parian marble is found in use in Attica, and unless visual criteria are completely invalid (as they may be) the answer is certainly that it is found. So we would come down to exported stone versus emigré stone-cutter. But even the attribution of the stone to a Parian source is only a probability. It is clear from a reading of A. N. Georgiades (cited in the commentary) and now C. Renfrew and J. S. Peacey in *B.S.A.*, LXIII (1968), pp. 45-66, that we do not yet know enough about the scientific characteristics and range of types of marble from different parts of Greece to make any sure attributions. Until a sufficient exploration of quarries and testing of samples has been carried out those who publish stone objects had best confine themselves to visual descriptions and clearly stated personal impressions, which can still be of value to other scholars. (In *B.S.A.*, LIX [1964], p. 30, Hardy and Pritchett ask the basis of my description of the stone on which the Themistocles Decree is carved as Pentellic marble. I know of no marble, i. e., of no metamorphosed limestone, of sufficient quality for artistic or epigraphic work, in the southern Argolid and I note that Miss Burford in her *Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros* [Toronto, 1969] seems to regard all the marble used there as imported. The nearest source for Troizen is Attica. I should have said "Attic" not "Pentellic" since what seems to the eyes of some like "Pentellic" looks like "Hymettian" to others).

There may be new evidence on the problem of the Coinage Decree from a fragment at one time in Odessa. Besides *S.E.G.*, XXI, 18, the most accessible source is Eberhard Erxleben's "Das Münzgesetz des Delisch-Attischen Seebundes," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, XXIX (1969), pp. 121-3. Erxleben begins in this article (pp. 91-139 and p. 212) a detailed study of the decree with a consideration of the text of all known fragments. He reserves the

discussion of the date for a later part of his publication but indicates that he attaches much weight to the view of the editor of the Odessa fragment that the letter forms barely permit a Vth cent. date. *S. E. G.* reports a four-barred *sigma*, and *eta* and *omega* indicate the Ionic alphabet.

On 51 (The Epitaph of Pythion) Colin Edmondson has argued effectively against 446/5 in a paper for the American Philological Association in 1969.

In the First-Fruits Decree (No. 73), if the rider's concern with the Pelargikon (whose location in the commentary should have been explained) points to a date after the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, then a date after the Peace of Nikias is required. The small sums given to the epistatai by the hieropoioi in 421/20 and 420/19, even if we suppose they received only a fraction, do not argue for the existence of the elaborate machinery described in the decree. More important, the use of Delphic support (which, to be sure, may not in reality have extended to an encouragement of Panhellenic *aparchai*) and the eagerness to go to non-allied cities favor a date after the Peace (on Delphic animosity to Athens, see H. W. Parke and D. E. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, I, *History*, pp. 192-3). The commentary on lines 36-7 is not helpful. On the subject of the *pelanos*, see P. Amandry, *La Mantique Apollinienne à Delphes* (Paris, 1950), ch. VIII (though his distinction between the destination of the offerings of the non-allied cities and the rest is not justified). It is not provable but to my mind inescapable that the sentence *θέεν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῷ πελανῷ καθότι ἂν Εὐμολπίδαι [ἐχσῆε/γῶ]νται* is to be taken as exactly parallel to the one that follows where specific animal sacrifices are to be made *ἀπὸ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν*, i.e. that *ἀπὸ τῷ πελανῷ* refers to the source of money for animal sacrifices to be determined by the Eumolpidae, and so that the *pelanos* here, as so often, refers to a fee, either in money or in kind immediately converted to money.

On No. 80 (Decree in Honor of Pythophanes), the editors' suggestion of *Phaistios* as the ethnic of the honorand is rather buried in their apparatus. It makes unnecessary the epigraphically improbable attachment of him to Karystos, and so eliminates the argument that the decree was passed before Karystos revolted, and so under the 400. But the editors remain properly reluctant to ignore the differences between the prescript of this decree and that for the indictment of Antiphon *et al.* ([Plut.], *Vit. X Orat.*, 833 d). The latter, however, clearly comes after the fall of the 400 and we may accept the other arguments for associating No. 75 with the 400 even if the rebellion of Karystos is now irrelevant.

No. 84 (Expenditures of the Treasurers of Athena for 410/09) has been re-published by Pritchett in *The Choiseul Marble* (*Un. of Calif. Publ.: Cl. St.*, 1970), pp. 18-21, with minor changes only. On No. 86 see now *Drakon's Law on Homicide*, a monograph by R. S. Stroud (*Un. of Calif. Publ.: Cl. St.*, 1968). He shows convincingly that nothing is missing before the beginning of the law as we have it (line 11) and that Premeditated Murder was almost certainly treated later in the law; he also denies any repeal or revision at this time or earlier of any part of Dracon's pro-

visions on homicide. He does not deal with the question of changes in language or orthography.

Owners of the book may find a list of some corrections useful (a number were caught by sharper eyes than mine, and I omit those listed in *Phoenix*). P. 85, *θράκιος*. P. 105, No. 43, line 1,]σ[for σ. P. 108, No. 44, line 2, the trace of the upright should be in the bottom half, not the top half of the line. P. 116, four lines from bottom, read "didrachms" for "dekadrachms." P. 119, app. crit., for No. 46, line 22, *τινες ὄσιν*. P. 150, No. 55, line 17, the figures should read $\text{P} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{T} \text{T} \text{T}$. P. 168, Kolbe, . . . *im Lichte der Urkunden*. P. 191, line 55, *ἡοπόσ*— P. 197, line 11, "Their suggestion . . ."

Accents: P. 67, No. 31, lines 17, 27, *Φασηλιτών*. P. 71, eight lines from bottom, *κάθοδος*. P. 73, No. 33, line 75, *Δυ[σ]ικλῆς*. P. 78, No. 35, line 127, *[Α]ἰσχυλος*. P. 108, app. crit. for line 1 f. *ΓΛ]αῦκος*. P. 123, app. crit. to No. 47, line 14, *Ἀθηνά*. P. 143, line 7, *κλεροῦχοι*. P. 190, No. 69, line 28, *βολήν*; line 30, *πρυτάνεον*. P. 195, second paragraph, *Λεοντίς*. P. 198, line 8, *διαδικασίαι*. P. 226, line 8 from bottom of page, *κοστῆς*. P. 230, No. 77, line 15, *τοῖς μετά*. P. 262, app. crit. on line 45, *παρόντας*, *bis*. Index, p. 298, *Παναθήναια*, *Παρθένος*.

The essential achievement of Meiggs and Lewis is to have brought together so much that can inform us on an incomparably exciting era of Greek history, in such clear, convenient, and concise form. To this end a price has been paid which may be unavoidable for any such book. The interest of a good number of the texts included derives from their date rather than from their substance and their date is largely dependent on the criteria of epigraphic style. Without drawings, photographs, or a font of epichoric type very little sense of the early scripts can be conveyed. Nos. 8, 10, 13 are examples where the lack is especially evident; No. 11 has a good discussion but, without drawings or photographs, it is difficult to appreciate "a craftsman who was ahead of most of his contemporaries." The difficulty extends to the large issue of the dating of some of the major texts for the study of the Athenian empire. One can understand the editors' dilemma. Unfortunately there is nowhere to turn, for L. H. Jeffery's *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford, 1961) is not at the level of accessibility and convenience that Meiggs-Lewis will be and does not deal with the later problems. I can only wish there had been a two- or three-page introductory essay on the subject, with the omission of an equal number of pages for inscriptions that need illustration. Another lack that is even more evident but easier to cure is help on rare words and dialect forms. Sometimes the editors are most helpful; at other times one must turn back to Tod or, more often, to C. D. Buck's *Greek Dialects* (Chicago, 1955). A selection of historical inscriptions can not carry a commentary on everything that needs explanation. We can be grateful that so much is presented and explained so well.

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Scholia in Aristophanem. Edidit edendave curavit W. J. W. KOSTER. Pars I: Prolegomena de Comoedia; Scholia in Acharnenses, Equites, Nubes. Fasc. 2, continens Scholia vetera in Aristophanis Equites, edidit D. MERVYN JONES, et Scholia Tricliniana in Aristophanis Equites, edidit NIGEL G. WILSON. Groningen, Wolters-Noordhoff, n. v.; Amsterdam, Swets & Zeitlinger, 1969. Pp. xxvii + 280; 2 plates. Dfl. 70.20 (= \$19.65). (*Scripta Academica Groningana.*)

Ten years have now passed since the appearance of Pars IV, Fasc. 1 in this series. From the present fascicle, which is actually a large volume in its own right, we learn that Pars I will comprise the Prolegomena de Comoedia and the scholia on *Acharnenses*, *Equites*, and *Nubes*. Now, if the publication of the scholia on a single play in its own individual fascicle is continued, and one hopes that it will be, then we shall eventually have at least two further fascicles in Pars I. The remaining eight plays will have their scholia divided somehow between Pars II and Pars III. (Pars IV, it will be remembered, contains the Tzetzean scholia and commentaries upon the Byzantine Triad, plus Tzetzes' argumentum on the *Aves*.)

The pages of this fascicle present the text of the scholia and the glosses, followed by the testimonia, with the apparatus at the foot of the page, where it can be consulted with dispatch. Out of 273 pages of scholia and glosses there are but 46 pages without testimonia. All lemmata are printed in full, with the letters spaced, and all words and phrases that are glossed are separated from the gloss itself by a right-hand square bracket. *Scholia vetera* and *scholia Tricliniana* are distinguished in the left margin by the tags *vet* and *Tr*, respectively, and these tags are conjoined when the particular scholium is a *vet* that Triclinius has reworded. Line-numbers for the pages of scholia-text are also given in the left margin, in multiples of five. At times there are several *vet*, or several *Tr*, or both, on a single verse or half-verse. These are then given in what looks like mainly an order of antiquity, as determined largely by the MSS. Now, this practice sometimes results in what may seem to be unnecessary duplication, since at times two or more such successive scholia overlap in wording or in content. The alternative, however, would be to print a text that was a distillation of the MSS, representing really no one of them and perhaps giving a false impression that this distillation was the original unity from which parts were excerpted. (It is not denied here that such a situation may indeed at times be close to the truth.) The apparatus in such a case would be a bristling conglomeration of MS-designations, numerals, superscripts, and variants. There must be a middle course, which in the main Jones and Wilson seem to me to have adopted. This was a wise decision. All the scholia on a given verse are given first, and then the glosses follow.

The right margin—*not* the outer margin, as is stated in the Praefatio, p. xxvi—contains parallel references to the Dübner edition, a service that is most useful for those who wish to judge for

themselves. All notices on any one verse are separated by a blank horizontal space from those on the verse next following, and the verse-numbers themselves are printed in bold face. These are two simple printing devices, but they are a boon for tired eyes.

In constructing their apparatus, Jones and Wilson have (again wisely, in my own view) firmly abandoned the quaint practices of Pars IV, fascicles 1-3. They have been polite about doing it, "leges iampridem usitatas conservavimus" (Praefatio, p. xxvi), but firm nonetheless, and the happy result is fullness of information (yet without *quisquiliae*) with economy of space and efficiency in consultation. From the point of view of one who has been using this fine book for several months, I may suggest that in the apparatus, as also in the testimonia, bold-face verse-numbers would have been preferable by far to the present line-numbers, for these key the reader's eye back up to a line of scholia-text. It might even be possible, with the assistance of the first-class compositors who made up these pages, to employ both bold-face verse-numbers and line-numbers that refer to the scholia. This would be especially useful in such instances as pp. 22-4 (schol. *Eq.* 55) and pp. 30-1 (schol. *Eq.* 84b).

Whereas the manuscript basis of the Tzetzean commentaries in Pars IV is fairly simple (see my review, *A.J.P.* LXXXVI [1965], p. 424), that of the present fascicle is extraordinarily complex. For, in addition to R and V, which are the worst and the best MSS, respectively, as far as scholia are concerned, Jones and Wilson have used seven other *principal* MSS of Aristophanes and twelve *secondary* MSS (which present little more than copies, usually abbreviated and usually bad, of material from one or more of the nine *principal* MSS). There are also thirteen MSS of the Suda that have been consulted; the importance of the Suda for the constitution of both the text and the scholia has been well known ever since Kuster's great Amsterdam edition (1710) of the poet. Sample readings from the *secondary* MSS are given, Praefatio, pp. xx-xxiv. The *principal* MSS are: Parisinus gr. 2712 (thirteenth century; used however only for the argumenta, and hence disregarded in the following summary); E(stensis a. U. 5. 10 [fourteenth or fifteenth century]); four MSS of the fourteenth century, F (= Laurentianus plut. 31.15), G (= Laurentianus conv. soppr. 140), M (= Ambrosianus L 39 sup.), and Vat(icanus gr. 1294). Lastly, there is the newly-discovered Lh (=Holkhamensis gr. 88), which is one of the most important MS finds of recent years. A paper MS of 278 folia, it contains all the plays except *Leysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, and *Ecclēsiazusae*, with prolegomena, argumenta, scholia, and glosses. It belongs to the first decades of the fifteenth century: "signa chartaria non bene dispiciuntur" (Praefatio, p. viii, n. 2). Formerly in the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall, it was acquired in 1954 by the Bodleian Library and first collated by Wilson, who discusses it in an important article, "The Triclinian Edition of Aristophanes," *C. Q.*, n.s. XII (1962), pp. 33-47. Some of the material in this article, and much of that in Jones' two articles on the MSS of the *Equites* (*C. Q.*, n.s. II [1952], pp. 168-85, and *ibid.*, V [1955],

pp. 39-48), is summarized in the Praefatio, especially pp. viii-xvii and xviii-xix.

In addition to the customary "verticality" in the chronological relation of these MSS, and of the hands of the correctors of some of them, there are complicated cross-relations and contaminations. Briefly, there are three principal groups: RMSu, VE, and AΓΘ. In theory, any member of any group can agree at any time with any one or more, or even all, of the members of either or both of the other two groups against its own consobrinii. (Naturally, extreme cases are rare.) The age of a MS is no guarantee of its readings (see below in the reading of R at *Eq.* 190), and the alignments often change from play to play, or even from play to scholia: in *Ach.*, for example, E is more properly a member of the group AΓΘ. The first corrector of Γ, Γ², is more often in agreement with M and Su than with either A or Θ, whereas the second corrector, Γ³, is so close to E as to be virtually a *gemellus*—closer even than is V. This situation is upon first realization bewildering, but on reflection one gradually becomes aware that it is perfectly natural, and that it mirrors the individuality of the many scribes and correctors. Each of the *principal* MSS offers unique contributions: M, for example, contains metrical scholia that are almost worthless, and yet it alone furnishes on 333 the scholium *δίστιχον ἐπάγουσι τοῦ χοροῦ ἱαμβικὸν τετράμετρον καταληκτικόν. ἑξῆς ἔπονται στίχοι [δύο] ὅμοιοι ἱαμβοὶ τετράμετροι καταληκτικοὶ λβ'*, "quod certe ab Heliodorō originem ducit."

Finally, there are thirteen verses (41a, 84a, 93a, 494a, 527a, 546a, 550a, 551a, 522a, 574a, and 580a and b) on which papyrus fragments, most of them already known for some time now, are included. Each of these is labeled in the left margin with the tag *pap*, and we are told that they are all taken from four papyri: *POxon. Bodl. MS. Gr. f. 72* (P); *POxy. XI, 1402*; *PBerl. 13929* and *21105*. (The last of these was published only two years ago by H. Maehler, *Hermes*, XCVI [1968], pp. 287-93.) The earliest of these scraps appears to belong to the fourth century—six centuries earlier than R—and the latest is also the longest: it offers illuminating confirmation from the fifth century of the content and even the very wording of the *scholium vetus* at this point (Jones' text here rests upon VET³ΘM).

The editors do not always indicate the line-divisions of the papyrus; the dots they print in the lacunae do not always correspond precisely to the restorations they borrow; and they are not consistent in the information they provide in the apparatus. For example, the source of the papyrus gloss on 93a is not identified at all, and at the fragment quoted on 552a one must return to the Praefatio for precise reference to Maehler's article in *Hermes*. My most serious objection, however, is that in the text we are given only a diplomatic transcript, the restorations of Grenfell, Hunt, Körte, Zuntz, being relegated to the apparatus. Yet even here they are inconsistent, for at 580b they print Maehler's restored text in full in their text. It seems to me that what we desire in the text is an edited text, and that critical matter should go into the apparatus: this is what we have in the scholia and glosses from mediaeval

MSS, and I cannot see why it should be different in the case of papyri.

To pick only one small sample of the text of the scholia for comment, one may observe with pleasure that the proper wording of *Eg.* 190 is adopted as the lemma. Future editors of the play should print *τοῦτ' ἐν μόνον ἐβλάψεν, ὅτι καὶ κακὰ κακῶς*. All MSS but R exhibit the correct reading, and R alone has what E. Fraenkel (*Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes* [Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1962], pp. 45-8) calls "offensichtlich eine Trivialisierung" of the genuine text. Fraenkel is no doubt right when he ascribes the widespread acceptance of R's reading to the enchantment with the antiquity of R, after its rediscovery, and to the general belief, in consequence, that its readings were superior even to a consensus of the other MSS. But in stating (p. 45) that the correct reading "scheint seit dem Wiederbekanntwerden des Ravennas von keinem Herausgeber mehr berücksichtigt worden zu sein," Fraenkel is mistaken: see van Leeuwen's text and comment. There are adequate parallels in Aristophanes himself for the correct reading, whose propriety is established once for all by Wackernagel's findings (*Indg. Forsch.*, I [1892], pp. 333 ff., cited also by Fraenkel). Once again we have a demonstration that the age of a MS is no guarantee of its readings. In any event, Jones and Wilson print the lemma as it is given in those of their MSS that have it (R has no lemma here), and we thus have yet one more small piece of evidence for the inestimable importance of the scholia for the constitution of the text of the play itself.

A brief *index auctorum* and an *index grammaticorum* conclude the work. This reviewer, at least, would venture to suggest that this entire series is such an important undertaking as to merit an *index verborum* in its own right. This might be done either in a single fascicle for the entire series, including all four *Partes* when they are complete, or—what is more immediately practicable—a fascicle for each *Pars* as that *Pars* is completed. The editors have given an excellent outline of the contents of their Praefatio on its first page. Much of their discussion of individual MSS refers the reader to works already published. Since some of these works, however, are not always readily available, e.g., Zacher's *Die Handschriften und Classen der Aristophanesscholien*, or White's *The Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes*, it would have been helpful, nor would it have increased the Praefatio inordinately, to have included somewhat fuller discussion, at least of the *principal* MSS.

The external form of the book presents the same altogether handsome appearance as do the fascicles of *Pars* IV. There are two fine photographs as frontispieces: Laur. plut. 31.15, fol. 105^v (= text. *Eg.* 484-516, schol. *Eg.* 484-511, 530; an interesting MS, whose text is in two columns that must be read one line left and one line right, instead of vertically), reduced to 28.2% of actual size; and Laur. conv. soppr. 140, fol. 106^r (text. et schol. *Eg.* 361-74), reduced to 55.8% of actual size. It is regrettable that the editors did not (or could not) present one or two plates of the newly-discovered *Holkhamensis*, but that may come in a future

fascicle. I have noted one small erratum: in the list of contents of I (pp. vi-vii), reference to *Eq.* has fallen out: insert *Eq.* between *Eccl.* and *Av.*

The brief compass of this review has necessitated the elimination of a number of matters that ought to have received some attention, e. g., the character of the *scholia Tricliniana* and the methods whereby they are distinguished from the *vetera*, or the re-evaluation of the position of Demetrius Triclinius in the history of classical scholarship. There are things of which I for one do heartily approve, but lack of space forbids going into them. Consequently, some of my remarks may appear to give a negative cast to my opinion as a whole. To offset any impression of fault-finding, which would be entirely erroneous, let me state unequivocally that this is a splendid new work, a book from which I have learnt much already, and expect to learn more. This edition cannot be neglected by any student of Aristophanes, and it is both an intellectual and an aesthetic joy to use. This is a significant advance in the study of Aristophanes in particular, and of Greek letters in general.

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TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA.

DANIEL BABUT. Plutarque et le Stoïcisme. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1969. Pp. 598 + iv (unbound Addenda et Corrigenda). (*Publications de l'Université de Lyon.*)

Since the nineteenth century dissertations of H. Bazin (Nice, 1865) and of K. Giesen (Münster, 1889), entitled respectively *De Plutarcho Stoicorum adversario* and *De Plutarchi contra Stoicos disputationibus*, there has been no single comprehensive work on Plutarch and Stoicism. Some basic assumptions of these works, viz. that Plutarch had no profound understanding of Stoic doctrine, or lacked independence in the use of his sources, seem to have gone largely unexamined. Moreover, three general views of Plutarch's relationship to Stoicism have not been reconciled. He was: (a) a determined adversary of Stoicism; (b) an eclectic thinker vacillating between the Academy and the Stoa; and (c) a Stoic *malgré lui*. Babut has filled a significant lacuna in the interpretation of Plutarch's thought with a study that is broad in scope, covering the *Moralia* and *Vitae*, and including works not obviously or specifically concerned with Stoic doctrines and themes, e. g. *De E apud Delphos* (cf. pp. 148 f.). He presents, moreover, a detailed analysis of a number of Plutarch's writings, taking account of such problems as chronology, and sources of and relationship to Stoic views.

A preliminary problem concerning the meaning of "Stoicism" is briefly handled by Babut (pp. 15-18). Whatever the stability of this philosophy, it no doubt underwent some transformation since

ca. 300 B. C. Hence, the thought of a Stoic of Plutarch's time should not be completely identified with that of a contemporary of Zeno or Chrysippus. Babut further notes, however, that in his polemical works against the school, e. g. *De Stoic. rep.* and *De comm. not.*, Plutarch seems to deal exclusively with representatives of early Stoicism, principally Chrysippus. Moreover, those of the middle period, e. g. Panaetius, scarcely seem to have a major place in his conception of the school. Despite this and other considerations, Babut maintains that limiting discussion to Plutarch on early Stoicism would have the grave defect of overlooking the fact that for Plutarch Stoicism was not a dead philosophy, "mais une pensée vivante à laquelle il a dû confronter sa propre façon de voir" (p. 17). In sum, Babut deals with Plutarch vis-à-vis Stoicism from its early period up to and including that of the early first century A. D.

The over-all purpose of Babut's study is to understand not only the historical problem of Plutarch in relation to Stoicism, but also Plutarch's own thought. He writes: "c'est la pensée de Plutarque qui devrait en être le centre et la fin, la relation avec le Portique n'étant qu'un moyen pour en faciliter la compréhension" (p. 12). Accordingly, the study is divided into two major parts: the first deals with the various connections between Plutarch and Stoicism ("Plutarque et le Portique," pp. 15-270); the second treats Plutarch's own thought in comparison with several essential Stoic themes ("Plutarque et la vision stoïcienne du monde," pp. 271-527). The first part of the study is further divided into two books, entitled respectively "Le Stoïcisme dans l'oeuvre de Plutarque" (pp. 19-186) and "Les Stoïciens dans l'oeuvre de Plutarque" (pp. 181-270). Babut justifies this latter division on the basis that Stoicism had a twofold aspect for Plutarch: (a) as a collection of ideas or themes transmitted by a literature and a tradition; and (b) as a living philosophy which he personally knew. The second feature is reflected by persons, real and fictional, in whom Plutarch discloses something of contemporary Stoicism. But consideration of individual Stoics cannot be limited to Plutarch's own period. He also mentions important past thinkers of the school, e. g. Zeno, Chrysippus, Posidonius. Hence, the need for a special consideration of the representatives of the Stoa mentioned by Plutarch.

In general, the format of the book is clear and well organized. Moreover, Babut is careful to note his conclusions at the end of each chapter, and there is a summary conclusion at the end of the work (pp. 529-34). A "Table analytique des matières" (pp. 589-598) is especially helpful in providing summaries of the content and conclusions of individual chapters which are sometimes of considerable length, e. g. Chap. III of Bk. I is sixty-four pages. Babut also often presents his material in detail and with judiciousness, the summaries sometimes being necessary for focusing the argument.

In the first major part of the book, Babut concludes: (a) Plutarch was a determined adversary of Stoicism throughout his life; (b) this attitude contrasts with his general amiability toward contemporary Stoics, and his lack of rivalry or spite toward them;

(c) there is no reason to doubt Plutarch's knowledge or comprehension of Stoicism. The ambiguity of his attitude toward this philosophy (a and b) can be clarified only by a comparison of the two systems of thought, and this is accomplished in Part Two where Babut argues: (a) Plutarch's general philosophical principles and views of the cosmos never coincide with, but oppose, those of the Stoics; (b) Plutarch's own views are defined by contrast to those of Stoicism; and (c) though Plutarch seems at times in formal accord with the Stoics, especially concerning religion, there are deep differences in their beliefs and spiritual attitudes, notably in connection with divine transcendence. In general, the Stoics are "adversaires privilégiés" (p. 531), and it is not in eclecticism, but in Plutarch's opposition to this general tendency of his era, ready to confound views of the world as different as those of Stoicism and Platonism, that Plutarch's attitude toward Stoicism is ultimately discovered.

Despite the persuasiveness of Babut's conclusions, there are some questionable procedures in his reconstruction of Plutarch's attitude toward Stoicism. For example, four pages are devoted to a discussion of *De fato* (pp. 157-61), although Babut acknowledges "... peu de commentateurs défendent aujourd'hui l'authenticité. ..." (p. 157). Babut's only defense for treating the work is found at the end of his discussion (p. 161):

Sans prétendre trancher la question d'authenticité, contentons-nous de remarquer qu'il n'y a rien là qui contredise ce que nous savons de Plutarque, en particulier ce que nous avons appris de ses rapports avec la philosophie du Portique.

No account is taken of the several convincing arguments against the authenticity of *De fato*, especially the complete neglect of hiatus (for a summary of the arguments, see K. Ziegler, "Plutarchos," *R.-E.*, XXI [1951], col. 726). A similar problem arises in connection with Babut's discussion of *De vita et poesi Homeri*. Although Plutarch's authorship of this work cannot be denied categorically, Babut offers no decisive arguments for its genuineness. His justification for its treatment is that not only the material found in it is Plutarchan, but also "le mouvement de pensée" (see especially p. 161, n. 2), somewhat subjective or imprecise criteria for determining authenticity. In general, if one's purpose is to understand Plutarch and those works attributed to him without doubt, then strong arguments should be given for the genuineness of *De fato* and *De vita et poesi Homeri*, and this Babut fails to do.

On the matter of Plutarch's knowledge of the works of individual Stoics, or sources for them, Babut's treatment is generally cautious and convincing. For example, in discussing *De Stoic. rep.*, Babut presents perhaps as good a case as possible for concluding that Plutarch had firsthand acquaintance with several works of Chrysippus, and that his knowledge of Stoic texts was generally superior to what is often believed (see especially pp. 28-9). Still Pohlenz's suggestion that Plutarch was relying on an Academic work based

on Carneades' refutation of Chrysippus cannot be completely ruled out (see his "Plutarch's Schriften gegen die Stoiker," *Hermes*, LXXIV [1939], pp. 1-33). In a later discussion of Chrysippus, Babut adopts a somewhat questionable assumption, namely, that "la présence de Chrysippe dans l'oeuvre de Plutarque ne se limite certainement pas aux passages où son nom est explicitement mentionné" (p. 231). Whereas Chrysippus was probably for Plutarch and his contemporaries a Stoic representative "plus haute," a more circumspect methodological principle would be to assign nothing to Chrysippus unless Plutarch explicitly attributes a doctrine to him.

Babut's treatment of Plutarch's knowledge of Posidonius is judicious. It is possible, for example, that several ideas of Posidonius are reflected in *De facie in orbe lunae*, but, according to Babut, the importance of these has been "exagéré," and in any case, it is impossible to view the entire dialogue as being influenced by Posidonius (pp. 126-7). Similarly, Babut maintains that there is no proof that Plutarch had direct access to the philosophical and scientific work of Posidonius. His conclusions concerning Zeno, however, seem less satisfactory, for although Babut shows that Plutarch's numerous allusions to Zeno are often not very important philosophically, e.g. anecdotal and apothegmatic, and that "nous ne savons pas s'il lisait directement ces ouvrages de Zénon" (p. 223), e.g. *Περὶ ποιητικῆς ἀκροάσεως*, he nevertheless concludes "... que Plutarque ait eu directement accès à l'oeuvre du fondateur du Portique, c'est, en effet, ce qu'on ne saurait exclure pour plusieurs livres ..." (p. 225), e.g. *Περὶ ποιητικῆς ἀκροάσεως*. In short, after almost ruling out that Plutarch had any important, firsthand knowledge of Zeno's works, Babut seems to persist in thinking that Plutarch may have had direct access to some of them. In his discussion of Plutarch's sources for Zeno and other Stoics, Babut takes little or no account of Plutarch's use of "notebooks" (*ὑπομνήματα*). He refers to these once (see p. 73, n. 1 on 464F), but perhaps more consideration of the use of "notebooks" would have enhanced Babut's discussion of sources (see H. Martin, Jr., *A.J.P.*, XC [1969], p. 186).

In the second major part of the book, Babut usually treats Stoicism as a whole. His discussion of the similarities and contrasts between Plutarch and Stoicism on metaphysics, ethics, and religion is generally informative and well presented. In some respects, this part is more readable than the first owing to the systematic nature of the subject matter. Especially important is Babut's discussion of ethics, which for Plutarch and the Stoics was the center of philosophy. Despite this and other similarities, Babut convincingly argues against Zeller's view that Plutarch's ethics was "ein gemilderter Stoizismus" ("un stoicism adouci"; see pp. 318 f.). At the same time, Babut succeeds in harmonizing Plutarch's seemingly incoherent views on *ἀπάθεια*, using their anti-Stoic character as a starting point (see pp. 329 f.). The chapter on religion is also well done and makes perhaps a good supplement to Nilsson's treatment of Plutarch in *Gesch. der griech. Rel.*, II² (Munich, 1961). Whether Babut succeeds, however, in showing that Plutarch "va plus loin que les Stoïciens dans sa critique de l'anthropomorphisme"

(p. 444), is questionable. What Babut seems to have in mind concerns strictly the Stoics' and Plutarch's conceptions of deity. Despite their differences on the divine nature, both rejected anthropomorphism.

In conclusion, Babut is to be commended for treating a large and complex subject with care and in detail. The book is a mine of useful information, and though it will probably have primary interest for students of Plutarch, it should also have *attrait* for those of Stoicism. The notes usually contain references to the most recent work on Plutarch, though it is unclear why Babut refers to Ziegler's 1949 edition of *Plutarchos* and not to that in *R.-E.*, XII, 1951. Greek is used intelligently, the text sometimes quoted in full, usually in the footnotes. The book contains a selective bibliography, *indices locorum et nominum*, and an unbound list of *addenda et corrigenda*. There are, however, two uncorrected misprints: on p. 367, line 12 read "l'alliance" instead of "'alliance"; on p. 538 in the title of Hadzsits' article read "first" instead of "firsrt."

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JOSEPH PLESCIA. *The Oath and Perjury in Ancient Greece*. Tallahassee, Florida State University Press, 1970. Pp. viii + 116. \$5.00.

RONALD S. STROUD. *Drakon's Law on Homicide*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968. Pp. viii + 83; 3 plates and figure in end pocket. \$4.00. (*University of California Press Publications: Classical Studies*, Vol. III.)

Short books should get short reviews; it will therefore save space to refer to two competent reviewers (M. Ostwald, *C. W.*, LXIV [1971], pp. 164-5; A. Boegehold, *A. H. R.*, LXXXVI [1971], p. 752) who have pointed out both the importance of the oath in antiquity and the need for an up-to-date, comprehensive account of the subject and then gone on to show that *Oath and Perjury* fails to fill that need, and that Plescia has, among other things, garbled the Greek sources, misrepresented institutions, and given imprecise references and wrong spellings of terms and names. This is, unfortunately, all true, but it would not suffice just to add further examples of such faults, though they are not far to seek: to Ostwald's list of misspellings one could add *Cirrhæ* (p. 62), *Orpheism* (p. 88), and *Antiochus* (p. 68, for *Antiochis*); to Boegehold's list of misrepresented institutions, the contorted account of the *diatetai* (p. 37); and within the first four pages one meets at least two examples of fractured Greek: the extraordinary notion (p. 2) that the phrase *epi martyroi* exists, and means "sureties" as distinct from "witnesses," and the rendering of *Ne Dia* (p. 4) as "Yes, by God" which obscures the fact that we are dealing with

a pagan society and that Zeus was the most potent of the *theoi horkioi*.

All this only shows that the book is of little use to scholars but does not suggest how potentially misleading it may be to laymen and students. The book's external attractiveness of title, format, length, and general readability, and the fact that it has been called "a useful introduction" lead me to cite a few of the historical errors which, taken together with the other faults, may caution others that the work can do more harm than good. Few will want their students to come away with the impression that: Solon and Cleisthenes enfranchised masses of people; in the Boulê "each prytany [was] elected by . . . one of the ten tribes"; the bouleutic oath was instituted by Solon (*pace* Aristotle; and no ref. to *I. G.*, I², 114 and its sizable bibliography); the Delian League was founded in 477/6; the allies were subjects from the beginning because they paid *phoros* and swore to have the same friends and enemies; Pericles' proposed panhellenic congress was a sham; the sophists caused rather than reflected the decline in piety in the fifth century, and the resulting difficulty in administering oaths is mirrored in a fragment of Xenophanes; in 375 "Athens was about to rebuild its second league"; the fateful peace conference at Sparta in the summer of 371 was in 373; Aeschines' famous speech before the Amphictyons at the April meeting in 339 was delivered in 357; this precipitated the Third Sacred War and the intervention of Philip; Philip was a representative of the Macedonian people in the Hellenic League; federal states appeared [only] from the end of the fourth century.

In conclusion one must concede that this book could after all be of use to a person interested in making a serious study of ancient oaths; to him it will furnish proof that the work still needs to be done.

Drakon's Law is a solid contribution both to the history of Athenian law and to Attic epigraphy. Stroud's thorough restudy of *I. G.*, I², 115 (the first since 1867, while the bibliography continued to grow on the basis of the old text) has added over 200 letters which, though they often confirm Koehler's restorations, render many supplements and fond theories obsolete. Stroud gives a new text with translation, epigraphical commentary (best read with one eye on fig. 1), historical commentaries on both the decree of 409/8 (which orders the Anagrapheis to republish, *not* revise, the law) and the law itself. The most exciting new readings which add to the text are in lines 6 and 56. The first shows that: 1) the source of the document was the King, who therefore must have had an archive of the laws which covered cases falling under his jurisdiction, and 2) the redundant phrase *kata prytaneian* was no part of the fifth-century title of the Secretary of the Boulê. The new readings in line 56 reveal that the stele continued with a second and perhaps a third *Axon* of Drakon's law, which leads Stroud to a convincing interpretation of the troublesome initial *kai* and to the necessary conclusions that: 1) Drakon (and Platon!) dealt with unpremeditated murder first; premeditated, second, and 2) Drakon's *protos axon* was and remained distinct from Solon's. The new

readings which merely preclude earlier restorations are less exciting but not less important in clearing the decks for further action; in dealing with these often controversial matters Stroud has shown that polemic is not a necessary part of epigraphy.

A final chapter explores Drakon's official position, the scope of his legislation, and the historical setting. For this Stroud claims no originality, but he presents a full and well-reasoned, if chronologically orthodox, account. This is a book which no one interested in Athenian institutions will want to do without and one which will do much "to establish a reputation for epigraphical reliability" for the University of California Press.

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L. P. WILKINSON. *The Georgics of Virgil, A Critical Survey.* Cambridge University Press, 1969. Pp. xii + 364. \$12.50.

Mr. Wilkinson has set about to rectify the regrettable situation that there has been no English book devoted exclusively or even in major part to a critical treatment of the *Georgics*. It can be stated at the outset that he has not simply fulfilled his goal, but has produced a book that will stand for some time as definitive. In fact, he has produced a model for all who would attempt a critical survey of any classical work. It is both comprehensive and rational in its approach.

The comprehensiveness of the work can be seen from the fact that its chapters are devoted to topics ranging from the "Early Life of Virgil" to "The *Georgics* in After Times." These are followed by a series of appendices to which the author has relegated "documentation of recent controversies on various topics," including structure, numerical schematism, the Aristaeus epyllion, etc. Over these he exhibits considerable impatience (especially the *numeri* in Appendix II) and rightly does not clutter the body of his work with quibbling. He does, however, give his own reasoned account of the structure of the poem in Chapter IV and devotes another chapter (V) to the Aristaeus episode, flatly rejecting Servius' statements concerning it as a substitute for an original praise of Gallus.

The general sanity of Wilkinson's approach can be seen not only from his organization, but from his refusal through the work to fantasize. He is clearly, and in the reviewer's opinion wholesomely, in rebellion against the "modern craze for finding symbolism in everything," and he dares to ask the question: "Why should everything have to be *interpreted*?" By 'interpreting' he clearly means taking the written word for other than (and sometimes dead opposite to) what it purports to be. This will bring him (indeed has brought him: see M. C. J. Putnam in *C. P.*, LXV [1970], pp. 258 f.) the rebuke of the "new" critics, but it is the opinion of the reviewer that of the two types of criticism, that represented by Wilkinson will fifty years hence prove to be the less quaint.

This is not to suggest that the author is unimaginative or hackneyed in his thinking. He begins from a novel enough point of view and one that almost gives the lie to what has been said above: "The chief obstacle to the appreciation of the *Georgics* has been its ostensible *genre* . . . This is no more a didactic poem than Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*: it simply masquerades as such." The point is well taken, but in view of this it is probably our notions about the *genre* itself that need redefining. We can ask if any "didactic" poem is truly didactic in the sense that it serves as a textbook.

More positively he characterizes the *Georgics* as Descriptive Poetry, "in fact, the first poem in all literature in which description may be said to be the chief *raison d'être*." He goes on to make some nice comparisons between the *Georgics* and Campanian landscape painting. We may forgive the author for the enthusiasm of his subject which causes him to downgrade the descriptive passages of the *Eclogues* as "perfunctory" and "commonplace."

In his chapter on the "Early Life of Virgil" the author wisely pleads caution with respect to the information in the ancient *Vitae* and commentators, but he follows them at least in the broad outlines of Vergil's early career and in the identification of Menalcas in *Eclogue IX* as Vergil and Tityrus in *Eclogue I* as very close to Vergil.

In Chapter III on "The Conception of the *Georgics*," although *tua Maecenas haud mollia iussa* gives Wilkinson some pause, he insists rightly that the main inspiration of the poem was literary and not political: "There can be no doubt that the *Georgics* were a labor of love . . . [They show] . . . his deep concern at the state of the Italian countryside and his longing for its survival."

The high point of the work is reached in the chapters dealing with Vergil's philosophical, political, and artistic ideas. The first (Chapter VI) culminates in an intriguing *Credo* of Vergil which alone is worth the price of the book. Politically (Chapter VII) the *Georgics* is clearly seen as "the perfect background-poem for the times," against the relatively new ideology of a concept of Italy as a whole united in the face of Actium.

It is the analysis of Vergil's artistic achievement (Chapter VIII), however, that receives the most eloquent statement. Starting from a realistic point of view: "No long poem can be all poetry," Wilkinson examines the various ways in which Vergil keeps his poem alive (he refers to it as "orchestration"), including his use of mythology, geography, landscape painting, imagery, sound, rhythm, rhetoric, and the like. In these Wilkinson is at his very best. Along the way the author hits upon a very useful device in his comparison of a specific Vergilian passage (*Georgics*, III, 75-88) with its prosaic counterpart in Varro (*De Re Rustica*, II, 7, 5).

In short, this is a very thoughtful piece of work, filling a vital need, useful to scholar and student alike, and an exemplar of the best in British classical scholarship.

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LENNART HÅKANSON. Statius' *Silvae*. Critical and Exegetical Remarks with Some Notes on the *Thebaid*. Lund, CWK Gleerup, 1969. Pp. 174.

Statius' *Silvae* are handed down to us in the Codex Matritensis (15th cent.) and its descendants.¹ Many passages are clearly corrupt, but the outstanding work done on the text by N. Heinsius, J. F. Gronovius, J. Markland, and others was largely ignored by later editors (e.g. Vollmer 1898, Klotz 1911, Frère-Izaac 1944, and Marastoni 1961). The three English editions (Postgate 1905, Phillimore² 1918, and Mozley 1928) are, on the whole, sensible, but not first-rate. Most editors (Klotz excepted) act as though the *Silvae* were *terra incognita* for textual critics. Vollmer's commentary shows an appalling lack of judgment,² and Marastoni's recent Teubner text is hardly better than one of the 15th cent. MSS.³

These are the facts that emerge from one of the most brilliant exercises in textual criticism that I have read. It is a sobering experience to discover how utterly unreliable our current texts are and how much misinformation is blandly offered by scholars who ought to know better. But it is fascinating and rewarding to follow Håkanson on his search for the truth.

He examines over 120 passages from the *Silvae* and more than 20 from the *Thebaid*. Some corruptions demand the slightest of changes, but there are many deliberate interpolations (cf. Index, p. 173, s. v.). Perseveration errors are frequent (cf. p. 20, n. 11), while cases of false attraction seem to be less common (p. 125). Very often, the true reading was discovered centuries ago and then forgotten, but a number of striking emendations by Håkanson and his teacher, Professor Bertil Axelson, are published here for the first time. Among them I should like to point out III, 1, 97 *te gauderet erum* (*erant* M) and V, 5, 70 *geniali* [this is due to Axelson] *gramine* (*genitali carmine* M), but there are others, no less convincing.

Håkanson knows his author thoroughly and has at his fingertips whenever he needs them an impressive number of parallels. This, I think, explains at least partly his extraordinary success as a textual critic. Statius imitates many earlier poets (above all Virgil, Ovid, and Lucan, but also Tibullus, Martial, Silius, Valerius Flaccus; cf. the Index, p. 173); he imitates himself; he is imitated by later writers, e.g. Ausonius and Dracontius. Time and again, an emendation is suggested or confirmed by a parallel passage. Where we have a broad, heavily contaminated textual tradition, this principle might lead us astray more often than not, because it could

¹ The connection of the 'vetustus Politiani' with M is obscure and of no importance for the constitution of the text (pp. 14 f.). For II, 7 we have also the Laurentianus.

² A grotesque specimen is his note on V, 5, 17 (p. 155).

³ Cf. Wendell V. Clausen, *C. W.*, 1961, p. 55, who puts it in a nutshell: "M. . . prefers bad MSS to good critics." The warm praise of B. Kytzler, *Gnomon*, 1962, pp. 567 ff. seems completely unjustified.

have been applied uncritically at earlier stages. But here, with a text that is transmitted in one MS only, it works.

In a very few cases it is possible to disagree, e.g.: II, 2, 137: Håkanson attacks *plectrique errore superbus* because such a brief allusion to Pollius' literary pursuits seems to him out of place in a largely political context, but his suggestion *pulchrique errore superbus*, "magnificent <even> in your misconception about the good" seems awkward. Could *pulchri* (or *populi*, as Otto thought) really be corrupted into the highly technical *plectri*? Markland kept this and changed *errore* to *decore*, but *error* probably means nothing more (as Håkanson himself remarks, p. 64) than the movement of the plectrum on the strings; it could mean a special style or technique of playing; cf. V, 5, 32 *digitis errantibus amens / scindo chelyn*. Since *iuvenile calens* in the same line almost certainly refers to poetic inspiration (cf. Ovid, *Fast.*, VI, 5 *est deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo*), a reference to Pollius' youthful experiments on the lyre is in no way unexpected. No change is needed.

But in almost all other cases I am convinced that Håkanson is right. I notice that in several passages *heu* was corrupted to *et* (II, 4, 14, em. Phillimore; III, 3, 25 em. Domitius) and *ei* to *heu* (II, 6, 14, em. ζ; V, 2, 160, em. Domitius). There are similar cases in the textual tradition of Propertius (I, 7, 16; 19, 22; II, 12, 15; 22, 44; IV, 10, 27) and other authors. It seems that *heu* could be written as *e*, *é*, *ê* or *ē*; hence the frequent confusion with *et* and *ei*.

The change of *questus* to *coetus* is necessary in I, 2, 35 (em. Bernartius) and V, 2, 160 (em. Håkanson); and perhaps also in IV, 5, 10 (not discussed in this book) *nunc volucrum novi / coetus (questus M) inexpertumque carmen*; cf. *Ciris*, 49 *ut . . . Scylla novos avium sublimis in aethere coetus / viderit*.

This book with its strict logic, dry humor, and vast learning continues splendidly the tradition of Bentley, Markland, and Housman. We need a new critical edition of the *Silvae* as well as a new commentary, and Håkanson would be the man to give us both.

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ADRIANA DELLA CASA. *Il Dubius Sermo* di Plinio. Genova, Istituto di Filologia Classica e Medioevale, 1969. Pp. 363. (*Università di Genova, Facoltà di Lettere*.)

We have already two acceptable editions of the fragments of Pliny the Elder's grammar *Dubii Sermonis libri*, by Beck¹ and Mazzarino.² The main purpose of the book to be reviewed is not to provide us with a new text but to give us a detailed commentary.

¹ J. W. Beck, *C. Plinii Secundi librorum dubii sermonis VIII reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1894).

² A. Mazzarino, *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta aetatis Caesaricae* (Torino, 1955), pp. 214 ff.

Nevertheless it was certainly a good idea to include a text for the sake of reference. della Casa has not merely reproduced the last edition (by Mazzarino) but has given a text of her own. It may be regretted that every new editor of Pliny's grammar so far has printed the fragments in a different order, particularly since it is often impossible to prove one sequence to be right and another to be wrong. What difficulties the editors encounter may be illustrated by the third book of Pliny's *Dubius Sermo*: as della Casa mentions, p. 63, there is only one fragment (no. 14) which is explicitly said to belong to the third book, and that is found in the preface of the *De vita patrum* by Gregory of Tours. She is certainly right in stating that it is difficult to determine the contents of a whole book on the basis of one quotation, but still she makes the attempt and assigns another, unidentified fragment to the same book. It should also be noted that numbers can easily be wrongly copied, and that risk is of course particularly great when many copyists have been involved, as is obviously the case with this fragment of Pliny in Gregory of Tours. Now and then della Casa prefers other readings than the ones printed in earlier editions, but the differences are usually not very important.

What is new and interesting, then, is the introduction and particularly the commentary. In the introduction, pp. 11 ff., the title of the work *Dubius Sermo* is connected with the Stoic doctrine about *amphibologia* (as attested, e.g., in Gellius, XI, 12, 1: *Chrysippus ait omne verbum ambiguum natura esse, quoniam ex eodem duo vel plura accipi possunt*); in a later section (pp. 70 ff.) this idea is developed and it is maintained that Pliny's grammatical work does not reflect the controversy between analogists and anomalists (that has been the *communis opinio* so far; see, e.g., Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der röm. Literatur*, II, p. 781) but rather the Stoic discussion about *amphibologia*.

In the commentary all fragments are translated, which is valuable and laudable: we have indeed too few translations of Latin grammatical texts. The commentary itself is quite extensive, and della Casa shows here (as well as in the introduction) that she is widely read in ancient and modern philological and linguistic literature. But this part of her book is the one which is most likely to provoke criticism.

Even in the introduction there are many rather superfluous notes which show that della Casa has some difficulty in sifting her vast knowledge. For instance, it is dubious if it was necessary to supply a list of modern works on semantics in a footnote, p. 71, referring to Plato's *Cratylus*, and the attempt (p. 86) to make the problems treated by Pliny look "relevant" by quoting modern informational theories on ambivalence is not convincing: the gap between ancient and mediaeval speculation on language on the one hand and modern linguistics on the other is not easy to bridge (see, e.g., Ellegård, *Lychnos*, 1967-68, p. 334). Quite uncalled for was the introduction of the Indoeuropean distinction between *genus animatum* and *genus inanimatum*, p. 185, apropos of fragment no. 1 'aper, apri,' cuius femininum veteres protulerunt 'apra,' and the discussion of word formation and original sense of *agrestis*, p. 221, in a note referring

to fragment no. 22, which concerns the ablative form *agreste*; still less relevant was the history of the consuls with the cognomen *Mus* and Isidore's false etymology of the word *mus*, p. 261, apropos of fragment no. 63 about the genitive plural *murum* or *murium*, and the list of modern works on Latin diminutives, p. 294, n. 8,⁵ referring to fragment no. 97, which deals with the correspondence of gender between the main word and its diminutive derivation.

It would have been better in principle to give references to modern reliable handbooks rather than to various special works, many of which are not only old but antiquated. The derivation of *milia* (plural of *mille*), from *δμυλία*, quoted, p. 203, from Walde-Pokorny's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen*, has hardly any supporters to-day; see, e.g., Walde-Hofmann's *Lateinisches etym. Wörterbuch*. It would have been sufficient to quote, p. 213, only Stolz-Leumann's *Lat. Laut- und Formenlehre*, p. 268, instead of giving a whole history of the scholarly discussion about the genitives in *-ii* or *-i* (*fluvii* or *fluvi*, etc.) from Lachmann and Ritschl on. Ermann's etymology of *aedilis* (*K. Z.*, XLVIII [1916], p. 158), quoted p. 216, n. 7, has now only curiosity interest; and concerning the etymology of *iubar* it would have been better to refer to Ernout-Meillet's or Walde-Hofmann's etymological dictionaries instead of relating several outdated etymologies (p. 235).

There are several other instances where della Casa surprisingly has not quoted relevant handbooks: pp. 222 and 227, a reference to I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsingfors, 1965) would have been in order; p. 229, she ought to have quoted Neue-Wagener's *Formenlehre der lat. Sprache* for the ablatives (locatives) *rure* and *ruri*; p. 243, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, VIII, 1557, 73 ff. concerning the form *mugilis* instead of *mugil* (not mentioned by della Casa is, e.g., the occurrence of *mugilis*, Schol. Ter., p. 111, 16); and for the form *vissit* instead of *vixit*, discussed p. 327, I miss a reference to V. Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire* (Paris, 1967), § 123.

Other *addenda* and *corrigenda*: pp. 29 f. della Casa discusses the discrepancy between the theories laid down by Pliny in his *Dubius Sermo* and the practice followed in his *Naturalis Historia*, e.g. concerning the use of accusatives in *-im*. Oldfather and Bloom have noted the same incongruity in Caesar; see their article "Caesar's Grammatical Theories and his Own Practice" (*C. J.*, XXII [1927], pp. 584 ff.).—The use of the words *fortassis* and *absque* both in *Naturalis Historia* and a grammatical fragment does not in any way indicate that Pliny is the author of the fragment, as della Casa argues, pp. 199 f.; the phrase *vice fungitur* is a little better (see *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, VI, 1, 1587, 69 ff.), but only quite rare words or constructions would be conclusive.—The letter *l* does not stand for two different Latin *phonemes*, as della Casa asserts, p. 200, but for two sounds; the fact that the palatal *l* occurs only in certain positions and the velar *l* in others indicates

⁵ Besides, the list is not complete. Jens S. Th. Hanssen's *Latin Diminutives* (Bergen, 1951) is no less important than the work by Hakamies which is listed.

that they are positional variants (allophones), not different phonemes. — The explanation of the forms *mille* — *milia* given p. 201 is not comprehensible to me: "se i Latini scrivevano *mille* con *ll* di fronte a *milia* con una *l*, questo era dovuto al fatto che la grafia *mille* aveva suggerito la pronuncia *mille*"; for the right explanation see, e. g., Sommer, *Handbuch der lat. Laut- und Formenlehre*, pp. 209 f., or Kent, *The Sounds of Latin*, § 177: *ll* was shortened after *i* only if an *i* followed. — Concerning the derivations in *-aris*, *-alis*, and *-arius* della Casa could have cited, p. 241, Leumann, *Die lat. Adjektiva auf -lis* (Strassburg, 1917), pp. 23 ff.; B. Löfstedt, *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, XXIX (1959), pp. 32 ff. — For the form *ossua* (discussed p. 273) see also J. Svennung, *Compositiones Lucenses* (Uppsala, 1941), p. 119; H. Mihăescu, *Limba Latină în provinciile dunărene* (Bucarest, 1960), p. 85. — P. 304, della Casa discusses fragment no. 109 'auguro' *dicimus secundum Plinium, cum praesagio mentis futura colligimus, 'auguror' vero tunc, cum futura veris captamus auguriis*, and she points out that there is no trace of such a distinction in Latin literature. It might have been added that these artificial semantic distinctions between different forms are characteristic of Latin grammatical and lexicographical works in general; similar is, e. g., the following rule by Bede (quoted by della Casa, p. 285): *materies artificiorum est, materia consiliorum* (*Grammatici Latini*, VII, p. 279, 2). — P. 298, della Casa writes: "Nelle *institutiones* del pseudo Probo leggiamo . . . che *hic* è pronome, ma, se era accompagnato da un sostantivo, si doveva considerare 'articolo.'" It is hard to understand why only Probus is quoted: this doctrine is found in many Latin grammatical texts, e. g. Servius (*G.L.*, IV, p. 436, 23 ff.), Donatus (*ibid.*, p. 381, 64 ff.), Cledonius (*ibid.*, V, p. 15, 7 ff.), Pompeius (*ibid.*, p. 211, 2 ff.). — On p. 312 there is an example of bad formulation: "*heu* può essere monosillaba e bisillaba, come avviene per *prendit* e *prehendit*"; she means of course that *heu* can be treated as a monosyllable and a bisyllable just as *pre(hen)-dit* can be both a bisyllable and a trisyllable.

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BRUCE E. DONOVAN. *Euripides Papyri I: Texts from Oxyrhynchus*. New Haven and Toronto, The American Society of Papyrologists, 1969. Pp. 100 + 23 Plates. (*American Studies in Papyrology*, V.)

Our fund of literary papyri has increased so substantially in recent decades that studies of collected papyri of individual ancient authors are now frequently being added to the publications of finds from various sites. This particular study combines the two practices and collects the fragments of one author from one site.

It makes observations on the site, the author, and ancient book production in general, based on data from individual witnesses.

The first part of the study, cumulative evidence gathered through investigation of individual papyri in Part Two, is generally unimpressive. This is largely due to the fact that the material available and documented in Part Two is insufficient to support Donovan's plans for the first section. Chapter One is solid. With four accompanying tables it shows that Oxyrhynchus closely parallels other sites in quantity and variety of Euripidean texts. Although some lost plays are represented, the extant plays were the most popular. In sheer number of extant fragments, Euripides is surpassed only by Homer, Callimachus, and Demosthenes. Table V shows that the "select" plays of Euripides are found in larger numbers at all times than the "alphabetical" plays.

Chapter Two will be of interest to those seeking information on scroll dimensions, format, lectional aids, etc. in the papyri of Oxyrhynchus. The section on possible indications of dictation in copying is fruitless. Support for the notion of dictation in book production has waned. (See A. Dain, *Les Manuscrits*, nouv. éd. rev. 1964, pp. 20 ff.) The practice was infrequent at best. The chapter ends with a discussion of revised dating of fragments (see also Table IX).

Chapter Three, after bringing up the question of Alexandrian influences in Oxyrhynchus, abandons it for lack of evidence. The papyri are here somewhat grudgingly admitted to represent the same tradition as our medieval witnesses. What could be emphasized more is that the later codices are fully equal to the papyri in text quality. By Donovan's count, of the sixty-nine readings in the papyri "30 are unacceptable. Among the remaining 39 readings which are probably acceptable, nineteen are preserved in number 6 alone." Number 6 is a *Bacchae* fragment, a play represented by two faulty medieval manuscripts. In the discussion of *P. Oxy.* 2336 (pp. 39 f.), Donovan leans toward the view of C. H. Roberts that a double tradition is indicated here. G. Zuntz has denied this and offered remedies for troublesome readings at lines 635-6 and 640-3. The latter has not been generally accepted, but the former seems to have paleographical support. Donovan's charge that Zuntz is "juggling the text" at 636 might be better directed toward Roberts, since Zuntz is championing the manuscript reading, Roberts an emendation of Elmsley. Whatever the decision with this fragment, it must be admitted that in all the other plays our medieval witnesses are shown by the papyri to be extremely faithful to the only tradition of Euripides known to have existed in antiquity.

Chapter Four suggests that it may be possible to find out whether the fragments come from scholarly, student, or sales copies, but in the end admits that we cannot be sure. A final section on book costs and general Oxyrhynchian literacy makes no conclusions. Most of the first half of Donovan's study seems unconvincing, because there is still more to be learned about the transmission of literature in antiquity than the papyrus witnesses can tell us. Their testimony should not be pressed too far.

The second half of the work contains the basic information.

It presents a discussion of each of the twenty-three Euripides fragments known to be from Oxyrhynchus, a reconstruction by extrapolation of the original roll or codex, an evaluation of the text, and a collation against the medieval manuscripts and recent editions. All but one of the papyri are also represented in a concluding section of plates. Some of the photographs are good and can be used in conjunction with the collations. Others are quite poor.

Documentation in the second section is erratic at times.

A list of corrigenda may assist the reader: P. 36: In collation at 1337, 1346, 1359 read "w. codd." P. 37: In first line under *P. Oxy.* 2336 for 652 read 658. P. 39: In collation for 655 read 665. P. 41: Footnote 19 has no referent in text. P. 50: To collation add 1075 *οφθη* Π: *ὠφθη* codd., Murray. Add 1033 *εστηριφε* Π: *ἐστήριξε* P: *ἐστήριξε* Chr. Pat., Murray. P. 51: To collation add 1134 *αι δ'ιχνος* Π: *ἡ δ'ιχνος* P, Murray. In line 25 read "In lines 1098 and 1100 . . ." P. 54: In collation read 589 *φα* om. w. MO. In collation at 591 read Murray for Barrett. In collation read 597 for 595. P. 57: To collation add 1033 *πατέρων* P: *ματέρων* Π rell., Murray. P. 63: In line 9 read Pack² 439 for Pack² 438. In collation read 14 *αργους* *ιω* . . . P. 68: In collation at line 991 read apogr(aph) for aprog. and P² for p². P. 69: Under *P. Oxy.* 449 read Pack² 379 for Pack² 319. P. 71: In collation read 10 *ριφεντα* w. MAVB: *ρύφθέντα* LP, Murray. Add 16 *φθειας* Π: *φθίας* codd., Murray. Read 17]*ρ ιν* Π: *πεδ' ἴν'* codd., Murray. Add 23 hab. Π rell., Murray. Add 33 *μεισον*[Π: *μισουμένην* codd., Murray. P. 73: In collation add 1018 *καὶ τό* A: *τό* Π rell., Murray. Read 1019 *περουσσα* w. B, Murray. Add 1027 *νέους* om. P: hab. Π rell., Murray, *ποδ'* L: *πεδ'* Π rell., Murray. Add 1039 *δέ* om. M: hab. Π rell., Murray. In text in line 35 read "In line 1040 *αχαί* must be rejected, . . ." P. 74: In collation read 654 *και κατασκ*[Π: *κατασκίοισιν* codd., Murray. Under *P. Oxy.* 419 read Pack² 435 for Pack² 455. P. 76: In collation add 711 *οικτειρον* Π bis: *οἰκτριον* codd., Murray. Add 713 *χωραν* Π ante corr.: *χώρα* codd., Murray. P. 82: In footnotes 2 and 5 read Sinaiticus. Plate XV: Labels "recto" and "verso" are reversed.

In spite of these errors, Donovan has brought together a large body of information which, when a promised investigation of Euripides papyri from other sites is added, will prove invaluable to text editors and papyrologists alike.

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THÉRÈSE LIEBMAN-FRANKFORT. La frontière orientale¹ dans la politique extérieure de la République romaine depuis le traité d'Apamée jusqu'à la fin des conquêtes asiatiques de Pompée (189/8-63). Brussels, Académie royale de Belgique, 1969. Pp. 352. (*Mémoires, classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*, LIX, 5.)

Throughout the Late Republic the Romans, according to this study, visualized their eastern frontier as comprising two layers, the Roman empire *stricto sensu* and a screen of dependent states (the frontier zone *lato sensu*). The Romans were quite willing to limit the activities of their neighbors, but they never allowed themselves to be bound by a line on a map. After the treaty of Apamea they interfered at once beyond the Halys; and again after Pompey's reorganization Roman interests were extended beyond his screen. During the years on either side of 100 B. C., indeed, the double layer of the frontier was temporarily destroyed. The Romans themselves reduced part of the screen to a province (Asia), and Mithridates conquered most of the rest. Not until Lucullus and Pompey carried out their campaigns was the earlier system restored, though Pompey's organization of the East is judged rather harshly here.

The story is followed out chronologically and analytically in prolix detail. Another sign that this work is a revised dissertation is its thoroughness in matters of fact, which are sometimes repeated, and its limited view of general strategic problems. In two major respects the study could have well been more flexible. First, the author admits that we cannot speak "d'un plan méthodiquement appliqué," but still she seeks to confine her unruly subject within fairly rigid schemes. Above all, the concept of a clearly defined *limes* standing between civilization and barbarism, which appears in Aelius Aristides and other writers of the Empire, cannot be found in Republican literature; unconsciously the present study illustrates rather how fluid the frontiers were during the expansionist days of the Republic.

One wishes also that the author had lifted her eyes from the East more often to meditate on the motivating forces in Rome itself. She tends to praise the "habileté" and "prudence" of the senators and calls Roman maneuvers "subtile," though on another occasion "l'aveuglement de la diplomatie romaine" is reproved with respect to the haphazard reactions in the period after 133. Only rarely, however, does she discuss the political and financial groupings and cleavages in Rome and seek to relate these factors to eastern developments. In these passages the basis is given by the studies of Hill, Briscoe (*Historia*, XVIII [1969]), and others.

The subject is important, for it was first in the East that the great wave of Roman expansion met a lasting check. Anyone who wishes to consider the topic will find the present study useful for its thorough marshalling of the evidence, but he should be prepared to bring with him his own sense of the strategic and political problems which were involved. There are two maps, which do not

locate all places mentioned in the text; the bibliography is full, but the index is brief. From p. 95 onward the Second and Third Macedonian Wars are confused as to their numbers.

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DAVID WEST. *Reading Horace*. Edinburgh, University Press, 1967.
Pp. viii + 156.

M. OWEN LEE. *Word, Sound, and Image in the Odes of Horace*.
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1969. Pp. viii +
125.

As he is among the most demanding of Latin writers so Horace is frustratingly personal in those demands. Students of the poet who have followed the recent trend to concentrate on *callida iunctura* and imagery as fruitful sources for the interpretation of his work to current readers must suffer with their predecessors in learning how very hard it is to present convincingly an individual appreciation to an audience where tenacious individual appreciations abound. The vigor and imagination with which they try their hand is a continuing compliment to the quality of Horace's achievement.

The authors of the two books here considered offer them as introductions to the poet. Neither intends complete coverage. West, by examining selected *Epistles* and *Odes*, would "open the mind to some of the pleasure of reading Horace" (p. vii). Lee "attempts to deepen the feeling for and enjoyment of Horace's lyric art" (p. vii). Both succeed in this primary aim, in my judgment, in books which otherwise have little in common in approach or format.

West reveals throughout his enthusiasm for Horace and his concern for what he terms "adverse criticisms" of his poet. The corrective nature of his effort is never far from his mind, and yet he disarms by recognizing on occasion that his is the rhetoric of suggestion offering "one man's Horace" (a comment on his interpretation of part of *Odes*, I, 9, p. 12). The book is in two parts. Under I, "Images and the Poetry," he argues against earlier critics for a "careful mise en scène" in *Odes*, I, 9 and decries "too much loose talk about symbolism in Horatian criticism," notably that of Wilkinson on this poem. West then turns to a valuable and unusual evocation of imagery in *Epistles*, I, 20, 13, 1, and 3 in some detail, with shorter notes on I, 1, 7, 10, 19 and II, 1 and 2. The section ends with examination of the imagery of *Odes*, I, 11 (viticulture) and 13 (culinary metaphor). If we are to realize what Horace is about, West emphasizes in Part I, we must remember that his words retain their literal as well as their metaphorical sense.

Part II is "An Introduction to the Odes." West follows the "parade" approach and uses *Odes*, I, 1, 2, 5, 7, and 8 for his critical studies, concluding with an eloquent and somewhat testy

statement of general principles for those about to read Horace. They include (1) detailed knowledge of the language and attention to detail, (2) recognition that the reader's sensibilities will differ from the poet's, (3) an understanding of the political element in the poetry, and (4) realization that the erotic poems have nothing to do with Horace's private life. In this section are extended comments on *Odes*, III, 13, II, 7, and I, 20, a note on I, 19, and a plea to remember that what is valid in criticism is "the personal impact of the poem on the man who reads it" (p. 141).

Lee has also divided his book into two parts. Part I, "An Introduction to Horace's Lyric Poetry," has sections on (1) The Novelty of Horace's *Odes*, (2) Words, (3) Sounds, (4) Images, and (5) Thought and Feeling. The sections are coordinated and reasonably technical analyses, linked where appropriate, beginning with the *caveat* that we should judge Horace on the claims he makes for himself (e.g., *Odes*, III, 30, 13-14), not on the so-called deficiencies of imagination, profundity, spontaneity, and the like. What follows tries to do just this, with strong emphasis on Horace's innovation in Latin poetry. The section on Thought and Feeling is essentially transitional; it begins by advising that "when words, sounds, and images conspire to a single purpose, the result is poetry" (p. 59) and concludes by urging the reader to approach Horace with attention to the "structural interplay" of these three elements.

Lee's second part is entitled "Notes and Analyses." With limited reference to Part I he offers seven studies of *Odes*, four of which have appeared in slightly different form elsewhere (I, 4, 11, 23, 38) and three of which are new here (I, 24, II, 3 and 14 together, and III, 9). It was clearly Lee's intent to offer these papers as examples of the application of the techniques of criticism he has sketched in his Introduction. They are good examples of the structural analysis so prominent in recent criticism. There is a fine Tacitean pause on pp. 76-7 in which Lee reminds himself and his reader of the distinction between artistic creation and aesthetic appreciation, a distinction that guarantees different perceptions of the work by creator and appreciator.

West and Lee share a desire to have Horace approached positively, read for what he wrote and not for what the critic thinks he should have written, and read carefully and with every attention to detail and his technique of using the language imaginatively. Each has dealt with major poems; space prevents any personal catalogue of my agreements and quibbles—the reader will want to compile his own list, as I suggested at the beginning of this review. West has reminded us fortunately that the *Epistles* are to be read as poetry and has suggested a commonsense approach to the *Odes*. Lee has offered a detailed *schema* for examination of the parts in order better to appreciate the effectiveness of Horace's assembly of those parts into a whole.

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ALEXANDER SCOBIE. Aspects of the Ancient Romance and its Heritage. Essays on Apuleius, Petronius, and the Greek Romances. Meisenheim am Glan, Verlag Anton Hain, 1969. Pp. 113. DM 10,50. (*Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie*, Heft 30.)

The titles of this book, originally a Ph. D. thesis in New Zealand, are misleadingly broad. The author is concerned mainly with Apuleius, secondarily with Petronius, and with the Greek romances seldom, incidentally, and sometimes with unfortunate results. He seeks to situate *Metamorphoses* and *Satyricon* in the field of prose fiction, discusses Apuleius' method, and briefly traces the influence of the Latin novels on the Spanish picaresque novel.

The opening chapter, "The Novel and the Story-teller in Roman Antiquity," can be seen as a discussion of some of the vocabulary, categories, and concepts useful for assessment of Apuleius and Petronius: *fabula*, *historia*, *Milesia*, the function of prose and the place of fiction, the conditions obtaining in Rome for the dissemination of tales (the economics of writing, the functions of oral story-tellers). This is a useful study, though it is in fact little used in subsequent chapters. In the second chapter, "The Golden Ass: Its Generic Connections and Nature," *Met.* is seen as a hybrid, a wonder-romance into which realistic tales, *Milesiae*, are inserted. The author expounds this view to bring out the major motifs of *novitas*, *admiratio*, and *curiositas*; the consequence he elicits from this examination is that *Met.* has unity as "a collection of sacred and profane admiranda narrated for the purpose of arousing admiratio" (p. 53). The traditional debate about XI thus misses the point, for the Isis-book is, simply, yet another *admirandum*. This is Scobie's major thesis in the book; and it commands respect, although reservations will be made below.

Chapter III, "The Portrayal of Character in the Golden Ass," is less successful. While it is entirely likely that the principal characters are drawn more sympathetically by Apuleius than by his source, one cannot measure this difference, and thus Apuleius' aims, accurately by comparing *Met.* with *Onos*, as Scobie does; to refer, subsequently and incidentally, to *Onos* as being a "verbatim epitome" of the original does not meet this objection. Scobie's word "protective" is, however, good, for Apuleius' attitude to his hero, and gives point to his view that the notorious "Madaurensium" of XI, 27 reveals a fatal ambiguity in the novel. In treating the fashionable theme of Lucius' *curiositas*, Scobie concludes that besides serving as a "motor" to the plot it is used by Apuleius to carry, rather than a religious moral, merely a practical ethical message, to the effect that misguided inquisitiveness will bring trouble to the inquirer, as it does in many folk-tales. This is consistent, certainly, with the view of XI as merely *mirabile*; and if this chapter has any connection with the preceding one, it consists in the tendency to play down religious or philosophical significance in *Met.* And here the serious reservation must be made that Scobie, as far as appears in this somewhat disjointed study, seems insensitive

to Apuleius' purpose. His analysis of genres hardly goes beyond mere philology; and with a writer as complex as Apuleius, a period as complex as the second century, philology is not enough. Scobie has earlier drawn attention, and rightly, to the contemporary phenomenon of paradoxography. But paradoxography is constantly spilling over into religious sentiment; one thinks of Aelian, of Aristides, of the Greek novels—and, surely, of Apuleius above all. There is a difference in kind between *Met.* XI and the *παράδοξα* of Antonius Diogenes. Scobie confines his author too fine; he sells him short. This failure to comprehend is strikingly illustrated in his misguided search for *curiositas*, under the form of *πολυπραγμοσύνη*, *περιεργία*, in the Greek love-romances. Here, the laborious busywork of statistical tables merely emphasises a total failure to see the point. This is the last place one should look for *curiositas*; *curiositas* is the last thing to look for in the Greek novel. One is left with the impression that the author's understanding of Apuleius is limited by an inadequate grasp of the range and nature of the ancient novel.

The urge to put a name on things is perhaps rather more fruitful in the brief chapter on Petronius, included, one suspects, essentially to distinguish *Met.* from that even more elusive work the *Satyricon*. *Sat.* is not a freak, Scobie maintains. He sees it as basically, or initially at least, parody of the sentimental romance, elaborated in the Menippean tradition; he explains the presumed length of the full *Sat.*, and the unquestioned length of the *Cena*, by reference to the length of some Greek romances (as reported by Photius and the *Suda*) and the generously receptive nature of ancient burlesque. Here, it is refreshing and useful to have a stand adopted.

As, indeed, it is stimulating to have a firm position taken over Apuleius. It is useful to have a handle to get hold of things with; it enables us, if one may mix a metaphor, to measure distances. But we may reasonably ask where it gets us to put "wonder-romance" and "parody" tags on Apuleius and Petronius. It is satisfying, no doubt, to feel that we know where we are with them. And Scobie may very well be right, in so far as the questions he asks are real ones. But how far is that? To pigeonhole an author is to say that he is "like" someone else. With the Latin novelists, the more important thing is the "mise-en-oeuvre" of themes, the way in which they adapt structures and handle topics. In this respect each remains *sui generis*; and on this Scobie has little to say. *Pace* all those who have looked for one answer before now, one explanation, in comic or religious intention, *Met.* is both comic and religious. To label it a wonder-romance, and prove it by listing the *mirabilia* in it, is not to get very far. Apuleius won't be had so easily.

These criticisms notwithstanding, it should be said that the book shows independence, thoughtfulness often, and a good deal of conscientious erudition. It is a useful, though not a major, contribution to Apuleian studies.

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ILSETRAUT HADOT. *Seneca und die griechisch-römische Tradition der Seelenleitung*. Berlin, Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1969. Pp. 232.
DM 38. (*Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie*, Band XIII.)

In *Epistulae Morales*, 94 and 95, Seneca distinguishes the preceptive from the dogmatic parts of philosophy: *Posidonius non tantum praeceptionem . . . sed etiam suasionem et consolationem et exhortationem necessariam iudicat*" (95, 65). It is the task of preceptive philosophy to furnish precepts applicable to particular situations and problems and the task of dogmatic philosophy to provide broader principles and explications of goals towards which the specific injunctions are directed. By means of preceptive philosophy, which encompasses the techniques of *praeceptio* enumerated by Posidonius in letter 95, the philosopher directs the life of the distraught individual or prevents him from becoming distraught by instilling in him the practice of Stoic virtues and leading him to *ratio perfecta* and *tranquillitas animi*.

Hadot in the first half of this book (pp. 7-95) traces the development of practical philosophy's preceptive and dogmatic elements from the seventh century B. C. maxims of Hesiod through the Sophists, Isocrates, Plato, and the schools of ancient philosophy up to Seneca. As the Greek physicians developed "Diätetik," the particular regimentation of the patient's daily life, the Pythagoreans and Epicureans adopted similar directives. The Epicurean idea of *παρρησία*, to select one example, resembles the absolute personal candor required of the philosopher and his charge. Hadot unfortunately does not sufficiently explore the practice of *παρρησία*, which divides into two parts: *ἐπιτίμησις*—reproof and *νουθέτησις*—admonition, and the use Seneca makes of these Epicurean techniques.

The second half of the book (pp. 79-190) is devoted to Seneca's theory and practice of ethical-psychological direction. The philosopher leads the student-patient through three stages: acquisition of necessary knowledge; inculcation of that knowledge as a *habitus*; translation of that habitual knowledge into action. Seneca's guidance program correspondingly divides into three parts: examination of duties; direction of impulses; and harmonization of impulse and action. Seneca, in letter 34, 2 for example, almost as a father-confessor must combine the roles of philosopher, friend, and authoritative personality to lead Lucilius to *tranquillitas*. Seneca's contribution to the "Seelenleitung" tradition may be found more in his method, his introduction of preceptive therapy into philosophical prose through stylistic devices, than in the formulation of new doctrine.

Although on page three Hadot insists upon reading and interpreting the letters of Seneca in the light of his dialogues, she relies almost exclusively on the former. The *Consolatio ad Polybium* is quoted only once, the *De Brevitate Vitae* twice, and the *De Clementia* but three times. If "Seelenleitung" is as important throughout Seneca's works as Hadot believes, why restrict the investigation to the letters? Nor is there by way of illustration any

extended textual analysis of exactly how Seneca does apply the preceptive method. Hadot's discussion of *tranquillitas* (pp. 135-41) contributes little to the solution of the problems of *De Tranquillitate Animi*. In a brief paragraph on the final page Hadot peremptorily dismisses Seneca's tragedies as "Paradeigmata mit negativen Vorzeichen und abschreckender Wirkung." Finally, a tendency towards repetition (e.g. *magnitudo animi* and the study of physics on pp. 115 and 127-8; "Lebensalter" and "Philosophie" pp. 102, 121, 158) at times mars the second half of the book.

Mrs. Hadot has assembled a large quantity of valuable material, though in the first half of the book she often relies upon previous scholars—Jaeger and Gaiser, for example, in her account of "Elenktik" and "Paränese" in the Platonic dialogue. The survey of the history of "Seelenleitung" with many useful quotations remains but a survey. Whether her emphasis on the central importance of "Seelenleitung" in Seneca's philosophy is justified may be questioned. The reader remains grateful to Mrs. Hadot for her work on this one idea, but he often feels that Seneca's philosophy cannot be reduced simply to psycho-therapy.

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Phaedri Augusti Liberti Liber Fabularum. Recensuit ANTONIUS GUAGLIANONE. Torino, G. B. Paravia & C., 1969. Pp. xxxii + 198. (*Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum*.)

The text of Phaedrus gains in two important ways from Guaglianone's edition. For the first time in many years, an editor has been able to consult the oldest and best witness P, recently acquired from a private collector by the Pierpont Morgan Library. In addition, A. Garzya's discovery in 1957 of the so-called *Schedae Dorvillanae* in the Bodleian Library has enabled Guaglianone to use this evidence to reconstruct numerous illegible passages in Perotti's manuscript N. He has also provided a most useful *Index Omnium Verborum*.

Unfortunately these are about the only advantages of the new edition. The Latin *Praefatio* is so badly written as often to be incomprehensible: thus the description of *codex* P is totally obscure. Nothing new is added to our understanding of the textual tradition, and we are nowhere told what critical principles the editor uses (nor indeed is it possible to reconstruct them from the text). It is alarming that the *Conspectus Siglorum* (by a simple printer's blunder?) is so badly presented as to mislead any casual user of the text. Thus *codices* D, N, and V are erroneously presented in the guise of *Codicis R Testes*. Perhaps Guaglianone's most serious fault is that in his *Praefatio* he completely ignores the prose *Paraphrases* of Phaedrus, and rarely quotes them in the *app. crit.* Yet so often these *must* be taken into account when proposing a workable emendation. Thus at IV, 13 and 14 all attempts to reconstruct the lost lines are simply ignored. How much more

helpful is Postgate's OCT! Is it too much to expect that a modern text could have the *Paraphrases* running at the bottom of the page to give the reader this absolutely essential information?

One's necessary trust in an editor's palaeographical skill is not strengthened by comparing Guaglianone's collation of D with the facsimile given by Chatelain (*Paléographie des Classiques Latins*, pl. 165, 2). A check of a few lines reveals one serious mistake and two misleading inaccuracies. Again, it is pointless to cite simple palaeographical devices as if they were significant. (Thus at III, 17, 2 it is useless to inform the reader that for *legerunt* P reads *legerit*.) It is also annoying that additions are never marked in the text itself, and that Guaglianone has the strange habit of obelizing a text already corrected.

But to come to the text itself: in the *Praefatio* (p. xxiii) the editor tells us that his text is conservative. As so often, this means that he intends to preserve what is mediocre or plainly wrong at all costs. Of the many hundreds of occasions where this principle ruins the text, one example is enough. At I, 2, 7-8 the long accepted emendations of Pithou and Heinsius produce the correct text:

Non quia crudelis ille, sed quoniam grave
omne insuetis onus, et coepissent queri

(this is also indicated by the *Paraphrases*). Guaglianone, blindly clinging to the MSS, retains the flat:—

(Non quia crudelis ille, sed quoniam gravis
omnino insuetis), onus et coepissent queri.

His conservatism constantly leads him into not even mentioning excellent emendations, and it is this which renders his edition untrustworthy.

Guaglianone produces five suggestions of his own: I, 5, 7 *quia denominator leo* (possible, although Richter's *nominor quoniam leo* is much neater); V, 5, 32 *verri* (clearly wrong in view of *verum* in line 18); V, 7, 18 *Reducem tum adducit prece, pretio* (this seems to have been inspired by Guaglianone's chaotic presentation of the MSS readings); *App.*, 8, 3 *Quid hoc?* (possible, although no rival suggestion is mentioned); *App.*, 15, 19 *impudentis sensim* (a rather bewildering suggestion).

P. K. MARSHALL.

AMHERST COLLEGE.

M. I. FINLEY. *Early Greece: The Bronze and Archaic Ages*. New York, W. W. Norton Co., 1970. Pp. 155; 4 pls.

This little book appears in a series entitled *Ancient Culture and Society*, of which M. I. Finley is general editor. If, in this capacity, he sought an author for a brief summary of the Bronze and Archaic Ages of Greece, it is not surprising that he ended up by writing

it himself; not many scholars would care to summarize and assess two such disparate periods. The first encompasses nearly 2000 years, the latter hardly more than 200; for the first the evidence is almost entirely archaeological, for the second much of it is literary; and they are separated by a Dark Age (here dispensed with in fifteen pages) during which almost every aspect of Greek life was profoundly changed.

A reviewer of such a study is at once faced with a basic problem: for what sort of reader is it intended? The present study is surely not meant for the classicist (we are informed, e. g., that the word 'magistracies' is borrowed from the Latin) nor for the archaeologist (little of the work of the Minoans or the Mycenaeans appeals to Finley; of the latter he complains, e. g., that the monumentality of the architecture was not transferred to sculpture, though the dust jacket of my copy bears a striking photograph of the relief for which the Lion Gate was named). If intended for the interested but non-specialist reader, why was so much debatable, and rather technical, matter included?

The book is not without merit. The section on the Bronze Age is written with exuberance and almost gives the impression that the author had found a new topic to exercise his mind. Yet what is one to think of a classicist who expresses surprise that the Greeks had no "preordained authority with the prerogative to develop new myths or to certify old ones" (p. 131)? Or one who can bring himself to write of "the power implications inherent in the archaeology" (p. 38)? Or who solemnly informs us that the Greek colonies "showed (with few exceptions) what we popularly call a 'Mediterranean' climate and vegetation" (p. 93)?

For me, Finley's willing (nay, eager) suspension of belief grows rapidly tedious, while his book contains too much that is just plain silly.

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WHOLE No. 372

THE STREET-TEACHER: AN EDUCATIONAL SCENE IN HORACE.

Hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.
cum tibi sol tepidus pluris admoverit auris,
me libertino natum patre et in tenui re
maiores pennas nido extendisse loqueris . . .

(*Epistles*, I, 20, 17 ff.)

When Horace decided to issue his first collection of epistles, he used an ingenious device, half-amusing, half-serious, to intimate to his readers that he had been reluctant to court further publicity. Instead of addressing the concluding epistle to one of his friends, he addressed it to the book itself as a whole, as though it were a living person, slyly transferring to it the responsibility for its own appearance before the world, and giving it a sort of ironical *propempticon*. In a cleverly-sustained *double entendre*, the smart new volume takes on the character of a handsome and well-groomed young slave of the household, determined to quit the confines of a good home, and to be seen and admired by the populace (1-5). Once gone, the master warns, there will be no return; remorse will follow, when the favourite finds himself discarded (6-8). Public appreciation at Rome will wane as soon as the bloom of youth fades; thereafter there will ensue either a life of foul neglect, or a flight overseas to Utica, or the discomfort of being sent packing to Ilerda (9-13). Finally, the crowning humiliation—that of being reduced, when old and worn, to providing elementary lessons for

children in some far from select locality (17-18, above). A gloomy prediction, so far; but now (19 ff.) the prospect brightens; something may yet be retrieved, for perhaps some future audience will, after all, be interested to hear about the master's own life, his rise from humble beginnings, his proud record, his personality and appearance, even his exact age. With this information, then, the epistle concludes.¹

Horace's forecast on the destiny of his book looks forward some decades, but the picture of primary education (at its lowest level) which he presents is by no means imaginary, and must have resulted from his observation of the circumstances of his own time. It is my purpose, therefore, to interpret each of its details—the teacher, the lesson, the place, the time, the attendant circumstances—in the light of the known conditions of real life. To complete this reconstruction, it will be necessary to show that line 19 has an immediate connection with what precedes, and to clarify its meaning and allusion. It is a notoriously difficult line, which for generations has given rise to explanations of the most remarkable diversity;² but my contention is that it adds the final touch to a genuine, though nowadays rarely remembered, teaching-scene of the ancient world.

First, then, the background and personality of the teacher. It is clear from the expression *non ita nutritus* in 5 that he is a home-born slave, a *verna* who has never previously left Horace's house. Within the home, *vernae* were traditionally given favoured treatment; the custom of nurturing them together with the freeborn children had long existed, and continued throughout antiquity.³ They were often lively and intelligent, and Horace himself much enjoyed their company at his Sabine farm.⁴ In the less disciplined family life of the Empire, they were often

¹ See further Edmond Courbaud, *Horace, sa vie et sa pensée à l'époque des Épîtres* (Paris, 1914), pp. 330-7, and, particularly, Eduard Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 356-63. M. J. McGann's recent *Studies in Horace's First Book of Epistles* (Collection Latomus, Brussels, 1969), pp. 85-7, has only a brief discussion.

² Cf. the long and inconclusive notes in the editions of A. S. Wilkins (London, 1885; often reprinted), and E. C. Wickham (Oxford, 1891).

³ Plutarch, *Cato maior*, 20, 3; Quint., I, 1, 7; ps.-Plutarch, *De Lib. Educ.*, 6; Jerome, *Ep.*, 14, 3.

⁴ *Serm.*, II, 6, 66.

petted and spoiled by their masters and were allowed much liberty of speech, so that the term *vernilitas* became synonymous with pertness and impudence.⁵ But the better ones were quick to acquire at least the rudiments of an education; even the *verna* of *Epistles*, II, 2 *init.*, who had his drawbacks, was praised by the slave-dealer as *litterulis Graecis imbutus*, and the slaves employed in the copying-establishment of Atticus, who were all *vernae*, had been *pueri litteratissimi*.⁶ At the very least, a *verna* might be useful as a *capsarius*, like Juvenal's *custos angustae vernula capsae*.⁷ He might become a *paedagogus*, and then turn to teaching, especially if, as often happened, he secured his freedom. A notable example of this was Remmius Palaemon, a *verna* who began by accompanying the son of the family to school, stayed during the lessons, and then acquired such learning that he was able, when manumitted, to open a school as a *grammaticus*.⁸ Palaemon was no doubt exceptionally able, and was certainly one of fortune's favourites, but many *vernae* must have been sufficiently literate to cope with teaching at an elementary level.

Unfortunately, however, in an age of declining standards, literacy and morality did not always go hand in hand. Long before the parents of Quintilian's day feared that children's morals might be corrupted in schools,⁹ Horace's father, *custos incorruptissimus*, realised the dangers, and himself escorted him to his lessons in Rome.¹⁰ Even some of the well-known *grammatici*, such as Caecilius Epirota and Verrius Flaccus, had dubious reputations,¹¹ and Palaemon himself, despite his large school and great wealth, was declared by both Tiberius and Claudius to be a totally unsuitable person to be entrusted with the education of boys and youths.¹² Viewed in this context, the

⁵ Seneca, *De Prov.*, I, 6, *cogita filiorum nos modestia delectari, vernularum licentia*; Petronius, *Sat.*, 66, *si aliquid muneris meo vernulae non tulero, habebo convicium*; Martial, XIV, 54.

⁶ Nepos, *Atticus*, 13, 3-4.

⁷ 10, 116-17.

⁸ Suet., *De Gram.*, 23.

⁹ Quint., I, 2, 4, *corrumpti mores in scholis putant*.

¹⁰ *Serm.*, I, 6, 81-4.

¹¹ Suet., *De Gram.*, 16 and 19.

¹² *Ibid.*, 23.

fact that a man, whose background was as disreputable as that of Horace's *verna*, should have been engaged in teaching much further down the scale is not in the least surprising, considering the laxity of the times. Horace imagines the stages of his decline. From the beginning, he is not *pudicus* (line 3) but wishes to profit by his physical charms (2, *prostes*); he becomes someone's favourite (line 8, *cum plenus languet amator*) and then, disillusioned, sinks so low as to be *contrectatus . . . manibus . . . volgi* (line 11). And now the tortuous course of his wayward life has brought him to old age, and the need to earn a meagre recompense by giving lessons to children. We are reminded how familiar a figure, at all times, was the *senex magister*, and how many, even among the *grammatici* of repute, were driven by economic necessity to continue teaching until old age, and ended their days in poverty.

So far as the teacher is concerned, then, Horace's picture has every mark of credibility. We must now consider exactly what kind of lesson he has in mind. The word *elementa* here is often translated "the ABC"¹³ and, surprisingly, even the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* includes the present passage under the heading of the letters of the alphabet.¹⁴ This surely cannot be right, for it is Horace's book of Epistles which has to serve the purpose of teaching, and there is no evidence that literary texts of any kind were used in the teaching of the alphabet.¹⁵ Children learned to recognise the shapes of the letters from the models written by the teacher himself on their tablets; when they knew the name and sound of each letter, they copied them

¹³ E. g. by Plessis-Lejay (Paris, 1906); F. Villeneuve (Collection Budé); H. R. Fairclough (Loeb Library); J. Préaux (Collection Erasme), etc.

¹⁴ *S. v. elementum* I. Several references here are either definitely erroneous or of doubtful validity: (i) Capitolinus, *M. Aur.*, 2, 2, *usus est magistris ad prima elementa Euphorione litteratore et Gemino comedo*, does not imply a special teacher for the alphabet, but for reading and writing; (ii) Tac., *Dial.*, 30 *init.*, *transeo prima discentium elementa* means "primary studies," and is followed by a reference to the reading of authors (i.e. with the *grammaticus*); (iii) Sen., *Ep.*, 48, 11, *grammaticorum elementa* has nothing to do with the letters. See now *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, fasc. III (1971), *s. v. elementum*, 4.

¹⁵ See H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Engl. trans., London, 1956), 150 ff. (Greece) and 269 ff. (Rome).

out several times themselves.¹⁶ Sometimes model letters in wood or ivory were used.¹⁷ Not only the letters, but their very numerous combinations in syllables, had to be learned by heart before any kind of literary text could be approached.¹⁸ The best pointer to the meaning here is the expression *balba senectus*. Horace speaks elsewhere of *os balbum pueri* in describing the faltering pronunciation of the child who is learning to read for the first time.¹⁹ Any short and easy passage of poetry was used for the purpose²⁰ and it was necessary, for some time, to proceed slowly, not merely a word at a time, but a syllable at a time.²¹ This is well illustrated by a papyrus school-manual of the third century B. C., in which, immediately after the list of syllables, there is given a list of names (divided syllabically) followed by two short passages of Euripides in which the individual syllables are distinguished by points.²² Thus the word *balba* here is doubly appropriate; it suits the hesitant pronunciation of an old man,²³ and it suits the effect of his slow syllabic reading, followed at each step by his pupil. Such reading-lessons were best given individually, the teacher and pupil using the same book,²⁴ so the book itself is aptly described as "faltering" in its "old age."

¹⁶ Columella, X, 251-2, *ceu littera . . . pangitur in cera docti mucrone magistri*; A. E. Housman on Manilius, II, 756; E. Ziebarth, *Aus der antiken Schule* (Bonn, 1913), no. 1; C. Wessely, *Studien zur Paldographie und Papyruskunde*, II (1902), p. LII.

¹⁷ Quint., I, 1, 26; Jerome, *Ep.*, 107, 4.

¹⁸ Quint., I, 1, 30-1.

¹⁹ *Ep.*, II, 1, 126, *os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat*, and Porphyrio, *ad loc.*

²⁰ Cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

²¹ Dion. Hal., *De Dem.*, 52 (I, 243, 2, U.-R.), *κατὰ συλλαβὴν μὲν καὶ βραδέως τὸ πρῶτον*; *idem*, *De Comp. Verb.*, 25 (II, 193, 11 U.-R.); Quint., I, 1, 32-3.

²² O. Guéraud et P. Jouget, *Un livre d'écolier* (Cairo, 1938), plates III and IV.

²³ Cf. *Serm.*, II, 3, 274, *cum balba feris annoso verba palato*, and Lejay, *ad loc.* It is less likely that our passage refers to dictation (as does *Serm.*, I, 10, 74-5), since dictation came only at a later stage, when the boy could both read and write lines or passages; cf. *O. G. L.*, III, 226, 12 ff., *et ego in primo ordine* ("top class") *dictatum ewcept.*

²⁴ Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. Ant.*, s. v. *educatio*, fig. 2610; H. -I. Marrou, *Μουσικὸς Ἀνὴρ* (Grenoble, 1938, reprinted Rome, 1964), pp. 30 ff.

The allusion to the locality in which these lessons are supposed to take place is couched in curiously ambiguous terms; in fact, there are no less than three possible interpretations of the phrase *extremis in vicis*, each of which requires consideration. The first, which is ignored by commentators, but which is a perfectly possible rendering of the Latin, is that the meaning is "in furthestmost villages," that is, most distant from Rome.²⁵ There are two ideas involved here, that of remoteness, and that of village-teaching as the lowliest form of education. As to the former, there is no particular reason to suppose that Horace would have found the prospect of his work being read in far-off places as in itself distasteful. On the contrary, in the last ode of his second book (where he refers to himself, rather as here, as *pauperum sanguis parentum*), he prides himself on the thought that his poems will be known to the *ultimi Geloni*, and learned by (adult) educated readers in Spain and Gaul.²⁶ As to the second point, teachers in villages would doubtless have been people of very humble origin; Epicurus (who had been, like his father, a primary teacher)²⁷ recalled that Protagoras had been engaged in the menial occupation of a wood-carrier before he became a village-teacher.²⁸ In general, the standard of instruction at this level would probably have been poor, and might well have been referred to disparagingly. But the real question is how far it was actually available in Horace's day. Although some places may have received occasional visits from peripatetic teachers, village-education was certainly not yet at all widespread.²⁹ The process was gradual, and not until early in the

²⁵ So L. Grasberger, *Erziehung und Unterricht im klassischen Alterthum* (Wurzburg, 1875), II, p. 297 ("fernen Landstädtchen"); J. F. Dobson, *Ancient Education and its Meaning to Us* (Our Debt to Greece and Rome, London, 1932), p. 111 ("remote country schools"); D. Bo, *Q. H. F. Opera*, II, *Satire, Epistole*, A. P., ed. crit. e trad. (Paravia, 1959), p. 319 ("nei più lontani villaggi"); and occasionally in mediaeval scholia, cf. H. J. Botschuver, *Scholia in Horatium*, IV (Amsterdam, 1942), p. 415.

²⁶ *Carm.*, II, 20, 18-20, (*me*) . . . *ultimi* | *noscent Geloni, me peritus* | *disceat Hiber Rhodanique potor*; cf. A. P., 345-6.

²⁷ *Diog. Laert.*, X, 4.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, X, 8, ἐν κόμαις γράμματα διδάσκειν; Athenaeus, VIII, p. 354 c, διδάσκειν ἐν κόμῃ τινι γράμματα.

²⁹ See M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Era*, 2nd ed. by F. H. Bothe (Heidelberg, 1921). So, too, Orelli (n. 66).

third century do we meet a specific reference to those who, as a recognised group, *in vicis primas litteras magistri docent*.³⁰ But the most serious objection to this first interpretation lies in lines 19 ff.; for if, as will later appear, they form an integral part of the teaching-scene, then it is most improbable that an illiterate rustic audience, at any time or place, would have been drawn to take an interest in Horace's life and work.

It has always been the view of the commentators that *vicis* here means "streets"³¹; but the prevalent opinion has long been that *extremis* means "furthest from the city-centre," i. e. in the suburbs, either of Rome, or, if we press the reference in line 13, of Utica or Ilerda. That there may have been schools in the outskirts of large cities is not to be denied, though the only actual example of a suburban teacher known to me is that of Callimachus, who is reported to have taught in early life in a *κομύδιον* of Alexandria.³² Those who trouble to explain why they adopt this interpretation assume (though they do not prove) that it was a common custom for impoverished teachers to collect their pupils in poorer, outlying districts because accommodation was cheaper there.³³ But this argument only carries weight if we suppose that the present passage necessarily implies the use of hired premises. All that we are told is that our teacher is "in the streets," and street-teachers—a common sight in Mediterranean cities—could set up where they liked, without cost, and they would have been most likely to select some well-frequented spot, where they could be seen to be engaged in teaching, and might expect to become known and attract more pupils. True, the central area of a city would be

³⁰ Ulpian, *Dig.*, L, 5, 2, 8.

³¹ Cf. P. W. Harsh, "*Angiportum, Platea, and Vicus*," *O.P.*, XXXII (1937), p. 53, who likewise considers that "street" is certainly the meaning in our passage. A rather similar context in *Ep.*, II, 1, *sub fin.*, *ne . . . deferar in vicum vendentem tus et odores*, refers probably to the *vicus Tuscus*.

³² Suidas, s. v. Καλλιμαχος.

³³ Cf. S. Obbarius et T. Schmidius, *Q. H. F. Epist. Commentariis Uerrimis Instructae* (Leipzig, 1847), II, p. 548: *extremi dicuntur utpote remotissimi, quia in talibus propter pergularum et domorum modicum pretium viles ludimagistri fere habitant*; and, earlier, C. Fea, 2nd ed. by F. H. Bothe (Heidelberg, 1821). So, too, Orelli (n. 66).

busy and noisy, but even this was no deterrent, for Dio Chrysostom tells us that "the teachers of letters sit in the streets with their pupils, and nothing prevents the pursuit of teaching and learning even in so thick a crowd."³⁴ This certainly does not sound like a distant suburb. Horace, then, is envisaging a scene of open-air teaching such as that depicted in a Pompeian wall-painting, where the "school"—just a few children—is grouped around the teacher, in full view of the public.³⁵ The teacher himself is seated beside a column, on a low stool or bench, and is evidently an example of the *χαμαιδιδάσκαλος*, a term which, in late antiquity, was equated with *ludi magister*.³⁶ This kind of outdoor teaching would naturally be most common in months when the weather was sunny and dry, and this will be seen to be entirely appropriate to the use of the expression *sol tepidus*, the meaning of which will be elucidated in due course.

We now come to the third explanation of *extremis in vicis*, which I believe to be the right one. It is the oldest explanation of all, being that of the ancient scholiasts; it was accepted by some 17th century editors,³⁷ but then gradually dropped out of favour; in the nineteenth century it was only occasionally adopted,³⁸ and it has long ceased even to be mentioned. That is, that the words mean "at the ends of the streets." This is a perfectly normal (and Horatian) use of *extremus*, simply denoting the furthest point of something, without implying that it is far away.³⁹ Porphyrio gave the meaning as *in ultima*

³⁴ 20, 9, οἱ γὰρ τῶν γραμμάτων διδάσκαλοι μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς κάθηται καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐμποδὼν ἔστιν ἐν τοσοῦτῳ πλήθει τοῦ διδάσκειν τε καὶ μαρθάνειν (cited by some editors).

³⁵ Daremberg et Saglio, cited in note 24; cf. Martial, X, 60, *iura trium petiit a Caesare discipulorum | adsuetus semper Munna docere duos*.

³⁶ *Edict. Dioclet.*, 7, 66: *C. G. L.*, II, 475, 16. He had no *cathedra*; the term *χαμαιδικαστής* (*iudex pedaneus*) was similarly applied to a judge who administered justice from a low seat, instead of a tribunal.

³⁷ Notably Torrentius (Antwerp, 1608), and Schrevelius (Leiden, 1670). L. Desprez (Paris, 1691, *in usum Delphini*) gave both this and the preceding explanation as alternatives.

³⁸ As by F. G. Doering (Oxford, 1831) and F. Ritter (Leipzig, 1857); also F. H. Bothe in his selections (Leipzig, 1822).

³⁹ *Ep.*, I, 1, 3, *extrema . . . arena*; *ibid.*, II, 2, 69, *extremo in*

vicorum parte, citing Terence, *Phormio*, 215, *in ultima platea*, where the meaning must be "at the far end of the street." He assumed that his readers would understand, as editors who followed him long did, that the "ends of the streets" are the points at which they converge with other streets, that is, at the *trivia* or *quadrivia*, where there was sufficient space for a small "school" to take up its position. Now there is good evidence that, in the practice of both Greece and Rome, the *trivium* was a favourite spot for open-air teachers and their pupils to meet. There is a well-known tradition that Dionysius the Younger, when in exile at Corinth, took up teaching;⁴⁰ and Justinus (21, 5) says of him: *ludi magistrum professus, pueros in trivio docebat*. Similarly, at Rome, Quintilian, speaking of the elementary study of grammar, remarks: *litterarii paene ista sunt ludi et trivialis scientiae*, thus rather contemptuously equating such elementary knowledge with that obtained, as we might say, "at the street-corner."⁴¹ Long after Quintilian's day, the mediaeval study of the seven liberal arts was described as the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*, and, although their content went far beyond anything taught in the street in classical times, the choice of that particular terminology was not inappropriate, and perhaps intentionally perpetuated the memory of the age-old connection between the crossways and learning. For an impoverished teacher, such a locality had the advantage that there were always people passing by, some of whom might have children whom they could ill afford to educate in an established school, and publicity could be useful. Dionysius chose the *trivium* because he had his own reasons for wanting to be seen.⁴² On the other hand, the *trivium* had its disadvantages, for it was the habitual resort of low-class people, such as beggars, parasites angling for an invitation, itinerant musicians, quack-doctors,

Aventino; Epodes, 3, 22, *extrema . . . sponda*; Caesar, *B. G.*, VI, 29, 3, *in extremo ponte; et saepe*.

⁴⁰ Lucian, *Somnium*, 23, *παιδία συλλαβίζειν διδάσκειν*; Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, III, 12, 27; *Ad Fam.*, IX, 18, 1; Val. Max., VI, 9, *ext.* 6.

⁴¹ I, 4, 27. I do not know of any reference to a "school" at the *quadrivium*, though it would have been equally possible; cf. Juv., I, 63-4, *nonne libet medio ceras implere capaces | quadrivio?*

⁴² Justinus, *loc. cit.*, *in trivio docebat, ut aut a timentibus semper in publico videretur aut a non timentibus facilius contemneretur*.

fortune-tellers, and quarrelsome and abusive rowdies.⁴³ When, therefore, Horace wished to draw a gloomy picture of the ultimate destination of his book, he could hardly have chosen a more vulgar setting than this.

At this point, we reach the much-debated line: *cum tibi sol tepidus pluris admoverit auris*. Here the major problem has always been to decide how close is the sequence of thought to what precedes. The opinions of the commentators may be divided as follows: (1) those who consider that the double reference to slave and book is continued, and that the line still forms part of a school scene; (2) those who deny the continuance of the double reference, abandon any further allusion to a school, and look further afield for their setting; and (3) those who believe that the double reference does continue, but think that the school-lesson is no longer in progress. This last view appears to be a sort of compromise, to avoid some of the difficulties created by (2). The credibility of any opinion will, of course, depend on the strength of the arguments adduced (a) to decide what time is meant by *sol tepidus*, and (b) to identify the "larger audience" involved. The extraordinary variety of interpretations offered will be seen if we first present a critical résumé of the development of learned opinion over the centuries.⁴⁴

The ancient scholiasts thought that the school-lesson was still in progress, and explained *sol tepidus* as referring to the time of day at which, they said, dictation began, "around the fourth or fifth hour," either because the boys were less restive when the sun grew warmer, or because the warmth enabled errors to be more easily erased on the waxed tablets.⁴⁵ What they did

⁴³ *Ep.*, I, 17, 58-9 (vagabond); Virgil, *Ecl.*, 3, 26-7 (singer); Galen, IX, 823 and X, 786 (quacks); Horace, *A. P.*, 244 ff. (low language—cf. Mayor's *Juvenal*, Index, in vol. II, p. 448); Cicero, *Pro Murena*, 6, 13, *arripere maledictum ex trivio*.

⁴⁴ Based on examination of the notes of some forty commentators from the Renaissance to the present day; the dates given below are those of copies consulted, but the list makes no claim to be exhaustive.

⁴⁵ Porphyrio (p. 366, 9, Holder): *secundum morem librariorum locutus est, qui circum quartam vel quintam horam dictata pueris praeberere consueverint, quo tempore tractabiliores sunt*; Ps.-Acro (II, pp. 276-7 Keller): *tunc enim dictata accipiunt pueri cum beneficio solis cera facilius deletur*. For this last, cf. *C. G. L.*, III, 377, 61-2, *cera dura est . . . mollis debuit esse*.

not explain was why there should have been more boys present for the dictation-lesson than had been in the class before, and there is no other evidence of pupils arriving at school as late as ten or eleven o'clock. Early editors soon became divided in their opinions as to whether the expression referred to the time of day or the time of year. Christophorus Landinus, the author of a very early printed commentary, thought it meant "after sunrise,"⁴⁶ but the view of Badius Ascensius⁴⁷ (which long continued to be mentioned by editors) was that Horace was thinking of the warm spring weather, when, after the holidays of the *Quinquatrus*, a new school-year began, and more pupils were assembled.⁴⁸ Against this, it was later objected that *sol* with an adjective is elsewhere used by Horace to denote time of day, not time of year.⁴⁹ There is also a further objection—why should a teacher have waited for the arrival of fresh pupils before he said anything about the life and character of the author (which the *ludimagister* did not normally do in any case, though the *grammaticus* probably did),⁵⁰ when that author had already been used for elementary lessons by the original class in line 17? Despite Ascensius, the opinion of the scholiasts that the time of day—towards mid-morning—was meant continued to prevail, and was accepted by such editors as Cruquius,⁵¹ Lambinus,⁵² Laevinus Torrentius,⁵³ John Bond,⁵⁴ and William Baxter.⁵⁵ Of these only Torrentius noted that the larger audience must have included others besides schoolchildren, though he

⁴⁶ Venice, 1486.

⁴⁷ Paris, 1543 (originally, Paris, 1503): *tempestas verna . . . plures pueros*.

⁴⁸ Horace, *Ep.*, II, 2, 197; Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 829; Juv., 10, 114 ff.

⁴⁹ *Serm.*, I, 6, 125, *sol acrior*; *ibid.*, II, 4, 23, *ante gravem solem*. *Ep.*, I, 5, 3, *supremo sole*.

⁵⁰ Evidence is collected by D. van Berchem, "Poètes et grammairiens," *Mus. Helv.*, IX (1952), pp. 79-87.

⁵¹ Antwerp, 1578.

⁵² Paris, 1604 (originally, 1561): *hora diei tertia aut quarta, quo tempore solis calor invalescit*.

⁵³ Antwerp, 1608.

⁵⁴ 6th ed., Amsterdam, 1650 (several London editions from early 17th century; with Schrevelius' notes, Leiden, 1670).

⁵⁵ London, 1701: (*horam*) . . . *decimam et undecimam nostram*.

made no attempt to identify them.⁵⁶ Others, such as Xylander,⁵⁷ and Eilhard Lubin,⁵⁸ suggested that they were men of leisure who, in the heat of the day, repaired to the cool shade where the schools were, and took the opportunity of hearing poetry read; but this was straining the meaning of *tepidus*. André Dacier also thought along these lines, though he was aware that *tepidus* could not refer to great heat.⁵⁹ It will thus be seen that the scholiasts and all the interpreters so far mentioned took *tepidus* to imply increased warmth, and that they did their best to bring line 19 into relation with the school-lesson.

In the eighteenth century, support began to develop for a radically different interpretation, which has been overwhelmingly predominant ever since, that *tepidus* here implied a contrast with previous heat, and meant that the temperature was pleasantly cool.⁶⁰ N. E. Sanadon,⁶¹ rejecting the view of Dacier, maintained that the evenings were meant, and that the reference was to men of letters gathering together at each other's houses, or in public places, to listen to readings of the poets. Later, J. M. Gesner referred rather vaguely to *pomeridianum tempus*, at which older people, their work done, beguiled their leisure by listening.⁶² In the following century, F. G. Doering⁶³ and N. E. Lemaire⁶⁴ thought that the afternoon could be meant (as did

⁵⁶ *cum invalescente iam die non pueri modo sed et alii ad te audiendum confluerint.*

⁵⁷ Heidelberg, 1575: *auditores, in umbra tempus fallentes.*

⁵⁸ Frankfurt, 1612: *sol illo tempore tepidus et fervens homines in auditorio umbram et refrigerium quaerere cogens.*

⁵⁹ Paris, 1691: *dès que le soleil étoit un peu haut, beaucoup de gens y alloient chercher le frais. . . .* Note that Dacier is repeatedly spoken of in the highest terms by Eduard Fraenkel (*Horace*, p. 5, n. 6; p. 79, n. 4; p. 168, n. 1 and n. 6).

⁶⁰ The transition may be seen in the alternatives offered by L. Desprez (Paris, 1691): (a) *fervente aestu*; (b) *vel sub vesperum et sole iam defervescente, cum dictata discipulis traduntur.* (Richard Bentley [Cambridge, 1711] is disappointingly silent on our passage.)

⁶¹ Paris, 1728, and, together with Dacier's notes, Amsterdam, 1735. Philip Francis (London, 1753) follows Sanadon, who was, in fact, somewhat inaccurate in saying that Dacier spoke of "*la grande chaleur de jour*" (my italics).

⁶² Leipzig, 1752 (Baxter, with Gesner's notes); Leipzig, 1802 (Baxter-Gesner-Zeunius).

⁶³ Oxford, 1831.

⁶⁴ Paris, 1831.

several later editors),⁶⁵ and tried to restore the school-setting by saying that parents and others then came along to hear the boys recite what they had learnt. This was totally unsuited to *tepidus*, for, if the day had been hot, then it would not be likely to become cool, in the Mediterranean area, until evening, or even late evening, and by that time the pupils would have dispersed. J. C. Orelli, therefore, reverted to Sanadon's view, arguing that Horace had now dropped his school-scene, and was merely addressing his book (without further thought of the slave), and was alluding to the practice of reading poetry aloud "after dinner"; the *pluris auris* were those of guests at various dinner-parties, envisaged as a single audience.⁶⁶ But this was more suited to recently-produced poetry, and quite failed to explain why Horace's old and worn volume should have suddenly sprung back into fashion and aroused such interest. In the final revision of Orelli by W. Mewes,⁶⁷ the idea was dropped in favour of an even more unlikely one of G. T. A. Krüger,⁶⁸ who argued that Horace had in mind the *readers* who lounged around the bookshop of the Sosii in the evening, where his work was on display—a view which was entirely inappropriate to *auris*, for readers thumbed the books on sale for themselves.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, a further attempt to keep the school-lesson in the picture had been made by Obbarius, in his exhaustive commentary on the *Epistles*;⁷⁰ but he reverted to the old idea that the time of year was meant,⁷¹ and thought that Horace referred to the cooler weather after the summer holidays, when the pupils reassembled. This was open to the same objections as the explanation of Ascensius; why wait until after the long vacation? But at least he issued a sensible warning on the whole problem: *A recta*

⁶⁵ E. g. W. Dillenburger (7th ed., Bonn, 1881); J. B. Greenough (Boston, 1888); E. S. Shuckburgh (Cambridge, 1888); and E. C. Wickham (Oxford, 1891). George Long, in his revision of A. J. Macleane's edition (London, 1869) was more cautious ("*tepidus sol* . . . may refer to the cooler part of the day, morning or evening").

⁶⁶ 5th ed. by J. G. Baiter (Turin, 1868).

⁶⁷ Berlin, 1892.

⁶⁸ 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1860.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Serm.*, I, 4, 71-2.

⁷⁰ Leipzig, 1847; cf. note 33 above.

⁷¹ As did F. Ritter (Leipzig, 1857), and H. Schütz (Berlin, 1881).

via paululum ii deflectunt, qui in similitudine ludi magistri et puerorum elementariorum permanent, sed de tempore vel diei vel anni ambigunt. A mente autem Poetae longissime ii absunt, qui similitudine illa relicta librum vel recitatorem faciunt vel lectorem. But scholars were by now in confusion, and the low-water-mark of scholarship was reached when Lucien Müller,⁷² following Meineke,⁷³ abandoned any attempt to find a connection of thought, and marked a lacuna between lines 18 and 19—the last refuge of the perplexed.

A step back in the right direction was taken by Kiessling-Heinze, who asserted that the double reference to the book and the slave continued, as there was nothing to indicate that Horace had changed his previous mode of expression.⁷⁴ This is also the view of Eduard Fraenkel; and it is natural that the old slave, who is in the reader's mind as *te* in line 18, should remain in the reader's mind as *tibi* in line 19, instead of having to be transformed into some quite different person who recites or reads aloud in other circumstances. Furthermore, in 26, *forte meum siquis te percontabitur aevum*, the *te* is much more readily acceptable if it continues to imply the presence of the slave than if it refers merely to the impersonal book itself, being asked and answering a question. But the idea that *tepidus* referred to the evening had become by now too firmly entrenched to be easily dislodged, and Kiessling-Heinze imagined the scene as that of the old slave reminiscing about his former master's life to a group of idlers (*Müssiggänger*) who had gathered when the heat and toil of the day were over. Plessis-Lejay, too, followed by Courbaud, though rather hazy about the circumstances, spoke of "le soleil déclinant à l'horizon et la page du livre éclairée de ses rayons obliques."⁷⁵ Similarly, Fraenkel recreates the scene as follows:⁷⁶ "The hour is towards sunset, and the scene is

⁷² Leipzig, 1893.

⁷³ Berlin, 1834.

⁷⁴ 4th ed., Berlin, 1914 (reprinted 1957): "H. fährt im selben Bilde fort—das Eintreten eines neuen müsste irgendwie gekennzeichnet sein." (The detailed criticisms of K.-H. on this Epistle published by E. Gross in *Woch. Class. Phil.*, XXXIII [1916], pp. 475 ff., 498 ff., 546 ff., 570 ff., do not, I think, carry much weight.)

⁷⁵ Paris, 1906; cf. E. Turolla (Turin, 1963), "nel ora del tramonto."

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 369-70; cf. also O. A. W. Dilke (London, 1954), who thinks the teacher has "retired."

either somewhere in Africa or Spain or in a Roman suburb, in front of the old man's hovel. There he will bask in the mild sunshine, and soon a little crowd of neighbours and their children will gather round him . . . Encouraged by the friendly atmosphere, he will plunge into his recollections. . . ." ⁷⁷ Thus the "larger audience" has taken on a still different character, whilst *sol tepidus*, from the Renaissance to the present day, has gone right round the clock, from sunrise to sunset!

The first important point to remember is that schools opened at a very early hour, and that most of the teaching was done during the morning. Ovid refers to schools beginning work at dawn, ⁷⁸ and Martial even speaks of boys on their way to school before cock-crow, and of the annoyance created by the shouting of *ludimagistri* in the mornings. ⁷⁹ Boys returned home for lunch, and may have come back for a further lesson, but it was not long before they were dismissed for the day, and made their way to the baths. ⁸⁰ The expression *sol tepidus* is perfectly suited to the time when the sun began to grow pleasantly warm, in contrast to the earlier hours of the school-day, when, even in summer-time, it could be distinctly chilly. ⁸¹ So Livy says: *nebula matutina texerat inceptum; qua dilabente ad primum teporem solis . . .*, ⁸² and Ovid *sed ut intabescere flavae | igne levi cerae matutinaeque pruinae | sole tepente solent*. ⁸³ In Horace, the use of *tepeo*, *tepidus* to mark a pleasant contrast to cold is well attested; he thus describes mild winters, ⁸⁴ and the

⁷⁷ The setting rather reminds one of the opening of Robert Southey's poem "After Blenheim."

⁷⁸ *Amores*, I, 13, 17-18.

⁷⁹ IX, 68, 1-4; XII, 57, 4-5; XIV, 223; Ausonius, *Epist.*, 22, 28.

⁸⁰ Apuleius, *Met.*, X, 5; *C. G. L.*, III, 378, 8-11, 22; Lucian, *Parasitus*, 61.

⁸¹ Cf. Fronto, I, p. 142 (Loeb) where Marcus Aurelius describes the climate of Naples: *gallocinium frigidulum . . . iam conticinium atque matutinum atque diluculum usque ad solis ortum gelidum . . . exim autem ante meridiem apricum*. He uses *tepidus* not of the evening but of midnight after a hot day—*media nox tepida*.

⁸² XLI, 2, 4.

⁸³ *Met.*, III, 487 ff.; cf. *Fasti*, I, 455-6 (the cock sacrificed to the goddess of Night) *quod tepidum vigili provocet ore diem*.

⁸⁴ *Ep.*, I, 10, 15, *est ubi plus tepeant hiemes?; Carm.*, II, 6, 17, *tepidasque . . . brumas*.

comfortable warmth of a villa in the cold season.⁸⁵ On the other hand, he has only one passage in which *tepeo* is used of the cool of the evening.⁸⁶ Our case for the former interpretation will now be strengthened if we can convincingly identify the larger audience which appeared when the sun grew warmer.⁸⁷

Attention needs first to be focused on the words *admoverit auris*. The use of *sol tepidus* as the subject is, of course, merely a rather bold poetic personification, but it is really the would-be listeners themselves who *admoverint auris*. This expression, which is nearly always found in the singular, *admove aurem*, occurs less than a dozen times in Latin,⁸⁸ and the contexts will repay study. It may be used quite simply of applying an ear to a particular point, in order to hear a sound more distinctly, e. g. of besieged townspeople who listen at the bottom of a ditch to detect the sound of an enemy tunnelling,⁸⁹ or of bee-keepers listening at the hive for the buzzing which indicates that the bees will break out,⁹⁰ or of someone putting an ear to an unconscious person's lips to detect breathing.⁹¹ But in several passages, where spoken words are concerned, it refers to people moving up closer to overhear something which they are not supposed to hear. In the *Phormio* of Terence (867-8), Geta tells how he approached Sophrona's room: *hoc ubi audiui, ad fores | suspensio gradu placide ire perrexi, accessi, adstiti, | animam compressi, aurem admovi: ita animum coepi attendere, | hoc modo sermonem captans*. Cicero makes Antonius say (metaphorically) that it would be foolish not to give ear, though unobtrusively, to the teachings of the Greeks: *non admove aurem, et, si palam audire eos non auderes . . . subauscultando tamen*

⁸⁵ *Serm.*, II, 3, 10, *si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto*.

⁸⁶ *Serm.*, I, 4, 29-30, *surgente a sole ad eum quo vespertina tepet regio*; cf. Ovid, *Met.*, I, 63, *vesper et occiduo quae litora sole tepescunt*.

⁸⁷ The interpretation of E. P. Morris (New York, 1911), "the warmth of popular favor" (which Schütz reported from a manuscript, but rejected) surely is quite out of the question. The attempt of E. Gross to support it (*Woch. Class. Phil.* [1916], pp. 501-2) does not in the least convince me. J. C. Rolfe's note (revised ed., 1956) is confused.

⁸⁸ *Thes. Ling. Lat.*, s. v. *admoveo* I B, 1 (a).

⁸⁹ Livy, XXXVIII, 7, 8.

⁹⁰ Columella, IX, 9, 4.

⁹¹ Plautus, *M. G.*, 1336.

*excipere voces eorum et procul quid narrarent attendere.*⁹² Seneca says, of overhearing prayers, *turpissima vota dis insusurrant; si quis admoverit aurem, conticescunt.*⁹³ To return to our passage, in 17-18 a lesson is in progress, and the listeners have hitherto been the children; if, therefore, in 19, more people have moved closer in order to hear, it is evident that they do so because they are interested in what is going on, though it is strictly no concern of theirs. The locality, then, has not changed—for you cannot move closer to hear someone if he has gone off somewhere else. The word *pluris*, therefore, bears its natural meaning of an *augmented* audience, including those who were there originally, and not some larger audience in a quite different setting. Furthermore, it is equally obvious that people who are said to move closer in order to hear must have been already somewhere in the vicinity at the time.

The scholiasts said that the sun was *tepidus* at about the fourth or fifth hour. Let us ask what Horace himself would have been doing at the fourth hour, that is, the hour beginning between 8.15 a. m. and 9.45 a. m., according to the time of year.⁹⁴ The answer is that he was either going out for a stroll in the city⁹⁵—and he tells us, in this very epistle (24) that he was “fond of sunshine” (*solibus aptum*)⁹⁶—or else he was preparing to take rather more vigorous exercise in the Campus Martius, until *sol acrior* (personified again) warned him to desist and repair to the baths.⁹⁷ Sometimes he set out for his morning walk rather earlier, for, on the occasion when he encountered the bore, he had already reached the Temple of Vesta by the time “a quarter of the day was past.”⁹⁸ When, in the evenings, he

⁹² *De Orat.*, II, 36, 153.

⁹³ *Ep.*, X, 5.

⁹⁴ See the tables of times (at the solstices) in J. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (Engl. trans., London, 1943), pp. 149-50.

⁹⁵ *Serm.*, I, 6, 122, *ad quartam iaceo; post hanc vagor.* . . .

⁹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, I, 8, 14-15, *nunc licet . . . aggere in aprico spatiari*; Cic., *De Orat.*, II, 14, 60 (Antonius), *cum in sole ambulem*.

⁹⁷ *Serm.*, I, 6, 125 ff.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 9, 35-6. In the country, some took their morning walk much earlier; cf. Cic., *De Orat.*, II, 3, 12, *hora fere secunda cum . . . Antonius . . . inambularet cum Cotta in porticu*; Pliny, *Ep.*, III, 1, 4, *hora secunda calceos poscit, ambulat milia passuum tria*.

strolled around the Forum and the Circus, he used to take an interest in what was going on around him, and would stop and listen to the fortune-tellers.⁹⁹ What is more likely than that, in his morning walks, he sometimes stopped at the *trivium* to listen to some old teacher reading aloud with his pupils? Nor would he have been alone in so doing at that time. At an earlier hour, the passers-by would have been hurrying along to pay social calls, to their daily assignments, or to the lawcourts; no time for them to stop and listen, nor, even if they had the time, was there much temptation to linger around in the cool air of early morning. But later, when the sun was *tepidus*, it was different, and a different class of folk were out and about; they were the leisured people, the late-risers, who found it agreeable to stroll in the sunshine, to idle at the crossways, to meet friends¹⁰⁰ and converse or argue,¹⁰¹ or merely to lounge around and contemplate the scene. For some, a point of interest is the little "school," gathered around its teacher. At first, one or two people edge a little closer, curious to know what is being read. They are not really supposed to be listening, hence the touch of furtiveness suggested by *admoverit auris*.¹⁰² But the old man does not mind the intrusion; indeed, he rather welcomes it, for it is good publicity. A small crowd gathers. Naturally, someone asks a question about the author whose work is being read; and the teacher has the answers—for they are all at the end of the book. What could be more convenient?

It may, however, be asked—is there any evidence that people did take such an interest in an open-air lesson of this kind? Indeed so, for an ocular demonstration may be provided in the form of one of the most well-known and often reproduced wall-paintings in the Naples Museum.¹⁰³ It is considered to be one of

⁹⁹ *Serm.*, I, 6, 113-14.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, I, 9, 59, *occurram in triviis*.

¹⁰¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVIII, 4, 29 (on the *otiosa plebs*): *et videre licet per fora et compita et plateas et conventicula circulos multos collectos in se iurgius ferri, aliis aliud (ut fit) defendentibus*.

¹⁰² There is a very slight, and perfectly natural, telescoping of thought and expression. Strictly, the sun brings out the people on to the streets and *trivia*, and then some move closer to the "school"; the two ideas coalesce in the one phrase.

¹⁰³ Daremberg et Saglio, *s. v. educatio*, fig. 2614; H. Blümner,

a series depicting daily life in the forum at Pompeii.¹⁰⁴ In the colonnade which ran round the forum, a small school is in session. A boy who has misbehaved, or done his work badly, is shown on the right of the picture hoisted in mid-air by two of his schoolfellows, and is receiving a sound thrashing from a burly adult. The lesson is, like the culprit, temporarily suspended, but three other children sit together, on the left of the picture, waiting for it to recommence; they face inwards, with the line of columns behind them, and their reading-books are on their knees. Behind these columns, that is, in the open space of the forum, we see four passers-by, two of whom have stopped, not to watch the thrashing, but to see what the children are reading. We are shown the heads and shoulders of these two onlookers; they are peeping round on each side of a column, and are looking down over the children's shoulders at their papyrus rolls. They are just the kind of people who, when listening to a lesson in progress, would have been said *admovisse auris*.¹⁰⁵

It only remains to point out how naturally, with this interpretation, the scene develops from line 18 to 19. There is seen to be an immediate and direct connection between the lesson and the larger audience; the older commentators long felt that there ought to be some such connection, but never quite succeeded in establishing what it was. The picture which I have presented agrees with those of them who followed Porphyrio, in its features of time and place, but makes a unity of the passage. If it is accepted as true, it will mean that the explanations of the vast majority of Horatian scholars from the early eighteenth century onwards to the present day will have to be, for one reason or another, rejected. I am conscious that this is a bold claim, but it is not one which is lightly made.

Römische Privat-Altertümer (Munich, 1911), p. 317, fig. 53 (caption corrected on p. 658); M. P. Nilsson, *Die hellenistische Schule* (Munich, 1955), Taf. viii, etc.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. H.-I. Marrou (note 15 above), p. 430, n. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. E. Jullien, *Les Professeurs de littérature dans l'ancienne Rome* (Paris, 1885), p. 116: "des étrangers que la curiosité ou la réputation du maître attiraient." They are casual listeners, uninvited guests. Cf. Otto Jahn, "Über Darstellungen des Handwerks und Handelsverkehrs auf antiken Wandgemälden," *Abh. Sächs. Gesell. Wiss.*, V (Leipzig, 1870), p. 289. So Tac., *Dial.*, 20 (of the law-courts), *adfluens et vagus auditor*.

HERODOTUS' PICTURE OF CYRUS.*

When one compares Herodotus' account of Cyrus and the descriptions of his career we find in modern histories of Persia,¹ it is clear that Herodotus' Cyrus is very different from the man we read about in the modern histories. The Greek historian seems to have been interested in more than merely recording Cyrus' deeds; he was concerned about the sort of person Cyrus was, *ὅστις ἐστίν*, as he says in I, 95, 1. But on closer examination we find that even this interest in Cyrus' personality was not the main force which shaped Herodotus' portrayal of Cyrus or governed Herodotus' choice of material to include in the *Histories*. He seems to have been especially interested in using Cyrus as a sort of moral abstraction—a model or exemplar—who is cast in certain roles and who serves certain functions.

It is generally conceded that Herodotus' account of Cyrus' life follows recognizable patterns.² Immerwahr sets Cyrus into "the elaborate pattern of the rise and fall of a ruler," which has its fullest exposition in the career of Xerxes. This pattern consists of three elements: origin of the ruler; his early reign until he reaches the height of his power; and the events which lead to his fall or decline.³ Another similar pattern is expressed in terms drawn from tragedy and Cyrus' career is seen as an example "of a well-defined formulaic biography which exemplified in the lives of individuals the cycle of *olbos*, *koros*,

* An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the Meeting of the American Philological Association in December, 1967.

¹ For example, A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire (Achaemenid Period)* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 34-58; cf. *C.A.H.*, IV, pp. 2-15. A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* (New York, 1962), pp. 36-62, makes a greater effort to incorporate Herodotean material into his account, but he is also forced to reject much of it (pp. 38-45).

² For arguments against the imposition of patterns on Herodotus' work, see K. H. Waters, *Historia*, XIX (1970), p. 505.

³ H. R. Immerwahr, *Form and Thought in Herodotus* (Cleveland, 1966), pp. 75-8. The main discussions of Cyrus are on pp. 89-93 and 161-7.

hybris, and *ate*.”⁴ Both these formulations (as well as another; see note 7 below) concentrate on the picture of Cyrus as presented in the first book and they do not take into full account the role Cyrus—or his reputation—play throughout the rest of the *Histories*.⁵ Therefore I do not believe that these formulations completely define the form into which Herodotus chose to cast his account of Cyrus. It is not the purpose of this paper, however, to argue against these formulae, but rather to go on from them and to determine exactly how Herodotus used Cyrus and his life in the whole of the *Histories*. This use does not fall into any definite pattern, except perhaps in a very broad sense, but I think the views presented here are in keeping with the belief that Herodotus was in control of his material and that he manipulated it for certain purposes, some of which we would call historical, but many of which we would call literary.⁶

There are two sides to Herodotus’ picture of Cyrus.⁷ First, there is the Persian view of Cyrus as the revered—almost sacrosanct—founder of Persian freedom and prosperity. This Cyrus appears throughout the *Histories* and he, along with the themes connected with him, constitutes a unifying element from the first book to the last page. Second, there is Herodotus’ actual biography of Cyrus in which Cyrus is used to illustrate

⁴ See M. Lang, *O. J.*, LXIII (1967-8), p. 81. Cf. J. L. Myres, *Herodotus Father of History* (Oxford, 1953), p. 53. See also Immerwahr (note 3 above), p. 310.

⁵ Immerwahr notes the mention of Cyrus in other passages (p. 167, n. 54; see also note 13 below) and he points out what seem to be inconsistencies. “Such inconsistencies between major *logoi* (but not within a *logos*) are characteristic of Herodotus’ dramatic technique.” I agree, but the fact that these “inconsistencies” do occur is revealing and an attempt should be made to explain them.

⁶ For the view that Herodotus used literary devices for historical purposes, see K. H. Waters, *Historia*, XV (1966), pp. 157-71.

⁷ Herodotus’ technique of viewing the same character from at least two aspects has been discussed at length by T. Spath, *Das Motiv der doppelten Beleuchtung bei Herodot* (Vienna, 1968). Cyrus is treated on pp. 56-62. Spath concentrates on Cyrus as presented in book one, with only a glance at the concluding chapter of the *Histories*. In his analysis he points out that Cyrus is painted in bright colors at the beginning of his story and in dark at the end, that he is lucky at the beginning, but falls victim to his *hybris* at the end, and that he was a great general yet counsels anti-imperialism in IX, 122.

certain virtues and vices. The virtues lead to success. The vices lead to failure.

The first side of the picture is most apparent after Cyrus' death, that is, after Herodotus' first book. But the foundations for this reverent attitude towards Cyrus⁸ are laid in book one. To begin with, Herodotus tells us that there were multiple versions of Cyrus' life and death and that some Persians tried to exalt his career (I, 95, 1 and 214, 5). But, more important, we also find in book one the beginnings of some of the significant themes which help to tie the *Histories* together. One of these is the Persian belief that Cyrus gave them their freedom. When Cyrus persuades the Persians to break away from the Medes, he tells them (I, 126, 6) that if they follow him they will become free men (ἐλεύθεροι).⁹ The Persians, now that they have found a leader, are glad to gain their freedom (I, 127, 1) and they succeed in their revolt (I, 127-8). This point, that Cyrus gave the Persians their freedom, is brought up again in various crucial passages: (1) At the very moment Cyrus moves towards disaster, Hystaspes, Darius' father, tells Cyrus (I, 210, 2) that he made the Persians free men instead of slaves. (2) In the next generation, when the fate of Persia is being decided in the constitutional debate among the conspirators who overthrew the false Smerdis, Darius crowns his arguments for monarchy by pointing out that the Persians gained their freedom not from a democracy or an oligarchy, but from one man, Cyrus (III, 82, 5: cf. the emphasis Cambyses places on Persian free-

⁸ When occasion demands the Persians can remember that Cyrus, too, was capable of failure: III, 36, 3 and VII, 18, 2. But these instances do not detract from the general awe in which Cyrus and his memory are held.

⁹ Cyrus is subtly connected with the idea of freedom early in his story. One of the ways Astyages recognizes Cyrus as his grandson is by Cyrus' answer, which was ἐλευθεριωτέρη (I, 116, 1). Powell in his *Lexicon to Herodotus* translates this as "outspoken" and compares three uses of the adverb, ἐλευθέρως. But in all these passages the meaning is more than merely "outspoken." The passages indicate that the words (or thoughts) in question are those (1) of a free man as distinct from a slave fearful of a despot (VII, 46, 1); or (2) of a free man opposed to tyranny (V, 93, 2); or (3) of a man who is independent enough of mind to speak harsh truths freely in the face of public opinion (VIII, 73, 3).

dom at III, 65, 7). (3) Again, in the succeeding generation, it is generally acknowledged that Cyrus got the Persians their freedom (VII, 2, 3). This freedom¹⁰ is seen by the Persians as the basis for their great prosperity. Cyrus himself emphasizes this when he has the Persians do a hard day's work in cleaning out a thorny field and then contrasts it with a day of feasting (I, 126). He promises them that if they listen to him and revolt they will have uncounted blessings (I, 126, 5: *μυρία ἀγαθά*; cf. 4: *πάντα ἀγαθά*). Freedom and prosperity are in turn closely connected with the fact that the Persians are rulers and not subjects. This, too, derives from Cyrus who implies it in his speech in I, 126, 5-6. The difference between rulers and subjects is made more explicit at I, 129, 3-4 where Astyages, in his conversation with Harpagus, makes much of the change of

¹⁰ It is worthwhile to ask exactly what Herodotus conceived this Persian freedom to be, especially in the light of the conversation between the Spartans Sperthias and Boulis and the Persian Hydranes in VII, 135, 2-3. The Spartans tell Hydranes that he knows what it is to be a slave, but he has had no experience of freedom. What then was this freedom which Cyrus gave to the Persians? We shall see below (cf. note 11) that it is intimately connected with the power to rule over others. In this sense there is no intermediate position. One is either free, a ruler, or one is a slave, ruled by others (see for example I, 129, 4). Thus freedom implies rule over subjects. We find in Herodotus a succession illustrating this sort of freedom. The Medes freed themselves from Assyrian rule (I, 95, 2), but they gradually come to rule others (I, 96-106). The Persians free themselves from the Medes (I, 125-30) and they take over a ready-made empire (*hegemonia*: I, 46, 1; VII, 8 a, 1; IX, 122, 2) which they expand. One could argue that the main purpose of Herodotus' work is to show how the Greeks gained their freedom. Before Croesus all the Greeks were free (I, 6, 3). After the fall of Sestos, virtually all the Greeks are again free. But this is a different freedom from the Persian type, for now there is no implication that the Greeks will rule others (unless one sees it in one's interpretation of IX, 122, but this would be highly subjective). The freedom of the Greeks is the same as that achieved by Otanes (III, 83) when he withdraws from competition as to who would become king of Persia. He wishes neither to rule nor to be ruled (*οὔτε γὰρ ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι ἐθέλω*). The freedom the Greeks are fighting for, then, is essentially different from the freedom that Cyrus gave the Persians: it does not imply rule over others. For further developments and problems after Herodotus, see J. A. O. Larsen, *C. P.*, LVII (1962), pp. 230-4.

fortune suffered by the Medes. They had been masters (δεσπόται), now they were slaves (δοῦλοι). The Persians, on the other hand, had been slaves and now they were masters.¹¹ Hystaspes says the same thing in slightly different language at I, 210, 2 when he says that the Persians, because of Cyrus, rule the world instead of being ruled by others (ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἀπάντων).¹² The fact that Cyrus obtained for the Persians their rule is brought up again later (VII, 8 a, 1 and 51, 1).

These three things, freedom, prosperity, and rule, all attributed to Cyrus, are closely intertwined and interdependent. Yet one of them, prosperity, has within it the seeds of Persian defeat. Often in the *Histories* we find stress placed on the commonplace contrast between the hardness of poverty and the weakness of prosperous luxury. This note is first struck in I, 71 when Sandanis asks Croesus what will be gained by conquering the Persians who drink no wine, eat no figs, and have no other amenity (ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν). Herodotus notes at the end of this chapter that before the defeat of Lydia the Persians had nothing *habron* or *agathon*. In due course the Persians do gain these amenities (I, 135) and at the end of book one (207, 6) Herodotus has Croesus, who says he has learned from hard experience (207, 1; thus referring 207, 6 back to I, 71), contrast the hardness and simplicity of the Massagetae with the luxuries of the Persians. Two generations later, when the Persians are about to confront the Greeks on a large scale, Demaratus tells Xerxes that, even though Greece has always lived with poverty, she still has acquired courage through her

¹¹ Henceforth the Persians are masters, their subjects slaves: see I, 89, 1 (cf. I, 91, 6); 210, 2 (where the Persians are called free rather than masters); II, 1, 2; V, 49, 2; VI, 11, 2; 44, 1; VII, 9, 1-2; 38, 1-39, 1; 96, 2; VIII, 68; 100, 2-3; IX, 48, 2. In the eyes of the Greeks everyone subject to Xerxes was a slave (VIII, 68; 102, 3; cf. Xerxes' own view at VII, 103, 3-5), even the most powerful Persians (VII, 135, 3; VIII, 102, 3; cf. the typically Greek view in the story at VIII, 118, which Herodotus does not believe, VIII, 119, 1). But Cyrus himself is not characterized by the Persians as a despot. That title is reserved for Cambyses (III, 89, 3).

It was especially rankling to the Persians during the period the false Smerdis was on the throne that they were ruled by a Mede (III, 73, 1; 74, 3).

¹² Cf. Otanes (III, 83, 2) and see note 10 above.

wisdom and strong social customs (VII, 102, 1). Other passages in book seven stress the luxury of the Persian army, their sumptuous dress, and the gold and silver utensils to which they have become accustomed (83, 2; 119, 2; 190). Finally, in book nine (80-3), Herodotus again emphasizes the wealth of the Persians by describing at length the booty found on the field at Plataea. At this point (82) he tells the story of the contrast Pausanias made between the luxury of the Persians and the simplicity of the Greeks when he had a Persian meal set out next to a typical Spartan meal. This story looks back to Demaratus' conversation with Xerxes and even further to Sandanis' advice to Croesus. At the same time it looks forward to the end of the *Histories*.

In the very last story of the *Histories* (IX, 122)¹³ all of these themes, Persian freedom, prosperity, rule, and ultimate defeat, are drawn together and summed up in a masterly fashion by Herodotus. And it is Cyrus who is the focus of the story. Here he is cast in the role of the dispassionate sage. He speaks as if he has no control over the Persians who suggest, now that they are rulers of many men and all Asia, that they abandon their small and hard land for a better one. Cyrus answers that they can do as they please, but if they do take a richer land they should prepare themselves to stop ruling and become subject to others (*οὐκέτι ἀρξοντας ἀλλ' ἀρξομένους*). Soft lands yield soft men. The Persians saw Cyrus' point and chose to live in a harsh land and rule rather than farm rich plains and be slaves to others. In this story the ideas of rulers and ruled, slaves and free men, the harsh life of responsibility and the easy life of compliance are brought forth to tie up the themes first announced in book one. Cyrus, the founder of Persian freedom, prosperity, and rule, is used to warn of the dangers inherent in these normally desirable acquisitions. But, of course, the warning has come too late. The *agatha* which Cyrus had promised the Persians in I, 126 and which they have enjoyed

¹³ For the significance of the last story see Immerwahr (note 3, above), pp. 145-7 and the bibliography listed in n. 191 on p. 146, especially H. Bischoff, *Der Warner bei Herodot* (Marburg, 1932), pp. 78-83 (= W. Marg, *Herodot, Eine Auswahl aus der neueren Forschung* [Munich, 1962], pp. 670-6). Bischoff develops some of the points made here, but for a different purpose.

at least from the time of the Massagetae campaign (I, 207, 6; perhaps from the time of the Babylonian campaign, see I, 188-9 and below, pp. 542-3, these luxuries have already taken their toll. Herodotus has just shown in the preceding chapters (IX, 107-13) how corrupt Xerxes and the whole Persian nobility had been made by the fruits of freedom, prosperity, and rule.

The themes involving Cyrus which culminate in IX, 122 are reinforced by certain subsidiary and related motifs. First, there is the emphasis on the importance of direct descent from Cyrus for the ruler of Persia. This is especially evident in the false Smerdis episode (III, 61-79; see in particular 75, 1 where this theme is linked with the idea that Persian prosperity derives from Cyrus). Both Cambyses and the real Smerdis are called "son of Cyrus" repeatedly in this section. Darius is not directly descended from Cyrus, but as soon as he becomes king he strengthens his position by marrying two daughters of Cyrus (one, Atossa, had been married to both Cambyses and the false Smerdis) and one daughter of Smerdis the son of Cyrus (III, 88, 2-3; cf. VII, 64, 2; 69, 2; 72, 2; and 78 where sons from these wives are mentioned). When Xerxes recounts his lineage (VII, 11, 2) he by-passes Cyrus and goes back through Darius and his ancestors to Achaemenes, yet it is clear from VII, 2-3 that the fact that Xerxes was descended from Cyrus through Atossa was instrumental in placing him on the throne (see especially VII, 2, 3 where the theme of descent from Cyrus is linked with the idea that Cyrus gave the Persians their freedom). In his account of Xerxes' ascent to the throne Herodotus tells us (VII, 3, 4) that Atossa had all the power, but he does not say explicitly what the basis of her power was. There is, however, the implication that at least part of it derived from her descent from Cyrus (cf. III, 133-4).

Another related theme results from the Persian practice of holding Cyrus up as a high example to his successors. At III, 152 Darius' difficulties in re-conquering Babylon are stressed. He even tries the device by which Cyrus took the town but this too fails for Darius. Later (III, 160, 1) when Herodotus describes the reputation Zopyrus gained because of his part in the second conquest of Babylon, he also remarks that no Persian thought himself worthy to be compared with Cyrus. And at VII, 8 a, 1 Xerxes takes Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius as

models for his own activity. Furthermore, the story at III, 34, 4-5, where Cambyses asks his courtiers how he rates next to his father Cyrus, is much in the same vein. All reply that Cambyses is the better man because he not only kept his father's territory but also added Egypt and the sea. Only Croesus says Cyrus was greater, and this because Cambyses has not yet produced such a son as himself. The story is told in the context of Cambyses' madness and the implications are that Cambyses was insane to force such a comparison, that his courtiers were fawningly anxious to flatter him at the expense of the truth, that only clever Croesus found a way to right the comparison while still pleasing Cambyses and feeding his vanity. Finally, another dimension of the picture of Cyrus is stressed in the passage (III, 89, 3) where the Persians are said to have thought of Cyrus as a gentle and benevolent father (this image arises from the idea that Cyrus provided the Persians their prosperity).

The second, biographical, aspect of Herodotus' picture of Cyrus is concentrated in book one,¹⁴ but it too is rich and complex. Here we find two distinct Cyruses: one the successful conqueror of all Asia, the other the pitiful and inept ruler who blunders into the land of the Massagetae to his own destruction.¹⁵ The

¹⁴ Henceforth all references to book one will omit the book number: for example 156, 2 = I, 156, 2.

¹⁵ Duality plays an important role in the story Herodotus chooses to tell about Cyrus' early life. First, Herodotus makes much of Delphi's riddle about Cyrus' being a mule (55, 2) with the explanation that Cyrus was born of unequal parents (91, 5-6). More significant, however, are the dualities found in the story of Cyrus' birth and how he survived to become king of Persia. Cyrus had two lives, for all had thought he had died of exposure soon after birth. At 124, 1 Harpagus reminds Cyrus that Astyages is his murderer, so Cyrus is in the unique position of being able to avenge his own murder. Furthermore, Cyrus has two sets of parents: Mandane and Cambyses, and Spako and Mitrdates. Cyrus becomes king twice: once while a child (114) and once again when grown (Astyages and the magi accept the legitimacy of the first kingship: 120, 2-6). Cyrus has two names, though we are not told what his name as the shepherd's son was (113, 3). Finally, in a sense, Cyrus is a twin, for Spako's still-born child (112, 2-113, 3) was virtually his exact contemporary. The dead child takes Cyrus' place in the coffin and receives the royal burial meant for Cyrus. These dualities set the stage for the larger dualities discussed below (cf. note 7 above).

Cyrus who campaigned against Croesus did everything right. He made all the right decisions and swept away the power of Lydia. The Cyrus who campaigned against Tomyris did everything wrong. He made all the wrong decisions and destroyed both himself and the army which followed him across the Araxes river.

On analyzing Cyrus' behavior in the two situations we find that Cyrus succeeded in the earlier campaign for the following reasons: (1) He recognized good advice and followed it: advice from Harpagus at 80, 2 (cf. 124, 1-125, 1) and from Croesus at 88, 2-90, 1 and 155-6. (2) He used his own native intelligence to solve his problems: 79, 1-2; 86-7 (especially 86, 6; cf. 125, 1-2). In fact, Cyrus appears, when he is successful in book one, in the same role of a sage as in the last story in the *Histories*. At 141, 1-3; 153, 1-2; and 155, 1-2 he speaks as a shrewd and wise man. (3) He did not desire too much. Here there is an interplay and exchange between Croesus and Cyrus in the course of book one (to be discussed more fully below). Herodotus stresses Croesus' desire for more land and power when the Lydian undertakes his campaign against Cyrus (73, 1; cf. 87, 3-4), but no such desires are attributed to Cyrus at this time. His turn comes later. (4) Cyrus feared punishment from the gods, that is, he feared the consequences of his acts and he understood that he was subordinate to higher powers. This is seen most clearly in the scene in front of Croesus' pyre (86, 6) when Cyrus comes to understand that he is a mortal, now putting to death another mortal who was once no less prosperous and happy than he. He also fears divine retribution (*tisis*) and he realizes that nothing human is safe and sure. In his earlier career the gods had watched over Cyrus (124, 1; 126, 6; cf. 122, 3 and 121). At this point in his career Cyrus understands what it is to be human and he acts in a way worthy of the benevolence the gods had shown him.¹⁹

Now if we turn to Cyrus' campaign against the Massagetae we find not only that Cyrus failed miserably but also that he

¹⁹ The miracle which saved Croesus from the pyre taught Cyrus that Croesus was beloved by the gods (87, 2: *θεοφιλής*). Perhaps it should also have taught him that those favored by the gods can also fail.

did in all cases the exact opposite of what he had done earlier.

Cyrus now no longer fears divine punishment nor does he give any thought to the consequences of his actions—even the most brutal, such as the sacrifice of part of his army (207, 7 and 211, 2) and the slaughter of the Massagetae while they are drunk (211, 3). Furthermore, by this time Cyrus considers himself more than merely human (204, 1-2; 209, especially 4).¹⁷ At 207, 2 Croesus has to use irony to remind Cyrus of what he had understood without prompting at 86, 6, that he was a mortal and subject to the vagaries of the human condition: "If you think you are immortal and that you command an army equally immortal, then there's no need for me to express my views to you; but if you know that you are a man and lead an army of men, . . . etc." To underline the point Herodotus makes Cyrus most confident¹⁸ of his special connection with the gods at the very moment the gods are withdrawing their favor, that is, in 209 when Cyrus dreams that he sees Darius with wings on his shoulders overshadowing Asia on the one hand and Europe on the other. Cyrus feels absolute confidence (209, 5: οὐκ . . . ἔστι μηχανή; cf. 204, 2; both impossibilities turn out to be more than merely possible) that he has interpreted the dream correctly when he takes it to mean that Darius is plotting against him. He cites proof, "The gods look after me and they show me ahead of time everything that is going to happen" (209, 4; cf. 5). Yet, whatever the dream meant,¹⁹ it did not mean what Cyrus so confidently thought

¹⁷ Earlier in his career Cyrus' connections with divinity are stressed more by others (124, 1-2, Harpagus; 122, 3, his parents; 121, Astyages; cf. the view of some later Persians, 95, 1) than by Cyrus himself (126, 6). In the early Cyrus fear extends to such practical matters as the Lydian cavalry (80, 2). By the time of his last campaign he fears nothing.

¹⁸ For the theme of self-confidence and its use by Herodotus, see W. Marg, "'Selbstsicherheit' bei Herodot," in Marg (note 13 above), pp. 290-301, especially pp. 296-7.

¹⁹ Commentators seem not to have noticed the strangeness of this dream and its location in the narrative (the dream is treated superficially in P. Frisch, *Die Träume bei Herodot* [Meisenheim am Glan, 1968], pp. 30-2). Herodotus' own interpretation is only satisfactory up to a point. It seems not to arise out of the dream but rather out of subsequent events. The dream as related gives no indication that

it meant. Herodotus makes this point in 210, 1, "Cyrus said this, thinking (*δοκέων*) that Darius was plotting against him. But really the god revealed to him that he was going to die there and that his kingdom would go to Darius." Thus Herodotus shows Cyrus abandoned by the gods just when he feels most sure of his powers.

In his last campaign Cyrus also desires too much. Herodotus sounds the note of desire (*ἐπεθύμησε*, 201) at the very beginning of his account. He returns to the idea at 204, 1 when he repeats that Cyrus had a desire (*προθυμίην*) to march against the Massagetae. But the main emphasis is found in Tomyris' messages to Cyrus. In the first (206, 1-3) she urges him to give up his eager striving (*παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπείδεις*) after things whose end he cannot know; let him rule his land and the Massagetae their own. But if he does not want to listen to this advice, if his desire to test the Massagetae is so great (*εἰ μέγας προθυμία*), then let one side or the other retire to allow the other to cross the river. Here Tomyris has a clear perception of Cyrus as a man rushing headlong into the unknown because of his uncontrollable desire to rule others. After

Cyrus will die on this expedition. It does of course indicate that Darius will assume the royal power. But why should Cyrus dream a dream which includes Europe as soon as he has passed over the Araxes river into the territory of the Massagetae (209, 1)? The Massagetae are a Scythian tribe (201) and the Scythians inhabit eastern Europe north of the Danube and west of the Don (IV, 99-101). The dream could imply that Cyrus is somehow in Europe, but I cannot believe that Herodotus intends us to understand that the area to the east of the Caspian is in some sense Europe. Furthermore, in Herodotus Cyrus has little connection with Europe. The only indication that he thought in terms of the conquest of Europe is his veiled threat against the Spartans (153, 1-2). Otherwise Cyrus' ambitions lie totally outside Europe (153, 3-4; 177). Europe is significant for Darius first among the Persian kings and it may be conjectured that the dream originated in some context where it related wholly to Darius and not at all to Cyrus. In addition, the dream seems to have a Greek cast about it, in that it emphasizes the importance of Europe in relation to Asia (cf. Xerxes' dream in Aeschylus' *Persians*, 181-99, which puts Greece and Persia on an equal footing). Whatever the source of the dream, Herodotus' carelessness about some aspects of it indicates that he was primarily interested in using it as a means of showing Cyrus' (now unfounded) self-confidence and his loss of favor with the gods.

Cyrus' first partial victory Tomyris sends a second message (212, 2-3): "Insatiate of blood, Cyrus" (*ἄπληστε αἵματος, Κῦρε*),²⁰ don't feel over confident because you have won a battle and taken my son prisoner. Be content with what you have accomplished, give back my son, and leave this land unharmed. If you don't, "I will give you your fill of blood, insatiate though you are" (*καὶ ἄπληστον ἔοντα αἵματος κορέσω*). Cyrus, of course, does not listen (*οὐδένα . . . ἐποιέετο λόγον*, 213) and the severed head of Asia's conqueror at last finds satiety in a bag of blood, while Tomyris boasts (214, 5). Here the results of Cyrus' excess of desire are painted in particularly lurid colors, but the point is unmistakable: Cyrus had wanted much and he got more than he had expected.²¹

As mentioned above, in the course of book one Croesus and Cyrus change places in regard to the idea of desire. It would be well to pause here to examine some other ways in which there is an interchange between the characters and positions of Croesus and Cyrus by the end of book one. Croesus had put his faith in what he thought was a manifestation of the divine will, the ambiguous oracle from Delphi about the fall of an empire (53, 3; 73, 1; 75, 2). However, he interpreted the oracle wrongly (91, 4). Cyrus on his part puts faith in his ability to understand another message from the gods, the dream about Darius, but he also fails to read the future (209, 1-210, 1). Because of his misplaced trust in the oracle Croesus' ambitions had been raised on high (expressed in various forms of *ἐπαίρω*: 87, 3; 90, 3; 90, 4). Similarly Cyrus' success and self confidence have raised his ambitions on high by the time of the last campaign (204, 2; 212, 2). Finally we have seen above that Cyrus acts brutally and unjustly in regard to part of his army (207, 7; 211, 2). We should not then be surprised to find that Herodotus stresses Croesus' cruelty and injustice in regard to the Syrians earlier (76, 1-2). These considerations make it clear that Herodotus deliberately places the Cyrus of the Massagetae cam-

²⁰ Here Tomyris knows his name. The first time (206, 1) she had addressed him as "King of the Medes." The next, and last, time (214, 5) she will contemptuously address his mutilated corpse as "σύ."

²¹ Artabanus' statement (VII, 18, 2) that it is wrong to desire much, followed by a reference to Cyrus' campaign against the Massagetae, supports the argument in the text.

paign in the same position in which he had placed Croesus during his expedition against Cyrus.

To return to the contrast between the early and late Cyrus, we may next note that Cyrus no longer uses his own native intelligence²² to solve the problems posed by the last march. This is most clear when he wants to decide what to do about Tomyris' suggestion (206, 2-3) that he give up the trouble²³ of building a bridge across the Araxes. Now, for the first time in Herodotus' account of Cyrus' life, Cyrus calls a council of Persian grandees to ask for advice (206, 3). This is in sharp contrast to his reliance on his own decisions and his swift action earlier (79, 1-2; cf. 125, 1-2 and 127, 2; contrast especially *βουλευόμενος*, "he took counsel with himself," 79, 1 and *συμβουλευόμενος*, "he took counsel with others," 206, 3). What is more, Cyrus depends completely on the advice offered at the council and he even wavers, first accepting one view, then another (206, 3; 208, 1). In the one instance when Cyrus actually does use his own unaided intelligence—in interpreting the dream about Darius—we have seen that he is grievously misguided and mistaken.

Finally, we come to the advice offered Cyrus. We have seen that he took advice frequently from others earlier and that that advice helped solve his problems. Now he has three sources: the unnamed Persian magnates who advise him to allow Tomyris to cross the river (206, 3); Croesus, who urges him to cross the river and provides him with a plan by which to defeat the Massagetae (207); and Tomyris herself, who urges him on two

²² Bischoff (note 13 above), pp. 8-11 (= Marg, note 13 above, pp. 306-10), shows that, in Herodotus, it is equally good to solve one's problems by one's self or to solve them by advice from some outside source (see also Immerwahr, note 3 above, pp. 73-4). Even so, the fact remains that Cyrus is successful when his own powers of judgment are intact and he fails when he has to rely completely on others.

²³ Another, subsidiary, difference between the early and the late Cyrus is that Tomyris can mock the mighty effort he is making to bridge the Araxes and fortify the bridge (206, 1-2: *πόνον; σπεύδων . . . σπεύδεις; μόχθον*). Here Cyrus is like Pentheus in Euripides' *Bacchae* (616-37), struggling mightily to accomplish nothing, especially since Tomyris points out that the work is entirely unnecessary. There is no sense of enormous effort in the earlier campaigns, rather of divine ease.

separate occasions (206, 1-2; 212, 2-3) to give up the whole venture. As it turns out, the enemy Tomyris offered the best advice. But instead Cyrus listens to Croesus whose advice is good as far as it goes (he even brings up the possibility of defeat, 207, 3). The trouble with it is that it does not go far enough. It does not take into account all possibilities, especially the one which brings about Cyrus' defeat: that the Massagetae will commit only a part of their force to the attack on the Persian camp. Here, then, in his last campaign, Cyrus has also lost the ability he had to discern good advice and act successfully upon it.

Thus Cyrus fails against the Massagetae because he had none of the virtues he displayed in his first conquests. But, we may ask, is the contrast between the campaigns so stark?

The transition between the successful and the unsuccessful Cyrus in Herodotus may be found in the account of the first conquest of Babylon. At the beginning of this story (188, 1-2) Herodotus makes some curious and seemingly irrelevant remarks to the effect that the Great King always campaigns well supplied with grain and meat from home. The only water he drinks comes from the Choaspes river and it is transported in silver jars wherever he goes. This is the first time the title The Great King is used in Herodotus and the title does not necessarily refer to Cyrus himself for two reasons: (1) Herodotus uses the present tense in this description of the King's mode of travel, so he seems to be referring to contemporary fifth-century conditions rather than to the state of affairs in Cyrus' time. (2) After the fall of Babylon, at 192, Herodotus describes the wealth of Assyria. Here again he uses the title The Great King and he is certainly referring to the fifth-century situation since he names the satrap in Assyria, Tritantaechmes the son of Artabazus, who probably held the post in Herodotus' own time.²⁴ These anachronistic details stress the grandeur, wealth, and rigidity of the Persian empire at its height. Inserted at this point they are puzzling unless Herodotus meant them to bring to mind

²⁴ See W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford, 1928), note to 192, 2. The title Great King occurs twice again in Herodotus: once in the time of Darius (V, 49, 7), and once in reference to Xerxes (VIII, 140 b, 4).

the great pomp which surrounded the Persian king in the fifth century and by doing this to mark the transition from the relatively simple, straightforward, and successful Cyrus to the haughty, devious,²⁵ and unsuccessful Cyrus of the last expedition.

The Babylonian campaign begins with the episode at the Gyndes river in which one of the holy horses (another reference to Persian pomp) drowns (189, 1). Cyrus becomes very angry at the river and punishes it by diverting it into 360 channels, making it so weak that even a woman could easily cross it without wetting her knees (189, 2-3). This story is important for a number of reasons. First, Cyrus has become excessively angry, and angry at nature itself (the obvious comparison is with Xerxes' anger at the Hellespont, VII, 35). Prior to this event Cyrus, both man and boy, had become angry (114, 3; 141, 1-4; 153, 1-3; 156, 2), but he had never let his anger interfere with his good sense. It had never, therefore, detracted from his success. He was quite willing to put aside his anger when it served his purpose (156, 2). This anger of Cyrus is especially significant when we consider the phenomenon of anger in Astyages and his descendants. Astyages was prone to anger (117, 1; 118, 1), like his father Gyaxares (73, 4). Astyages' anger was manifested in his cruelty, which led eventually to his downfall (108, 3-4; 119, 3-7; 123, 2; 128, 2; 130, 1). Of his direct descendants only Cyrus generally controls his anger. Cambyses and Xerxes do not (see Spath, note 7 above, p. 63, n. 101 for references to their anger), and they both (in Herodotean terms) fail. Darius is outside both the male and female lines and he is not cursed with the anger native to the family of Astyages. That Cyrus expresses his anger here and allows it to dictate his actions indicates that he is approaching a situation in which he, too, could fail. Second, weakening the river to the point it could be crossed easily by a woman calls

²⁵ Cyrus first tries to woo Tomyris, wanting to marry her for her territory, but this trick (*δῶλος*, 205, 2) fails. Croesus' stratagem is not called a trick in the conference (207, 6-7) or by Herodotus (211, 1, *ὑποθήκας*), but Tomyris calls it that (212, 2; 214, 5). Harpagus' idea of using camels against the Lydian cavalry is called simply wise advice (80, 2 and 4). Cyrus had used deceit earlier (125, 2), but Herodotus does not call it that.

to mind the soft lands and soft motif discussed earlier.²⁶ It also looks directly to Cyrus' defeat and humiliation at the hands of Tomyris. Croesus, in his speech of advice to Cyrus (207, 5) emphasizes the point that it would be a disgrace for Cyrus the son of Cambyses to yield and give up territory to a woman. But in fact Cyrus, like the river he has humbled, is defeated by a woman.²⁷ Third, punishing the Gyndes delays Cyrus' attack on Babylon itself by a year (189, 4-190, 1). This delay does no apparent harm, but it is in clear contrast to the swiftness of the Lydian campaign (79-80, 84; cf. 127-8) and it pre-sages Cyrus' indecision and delay at the Araxes. Fourth, Herodotus himself stresses the relationship between the Gyndes and the Araxes in Cyrus' career (189, 1 and 204, 3), deliberately recalling Cyrus' humiliation of the Gyndes when the king is at the banks of the Araxes.²⁸ All of these aspects of the episode at the Gyndes foreshadow the Massagetae expedition and subtly alter the reader's perception of Cyrus.

Similarly two elements in Herodotus' account of the taking of Babylon (190-1) also look forward to the final campaign. When Cyrus diverts the channel of the Euphrates he uses the *ἀχρήιον* of his army to do the work (191, 2). This word occurs only three times in Herodotus: once in the Persian constitutional debate when Megabyzus, in presenting his case for oligarchy, uses it to argue that there is nothing more stupid or insolent than the "useless" crowd (III, 81, 1); once to describe the part of the army which Cyrus leaves behind as bait for the Massagetae (211, 2; cf. 207, 7 where Croesus calls it the *φλαυρότατον* of the army); and here. These latter two passages, so close together, seem to look to each other. At Babylon Cyrus puts the "useless" part of his army to work at a necessary engineering task. But the mere fact that Herodotus has him think of this part as "useless" prepares us for Cyrus'

²⁶ Bischoff, note 13 above, pp. 81-2 (= Marg, note 13 above, pp. 674-5), discusses Herodotus' use of the man-woman contrast, especially in relation to IX, 122.

²⁷ Note that Cyrus' defeat by a woman rounds out Herodotus' picture of him in one sense, since his life had been saved essentially by a woman (112, 1-113, 1; cf. 122, 3).

²⁸ For the motif of rivers in Herodotus, see Immerwahr, note 3 above, the passages cited on p. 372 of the index.

wanton sacrifice of this part of his army—and to no avail—in his last campaign. Then there is also the passage in which Herodotus describes Cyrus' consternation when he is settled in the siege of Babylon (190, 2-191, 1) and sees that he is making no progress. Here Cyrus is described for the first time as being at a loss what to do (*ἀπορίῃσι ἐνείχετο*). Here again Cyrus takes up a position which had been occupied by Croesus earlier (75, 3-4; 79, 2: the first *aporia* was solved by Thales, the second by the fall of Sardis). Though Cyrus had been in trouble before (for example at the siege of Sardis, 84, 2-3), Herodotus makes no mention of *aporia*. Now the word occurs twice within a few lines. Clearly Herodotus wanted to emphasize the difficulty of Cyrus' situation. At this crisis, Herodotus goes on to say that Cyrus hit upon the device by which he took the city. But Herodotus says explicitly that he does not know whether this plan resulted from someone else's advice to Cyrus or if Cyrus thought of it himself. We have seen that previously Cyrus had won his battles because he could discern good advice and follow it and because he could use his own intelligence to solve his problems. Now Herodotus seems to be saying that Cyrus is doing one *or* the other of these two, not both as before. This presages Cyrus' inability to do *either* in the campaign against the Massagetae.

Yet, for all this ominous foreshadowing, we must keep in mind that Cyrus won a great victory at Babylon, in historical terms the greatest of his career. And Herodotus' account looks backward to Cyrus' early successes as well as forward to his failure. First, even though Cyrus becomes angry at nature when the horse drowns in the Gyndes, nature is generally on his side. He is able to manipulate the Euphrates to his own ends. This recalls his seemingly effortless pursuit of Croesus earlier and his capture of the "impregnable" citadel of Sardis. Secondly, Herodotus emphasizes that Cyrus' luck is still with him when he took Babylon (191, 5-6; cf. 84, 2-5). If the Babylonians had known what was happening when the water level of the Euphrates fell, they could have kept Cyrus' troops out, but it chanced (*τυχεῖν*, 191, 6) to be a holiday and the town could be taken by surprise (*ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου*). Of course, Cyrus has no luck with the Massagetae. Finally, there is the story of

the tomb of Nitocris which immediately precedes the account of the Babylonian campaign (187). The tomb was located above one of the main gates of the city. On it was an inscription saying that it could be opened by any one of Nitocris' successors who was in great need of money. "The tomb remained untouched until the rule of Darius" (187, 3). When he opened it he found no money, but another inscription, "If you were not insatiate of money (*ἀπληστος . . . χρημάτων*) and shameless in your greed, you would not have opened a tomb of the dead" (187, 5). Herodotus' clear statement that Darius opened the tomb means that Cyrus did not touch it. Having refrained, Cyrus could not at this stage of his career be considered "insatiate," as he was later.²⁹ Thus Cyrus' self-control was also in evidence during his conquest of Babylon.

In this way Herodotus seems, in his account of the first conquest of Babylon, to be building a bridge between the brilliantly successful Cyrus of the earlier campaigns and the wretched failure of the last. At Babylon Cyrus is successful, but those virtues which enabled him to conquer earlier are beginning to fade and the shadow of his vices begins to attract notice. The stage is set for the disastrous defeat which follows.

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²⁹ See pp. 539-40 above. The word *ἀπληστος* appears only these three times in Herodotus. Here again, as in the dream of 209, 1 (see note 19 above), we have a story which seems most relevant to Darius used in a context involving Cyrus. The difference is that in this case there is even less relevance to Darius since he has no reputation in the *Histories* for greed or love of money. This indicates that Herodotus tells us the story more for what it says about Cyrus than for what it says about Darius.

ENNIUS AND THE HELLENISTIC WORSHIP OF HOMER.*

Certain features of Ennius' celebrated dream¹ in the proem of the *Annals* are recalcitrant even to painstaking discussion; the evidence is insufficient.² On the other hand there are some traces in the Hellenistic background of Ennius' homerizing that can be clarified to a large extent. Those traces help to moderate the simple Augustan picture of the father of Roman poetry, Ennius *ingenio maximus, arte rudis*.

In this paper I attempt to answer two small but by no means simple questions:

- (1) How does Homer in Ennius' proem compare with some major Hellenistic assessments of Homer that are on record?
- (2) How do Ennius' Pythagorean claims compare with the traces of Hellenistic popular Pythagoreanism?

1. *Aspects of Homer in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C.*

The importance of the Callimachean creed and its impact on Roman literature tend, at times, to make us forget an essential

* I am indebted to Professor H. D. Jocelyn and Professor O. Skutsch for helpful comments on this paper. I have not been able to make use of the recent volume on the subject of Ennius published by the *Fondation Hardt* in 1972, since my paper was completed before publication of the volume.

¹ In spite of acute arguments to the contrary I am not persuaded that there were two dreams.

² A useful bibliography and a competent though sometimes discursive treatment are found in W. Suerbaum, "Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung älterer römischer Dichter," *Spudasmata*, XIX (1968), pp. 43 ff.; for earlier titles see p. 43, n. 137; p. 46, n. 147. In addition to J. H. Waszink's contributions there cited, his paper in *W.S.*, LXXVI (1963) should be mentioned. O. Skutsch's contributions to the subject are now conveniently assembled in *Studia Enniana* (1968); the papers here relevant are *Enniana*, I (*C.Q.*, XXXVIII [1944]); *On the Proems of Annals I and VII*, "Notes on Metempsychosis" (*C.P.*, LIV [1959]); and *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* (originally Inaug. Lect., London, 1951, published 1953).

fact of literary history. By that I mean that the traditional genres, and above all traditional Homeric epic, were produced, and even increased in importance, in the third and second centuries B. C.

One need not argue that Apollonius of Rhodes simply continued the traditions of the long and elevated Homeric epic, in order to judge that the *Argonautica* is a compromise performance in length and structure, style and sentiment. There were others who considered themselves "contemporary" and "Alexandrian" in poetic taste without rejecting the claims of the large scale, and all it implied. Such, I have argued elsewhere, were Praxiphanes³ and Neoptolemus of Parium.⁴ Moreover K. Ziegler argued nearly forty years ago that, at any rate as far as Hellenistic epic is concerned, Callimachus and his followers were far from representative.⁵

The philosophers had contributed their share to these developments by placing Homer in a class entirely his own. Homer had come to stand for Poetry, not only for one poetic genre. Thus Plato had contrasted the rational world-view with the poetic or "Homeric."⁶ Aristotle had found in Homer the origins of drama, tragic and comic. Homer is the archetype of the serious as well as the comic spirit in Greek poetry.⁷

There are grounds for saying that Callimachus the critic

³ *C. Q.*, XL (1946), pp. 11-26.

⁴ *Horace on Poetry, Prol.* pp. 43 ff.

⁵ K. Ziegler, *Das hellenistische Epos* (1934; 2nd ed. 1966 containing an important new appendix, "Ennius als hellenistischer Epiker"). Cf. S. Mariotti's review in *Gnomon*, XLIII (1971), especially p. 146, where he rightly stresses (*il merito di aver insistito nella vitalità dell' epos tradizionale nell' ellenismo*). This verdict applies equally to the mythological and the contemporary "historical" variety. *ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν*, in Aristotelian or Callimachean parlance, is likely to have continued in production and popularity.

⁶ E. A. Havelock, *Preface to Plato* (1963), making, I think, a valid point, whatever objections to any particular conclusion one may wish to raise.

⁷ *Ar., Poet.*, 4, 1448 b 34-1449 a 6. For other similarities between the genres of epic and tragic drama *Poet.*, chs. 23 and 24 may be compared. For a fifth-century opinion by one of the great tragedians, one remembers Aeschylus' description of his tragedies as *τεμάχη τῶν Ὁμήρου μεγάλων δειπνων*, *ap. Ath.*, VIII, 347e.

would have approved of the tenor of these judgements, but equally that Callimachus the poet found in Homer's incomparability a deterrent to the production of new and fresh poetry. Other men held and defended other views; that is on record and has been repeated above. And it was these traditional tastes that prevailed for some time to come. For although a royal and public encouragement favoured Callimachus and the Callimacheans in the monarchic societies of Ptolemy Philadelphus and his son Euergetes, yet that support seems to have ebbed away soon. Something like a public canonization of Homer in theory and poetic practice was not designed to sustain the ironic and creative spirit of Callimachean art.

Aelian has this to say about the worship of Homer: "Ptolemy Philopator set up a temple (νεών) in honour of Homer. In the centre he seated him, and in a circle around him he arranged all the cities that claimed Homer as their own."⁸ Ptolemy IV Philopator reigned 221-205 B. C. He was himself a man of letters.⁹ A contemporary epigram¹⁰ is likely to refer to the temple in honour of Homer and, if so, provides in its last verse a probable date for the foundation. The panegyric wording of the epigram is not without interest in this context:

.
 εὐαίων Πτολεμ[αῖος . . . τοῦ]το δ' Ὀμήρῳ
 εἰσαθ' ὑπὲρ διδ[] ατοναρτεμενος¹¹
 τῷ πρὶν Ὀδυσσεύας τε [καὶ Ἴλι]άδος τὸν ἀγῆρω
 ὕμνον ἀπ' ἀθανάτων γραψ[α]μένῳ παραπίδων.
 δαλβιοὶ ὃ θνατῶν εὐεργέται, [οἱ] τὸν ἄριστον
 ἐν δορὶ καὶ μούσαις κοίρανον ἡρόσατε.

The much-discussed "Apotheosis of Homer," a relief by one Archelaus of Priene, clearly belongs to the same circle of ideas, but is fuller and more interesting.¹² The relief, however, has

⁸ Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, XIII, 22.

⁹ Schol., *Ar. Thes.*, 1059: ἐξήλωσε δὲ αὐτὸν (sc. Εὐριπίδην) Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ ἐν ᾗ πεποίηκε τραγωδίᾳ Ἀδωνιδι κτλ.

¹⁰ Ed. Guérard-Jougouet, *Un livre d'écolier (Publ. Soc. Roy. Égypt. de Pap., Textes et Docum.*, II [1938]); D. L. Page, *Lit. Pap.* (1940), no. 105 (b).

¹¹ The wording of line 2 has not yet been fully clarified, but A. Körte's suggestion that the final word is τέμενος well suits the context; cf. Aelian (above), κατασκευάσας Ὀμήρῳ νεών, and κατ' ὄναρ would yield at least a tenable sense.

¹² A. H. Smith, *Cat. of Greek and Roman Sculptures in the Brit. Mus.*,

to be used with caution, since it still poses serious problems of interpretation, not least concerned with its setting. Its relation to the Ennian and Homeric contexts may be stated briefly.

The relief appears to presuppose a Homereum similar to the kind of temple dedicated to Homer that has been mentioned above. Homerea existed at least in five localities—Argos, Chios, Ios, Alexandria, and Smyrna.¹³ The last two had temples in honour of Homer,¹⁴ some others may have had. Archelaus' relief is likely to have been dedicated at the relevant temple in order to commemorate a victory at a literary competition. At any rate the only convincing explanation of the statue, in the margin of the relief, of a male figure with a tripod above and a scroll in his right hand is that it commemorates a victorious competitor. This is the explanation accepted by most—rightly, I think.¹⁵ The evidence, however, is insufficient for a closer identification of the literary genre or genres, and of the place

III (1904), no. 2191; descriptions and reproductions, e.g., in Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler gr. und r. Skulp.*, pl. 50; M. Bieber, *The Sculptures of the Hellenistic Age*² (1961), pp. 127 ff., fig. 497; T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (1964), pp. 145-7, pl. IV, who, like myself, attempts to relate the relief to the literary notions. A full bibliography and an erudite and critical discussion are provided by Doris Pinkwart, *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die "Musen des Philiskos"* (Kallmünz-Regensburg, 1965), to which Mr. M. H. Bräude, of the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, has kindly drawn my attention.

¹³ The evidence in Pinkwart, *op. cit.*, Excursus I, pp. 169-73. For the connexion of Homerea with the poet's fictional biography and genealogy, see Raddatz, *R.-E.*, VIII, 2, cols. 2191 ff.

¹⁴ For the Alexandrian Homereum, see above. The sanctuary at Smyrna is recorded by Cic., *Arch.*, 19: *delubrum eius oppido dedicauerunt*; Strab., XIV, 646 (C.): *ἔστι δὲ καὶ βιβλοθήκη καὶ τὸ Ὀμήρειον, στοῦ τετραγώνος, ἔχουσα νεῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ ξόανον*.

¹⁵ A rival explanation replaces the modern participant in a poetic competition by Homer's legendary competitor, Hesiod; it contrasts Hesiod, the former victor in the *Certamen Hes. et Hom.*, with the changed position of a deified Homer. So it was put forward in the 18th century, and later strongly affirmed by Wilamowitz (*Arch. Anz.*, 1903, p. 119; *Hell. Dicht.*, II [1924], p. 94). D. Pinkwart finds this contention unacceptable, but also unassailable by argument, p. 84, n. 378. What puts it out of court, however, is its failure to account for the main feature of the relief, which is wholly centered on Homer and a poet under Homeric sway.

of the competition. The place has often been identified with the Alexandrian Homereum which I mentioned above. In particular it is asserted that the figures that proclaim and crown the seated Homer are portraits of Ptolemy IV Philopator, the founder of the Homereum, and his wife Arsinoë.¹⁶ This is unlikely on iconographic grounds;¹⁷ in any case it would require a great deal of special pleading if the dating to *ca.* 130 B. C. by such external criteria as the style of writing turns out to be correct.¹⁸ Moreover the allegorizing that is there employed does not strike the observer as specifically Alexandrian. Rather the relief, whether or not it belongs to Alexandria, allegorizes modern and competitive production, relating it to Homer.

The relief represents Homer "heroized" or, to use the conventional though ambiguous term an "apotheosis of Homer."¹⁹ His statue resembles Zeus in features and bearing. He, like Zeus in the upper part of the relief, holds a large sceptre.²⁰ The

¹⁶ It was first asserted in 1903 by C. Watzinger (*Winckelmanns-Programm*, Berlin, no. 63), and has frequently been asserted since, often as a certainty, as by Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 145. Other identifications have occasionally been canvassed. The Ptolemaic identification is explicitly rejected on iconographic grounds by Pinkwart, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁷ Cf. Pinkwart cited in the preceding note.

¹⁸ The epigraphical evidence is discussed by Pinkwart, pp. 48-52; other types of evidence, pp. 52-4.

¹⁹ Although these are diverse concepts, I do not here attempt to distinguish between deification and "heroization" for several reasons. The latter term is cumbersome; the conventional title applied to the Priene relief is "apotheosis"; more important than either, it appears that in actual cult practice the distinction is not always easy to make. As for cult practice I refer e.g. to Eitrem, "Heros," *R.-E.*, VIII, cols. 1122 f. For the heroizing of poets from such mythical figures as Orpheus to Homer and further to Aeschylus and Sophocles—"Dexion," see Eitrem, *op. cit.*, col. 1137 and the lists in L. R. Farnell's *Greek Hero Cults*, pp. 403 ff. See also A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion*, etc. (1972), pp. 576-7, 593 ff.

²⁰ The parallel, king of poets : king of gods and men, seems to be intended. Pinkwart, *op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 44, and p. 27, mentions two other representations of Homer with sceptre. Cf. Antip. (Sid., not as the paradosis has it, Thess.), *A. P.*, VII, 409, 6: *εἰ δ' ὕμνων σκᾶπτρον* "Ομῆρος ἔχει, in a context comparing Homer and Antimachus with Zeus and Poseidon; Lucr., III, 1036-7: *quorum unus Homerus / sceptrā potitus eadem aliis sopitu' quietest*. The metaphor is transferred, characteristically, by Ptolemy Philadelphus, Callimachus' patron, to the

allegories of "Time" and "Inhabited World" crown and proclaim him; that is, they impart to him fame which, because of the nature of the givers, is everlasting²¹ and world-wide.²² He receives sacrifice and worship in ritual manner. The scene is placed beneath Zeus and Mnemosyne, Apollo and all the Muses, who are shown above.

Of the personifications in the lower part, one group is directly associated with literature. It comprises *Mythos*, *Historia*, *Poiesis*, also Tragedy and Comedy. Although the various allegorical notions have not yet been fully clarified, the tendency to universalize Homer is unmistakable. These five allegorical figures either sacrifice, or turn in prayer, to Homer, and thus acknowledge their dependence on him.

Pictorial allegory has a stronger impact on the senses than poetic, but inevitably it is less explicit. The relief of Archelaus puts in the simple descriptive language of commemorative art the creed of Homeric classicism. We have already met this creed in the language of poetry. It is meant to appeal to many, and adds further evidence for the view that must have been widely current in the Hellenistic world of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C. It is important to note that this creed overrides certain well-known objections of Callimachus, although it need not be averse to stylistic refinement; it is found in Alexandria but is by no means restricted to Alexandria.

What men were concerned to celebrate was the inspiration Homer had given, and was giving still, not only to epic poetry but to poetry and literature as a whole. The Callimachean

position of Aratus among writers of *Φαινόμενα*: ἀλλ' ὅγε λεπτολόγος σκῆπτρον Ἄρατος ἔχει (*ap. Ach., Vita Arati*; Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.*, II, p. 240). For Homer as king, A. D. Skiadas, *Homer im gr. Epigramm* (1965), p. 88, cites Archias, *A. P.*, VII, 213, 7: κοίρανος ὕμνων; *Ath.*, II, 40a: ὁ τῶν ποιητῶν βασιλεὺς. Compared with such passages *Stat., Sil.*, IV, 7, 5 (on Pindar): *regnator lyricae cohortis* sounds rather specialized.

²¹ In a similar way Greek epigrammatists set Homer's immortality in a cosmic context: Antip. Sid., *A. P.*, VII, 6, 2-4: Ἑλλάνων βιοτῇ δεύτερον ἀέλιον, / Μουσῶν φέγγος, . . . , ἀγήρα<ν>τον στόμα κόσμον / παντὸς κτλ.; *Phil. Thess.*, *A. P.*, IX, 575; cf. Skiadas, *op. cit.*, pp. 104 ff. Again Lucretius may be remembered: I, 124: *semper florentis Homeri* . . . *speciem*, in his poetic account account of Ennius' Homeric dream.

²² Cf. note 21, and Anon., *A. P.*, XVI, 303; Skiadas, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-9.

creative aspect receded; admiration and imitation were uppermost. The sentiment was memorably expressed in two types of metaphor. Of one of them—Homer's spirit entering later poets—more will be said in the second section of this paper. The other metaphor is different in imagery but expresses the same idea. Homer is spoken of as an ocean, or as a fountain-head or river-source, with other poets and writers as tributaries, or finally, with determined imagery, as a spring from which later poets drink.²³ This metaphor may recall various largely Hellenistic notions of poetry as a stream. Those notions, however, are not identical with that applied to Homer, although occasionally they may be made to coalesce.²⁴

Homer as a great ocean of poetry, or as the fountain-head of all poetic rivers and rivulets, or as the poetic river for later poets to drink from, is a conceit well known from Roman poetry, Augustan as well as later, and from contemporary Greek letters. Thus

Dion. Hal., *Comp.*, 24: κορυφή μὲν οὖν ἁπάντων καὶ σκοπὸς ἔξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα / καὶ πάντες κρῆναι *Il.*, XXI, 196-7) δικάως ἂν Ὀμηρος λέγοιτο.

Cf. Quint., X, 1, 46: hic enim (sc. Homerus), quemadmodum ex Oceano dicit ipse <omnium> amnium fontiumque cursus initium capere, omnibus eloquentiae partibus exemplum et ortum dedit.

Ov., *Am.*, III, 9 (8), 25-6: adice Maioniden, a quo ceu fonte perenni / uatum Pieriis ora rigantur aquis.

Manilius, II, 8-11: cuiusque (sc. Homeri) ex ore profusos /

²³ This imagery, too, as in the cases discussed above (n. 20), lends itself to transference to other poets thought both to encourage and discourage emulation—Hor., *Ep.*, I, 3, 10: *Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus?*

²⁴ I refer, first, to the large river and the small but pure stream as symbols for competing kinds of poetry; secondly, to the fountain of the Muses inspiring the poet who drinks from it; and, thirdly, to the water-drinkers and the wine-drinkers as symbols, like the first, for competing kinds of poetry. Although here too earlier poetic metaphors may have stimulated later, the first and third notions are in fact Hellenistic and partly Callimachean, partly related to Callimachus. The ambit of the second notion has not yet been fully determined in its Callimachean setting, let alone in its Roman; for discussion and bibliography, see A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik* (1965).

omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit / amnemque in
tenues ausa est deducere riuos / unius fecunda bonis.

Ps.-Long., *Subl.*, 13,2 (on prophetic *afflatus* resulting in
divine possession): οὕτως ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μεγαλοφυίας,
εἰς τὰς τῶν ζηλούντων ψυχὰς ὡς ἀπὸ ιερώων στομίων ἀπορροαί
τινες φέρονται κτλ.

13,3 (Herodotus, 'Ομηρικώτατος, likewise Archilochus and
Stesichorus, and, most of all, Plato) ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Ομηρικοῦ
κείνου νόματος εἰς αὐτὸν μυρίας ὅσας παρατροπὰς ἀποχενεσάμενος.
(This claim, ps.-Longinus says, is based on the materials
offered by Aristarchus' successor Ammonius, who wrote
"On Plato's Borrowings from Homer.")

Anon., *A. P.*, IX, 184, 3-4 (on Stesichorus): 'Ομηρικὸν ὅς
τ' ἀπὸ ῥεύμα ἔσπασας κτλ.

But it has not escaped notice that the conceit is, in fact, Hel-
lenistic.²⁵ Nearest in time to the passages just cited is a papyrus,
of the 1st century A.D. or perhaps earlier, containing some
uninspired anapaestic lyrics.²⁶ The piece begins by rehearsing
a number of cities, all of which exalt Homer. The poet is ad-
dressed by name and, in awkwardly muddled imagery, is credited
with "weaving" his poetry and "like a sea spitting it forth
upon the shore for men . . ."

σῶ]ν πάντες, 'Ομηρ', αἰνετὸν ὕμνων
φύσιν [ἡρ]ώων λογάσιν μερόπων
παραδεξάμενοι μεγαλύνουσιν
τὴν τ' ἀπὸ Μουσῶν ἄφθιτον αὐδὴν
ἣν σὸ μερίμναις ταῖσιν ἀτρύτοις
καθυφηνάμενος πόντος τις ὅπως
ἔπτυσας ἄλ[λο]ις [.]υ[.....]ς ²⁷
φωσὶν ἐπ' ἀκτάς. . .

²⁵ Thus, at any rate by implication, Wilamowitz in the first edition
of the lyrics on papyrus, cited above in the text, *Berl. Klassikertexte*,
V, 2 (1907), pp. 138-9; for the Hellenistic background, see T. B. L.
Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

²⁶ The wording is not certain throughout, as will be seen in the
editions of Wilamowitz (preceding note); J. U. Powell, *Coll. Alex.*,
pp. 187-8; D. L. Page, *Lit. Pap., Poetry*, no. 93.

²⁷ The epithet of ἄλλοις . . . φωσὶν is uncertain. Page printed Wilamo-
witz's guess οὐ μυθητοῖς "(for men) that have no poetry," which strikes
me as unlikely in view of λογάσιν μερόπων four lines above. For
λογάσιν, whether it denotes "chosen among men" or "lettered, literate"
(considered less likely by Wilamowitz because it is a late usage),

Here it is reasonable to place a curious bit of information that may presuppose a similar metaphor. After the account of the Ptolemaic Homereum cited above, Aelian continues, "the painter Galaton drew Homer vomiting (*ἐμοῦντα*) and the other poets collecting the vomit from him."²⁸ The grammatical form makes the sentence something of a counterpart to that on the Homereum and, as far as Aelian is concerned, seems to be designed to traduce the majestic Ptolemaic conception.²⁹ This does not necessarily link Galaton's painting with the Homeric temple³⁰ except in Aelian's mind. But there is a link, however distasteful it may be, with the image of Homer as the fountain-head, or the great sea, of poetry which we have just met in the Hellenistic lyrics and in later passages. Galaton then produced a parody, as Wilamowitz and others have said,³¹ and T. B. L. Webster is probably right in guessing that what Galaton parodied was the notion of Homer as a river-god sculpted or painted, spouting the *latices* of poetry for other poets to collect.³²

I suggest therefore that the notion of Homer as a sea or fountain-head or river is verbal, not pictorial, in origin, and belongs to the wider context, largely non-Callimachean, of Hellenistic letters. It came perhaps easily to people who regarded poetic and rhetorical speech as "flowing" :

τοῦ καὶ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέειν αὐδῇ (Hom., *Il.*, I, 249),
τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ γλυκερὴν χεῖουσι ἐέροσιν (sc. Μοῦσαι), / τοῦ

which suits the context, scarcely suggests "lack of poetry." If *μυθητοῖς* at all, *εὐμυθητοῖς* would better suit the sense, though the word does not seem to be on record.

²⁸ Page, p. 415, n. a, remarks convincingly that *ἐμοῦντα* in the description of Galaton's picture is coarse while *ἐπνυσας*, in the anapaests above, is not. Coarse words may or may not change colour, cf. for example my note on Hor., *A.P.*, 457, concerning *ructari* and *euomere* in Latin.

²⁹ Aelian (*Var. Hist.*, XIII, 22) juxtaposes descriptions of the Ptolemaic Homereum—*αὐτὸν* ("Ὀμηρον") *μὲν ἐν μέσῳ ἐκάθισε, κύκλῳ δὲ τὰς πόλεις κτλ.*—and of Galaton's painting immediately following—*ἔγραψε τὸν μὲν "Ὀμηρον αὐτὸν ἐμοῦντα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ποιητὰς, κτλ.*

³⁰ As Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 144 suggests.

³¹ Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 138, comparing the lyrics cited in the text; O. Rossbach, *R.-E.*, VII, 1, col. 559, 40 ff.; Webster, *ibid.*

³² Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 145. Professor Jocelyn, in a letter to me, raises the question whether Galaton perhaps "drew a *silanus* (Lucr. VI. 1265) shaped like Homer's face gushing piped water from the mouth."

δ'ἔπε' ἐκ στόματος ῥεῖ μέλιχα (Hes., *Theog.*, 83-4), ὃ δ'ὄλβιος,
ὃν τινα Μοῦσαι / φίλωνται· γλυκερὴ οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει αὐδὴ
(*Theog.*, 96-7), and so forth.

When the verbal metaphor is translated into visual and pictorial terms it jars, because it wants to be heard or read, and not seen. Thus it lends itself easily to parody.

Now at last the subject comes into view which I mentioned briefly at the outset—Ennius' Pythagorean claim that Homer's soul has transmigrated to his body. It seems to me that for a poet later than Homer to assert this, or have it asserted on his behalf, is not in feeling different, however different in metaphorical scope and force, from Homer, the sea or river-head, the waters of Homeric poetry moistening the lips of later poets. The scope of the metaphors differs in that the waters of Homeric poetry on the lips of later poets expresses thus, by means of an image, indebtedness to Homer's subject-matter or vocabulary or style or metre or tone. On the other hand the transmigration of Homer's soul clearly implies that the old Poet's spirit passes from him to others.³³ The force of the metaphors differs in that transmigration is altogether on a different level of involvement from the Homeric *latices*. Nevertheless there are also important agreements between the two images. In both there is the same almost bodily implication; a likeness between two creative spirits expressed in physical terms, one having become part of the other. Equally the two notions agree in the conviction, far from Callimachean *arrière-pensées*, that the poetry of archetypal Homer must and can be "continued" in his spirit and character, however different the subject, and perhaps the genre, of the successor. This conviction, for better or worse, is at the root of homerizing in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. Without this setting Ennius' Pythagorean claim is, historically, inexplicable. On the other hand it is precisely this Hellenistic setting that helps to put Ennius' claim in perspective.

³³ Professor Jocelyn suggests to me that possibly the conventional distinction between *techné* and *physis* best expresses the difference of the two images. The *latices* imply anything that may be subsumed under Homeric *techné*, whereas the transmigration implies that the later writer had a Homeric *ingenium*.

Reflexions of this kind might have thrown doubt on the conventional separation of Hellenistic and Ennian homerizing. But a well-known epigram in the Greek Anthology dealing with a similar subject must evoke more than doubt. For it ascribes to Stesichorus what Ennius ascribes to himself, Homer's soul in his body.³⁴ The dating of the epigram is of little relevance to the point here at issue, since I am concerned with a Hellenistic view of Homer's primacy—and that would seem to apply to either of the two possible dates. The author's name is transmitted as "Antipater," without the addition of Sidon or Thessalonica. The majority of editors assign it to the Sidonian, but Gow and Page, in accordance with their editorial policy, have assigned it to the Thessalonican.³⁵ In the former case the date would be the second half of the 2nd c. B. C., in the latter it would be more than a century later. Neither affects this discussion except perhaps for the warning that no conclusions should lean heavily on one date or the other.³⁶

The Ennian claim is expressed most coherently and succinctly in two scholia, Porph., *Hor., Ep., II, 1, 51*: . . . *in principio Annalium suorum somnio se scripsit (Ennius) admonitum quod secundum Pythagorae dogma anima Homeri in suum corpus uenisset*; Schol., *Pers., prol. 2*: *tangit Ennium qui dixit se uidisse per somnium . . . Homerum sibi dicentem quod eius anima in suo esset corpore*. The connexion of these scholia with some of the preserved remains of the Ennian work³⁷ is more

³⁴ A. P., VII, 75.

³⁵ Gow and Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip*, Antip. of Thess., no. LXXIV (vol. I, p. 58; vol. II, pp. 77-8). In the latter place they say, "the context provides no clue to the author, whom Brunck, Setti, and Waltz took to be the Sidonian—perhaps rightly but we see no means of deciding." Their editorial policy is enunciated in *The Greek Anth.: Hellenistic Epigrams*, II, p. 34.

³⁶ For example, if the author of the epigram is in fact the Thessalonican, the Sidonian's acquaintance with Q. Lutatius Catulus (Cic., *De Or.*, III, 194) loses what little argumentative force is claimed for it by O. Skutsch, *C. P.*, LIV (1959), p. 116, n. 20 and in slightly adapted form, *Studia Enn.*, p. 155, n. 20.

³⁷ My comment applies only to frs. 5, 6, 8, and 15 (V.²), which belong to the narrative frame of the proem: *somno leni placidoque reuinctus; uisus Homerus adesse poeta; o pietas animi; memini me fieri pauom*. On these I am in general agreement with O. Skutsch

convincingly demonstrable than are certain other features of the poem. It is not necessary for my purpose here to go into those particular uncertainties.

Antipater makes the same claim for Stesichorus: Homer's soul has entered his body.³⁸

Στασίχορον, ξαπληθὲς ἀμέτρητον στόμα Μούσας,
ἐκτέρισεν Κατάνας αἰθαλόεν δάπεδον,
οὐ, κατὰ Πυθαγόρῳ φυσικὰν φάτιν, ἂ πρὶν Ὀμήρου
ψυχὰ ἐνὶ στέρνοις δεύτερον ᾠκίσσατο.

If Antipater was the Thessalonican, Ennius could not have owed the Pythagorean notion concerning Homer's soul to him; chronology forbids it. If he was the Sidonian, he still seems to have been at least a generation younger than Ennius; hence, though it is not impossible, there is little likelihood that Ennius owed the notion to him. Three possibilities then remain. First, Antipater took the metempsychosis from Ennius and transferred it to—Stesichorus.³⁹ But, to debit a very traditional Greek

("Enniana I," *C. Q.*, XXXVIII [1944], pp. 84-5, repr. *Studia Enn.*, pp. 24-5), except that I would not wish to be emphatic on the contents of Homer's lecture *de rerum natura*, on which a reasonable divergence of view has been expressed by A. Grilli, *Studi enn.* (1965), pp. 70-4. Nor would I wish to pronounce on the position within the poem of frs. 10-12 in relation to 13-14 and to the other remains of the poem. The reason is that which Skutsch himself, with admirable caution, urges against certain other arguments; nothing is really known about the relation between the discussion of soul and body, and the course of the migrations of Homer's soul. Vahlen's fr. 9 has been shown to be falsely put in the *Annals*; see Bergk, *Kl. Schr.*, I, p. 343, n. 31 noted by S. Mariotti, *Lezioni su Ennio*, p. 62; cf. Skutsch, "Enniana VI," *C. Q.*, LVIII (1964), pp. 88-9, *Studia Enn.*, pp. 108-9. Likewise fr. 16 is a stranger to the *Annals*: Housman, *C. R.*, XVIII (1934), p. 59, cf. Skutsch "Enniana I," *C. Q.*, loc. cit., pp. 85-6, *Studia Enn.*, pp. 25-7, 29. W. Suerbaum has sought to provide fresh evidence in *Mnem.*, ser. IV, XVIII (1965), pp. 337 ff. and *Untersuchungen* (1968), pp. 50-4, 307-8. But the initial scholium to Pers., 6 need not be regarded as evidence independent of the scholium on Pers., 6, 10.

³⁸ For references, see above notes 34 and 35; a tame echo, apparently, of the 3rd c. A. D. in *Epigr. Gr. Ex Lap. Sel.*, 882, 3-4 (Kaibel): *ἐλ κατὰ Πυθαγόρην ψυχὴ μεταβαίνει εἰς ἄλλον, / ἐν σοὶ, Δαῖτε, Πλάτων ζῆ πάλι φαινόμενος.*

³⁹ O. Skutsch (*C. P.*, LIV [1959], p. 116, n. 20; *Studia Enn.*, p. 155, n. 20) does not rule out this contingency.

epigrammatist with a transfer to an archaic Greek lyricist of a conceit invented by a near-contemporary Roman epic poet—that does not strike one as at all probable. Secondly, and just as unconvincingly, both may have hit independently on the same odd notion, the older poet making Homer's soul transmigrate to himself, and the younger to Stesichorus. Finally, both may have borrowed the conceit from an earlier writer, as P. von der Mühl has suggested.⁴⁰ I see no serious objection that can be levelled against this conclusion. It is the only one of the four possibilities that is highly probable, so long as the notion is not imputed to Stesichorus himself, as von der Mühl wished to do. Nor would there be any need for it, even if it were at all likely on chronological grounds that the old choral poet could have known of Pythagoras.

Stesichorus, already juxtaposed with Homer by Simonides,⁴¹ was sufficiently linked with the epic poet in Alexandrian (and later) literary theory to encourage flights of fancy to embellish the connexion.⁴² I do not know what precise feature, if any, of a poem or poems by Stesichorus gave rise to this particular fancy, although guesses can be made by willing guessers. What is suggested by the foregoing discussion is straightforward enough. This particular metempsychosis was a Hellenistic invention expressing, in yet another way, the dependence of later writers on Homer.⁴³ It was Antipater who seems to have picked

⁴⁰ P. von der Mühl, *ap.* M. Gabathuler, *Hell. Epigramme auf Dichter* (1938), p. 98; cf. H. Fuchs, "Ennius als Homer," *M.H.*, XII (1955), pp. 201-2. O. Skutsch, *loc. cit.*, rightly takes exception to Stesichorean origin, but the matter does not end there. After this paper was written I noticed that Burkert (note 45 below), p. 244, says "doch einen Einfluss eines 'barbarus poeta' auf ihn (sc. Antipater) anzunehmen, ist ebenso gewagt wie eine Beziehung zu einem hypothetischen unteritalischen Seelenwanderungsglauben zu postulieren: wenn es ein gemeinsames Vorbild gab, muss man es doch wohl in hellenistischer Literatur suchen," etc. I think we can be more definite than that.

⁴¹ Sim., *ap.* Ath., IV, 172 E (*P.M.G.*, fr. 564, 4, Page) οὕτω γὰρ Ὅμηρος ἢ δὲ Στρασίχορος ἄεισε λαοῖς.

⁴² The references are assembled by Schmid-Stählin, *Gr. Lit.*, I, p. 472, n. 1.

⁴³ The known list of writers whose dependence on Homer is claimed contains Stesichorus as well as Archilochus, the Attic dramatists, tragic and comic, Herodotus and Thucydides, Plato, and the orators. For an

it up from an earlier Hellenistic source, where it may or may not have been applied to Stesichorus. It was Ennius who, before Antipater, relied on the same or a similar Hellenistic precedent, which expressed so well what he felt about Homer. With characteristic boldness he transferred the notion to himself.

2. *Homer's reincarnation and Pythagorean forgeries in the Hellenistic age.*

Homer as a continuing influence, as he appears in Ennius conjoined with fictional Pythagorean elements, belongs to the 2nd century B. C. The same combination, as it appears in the traditionally Hellenistic epigram of Antipater, belongs to the 2nd or 1st century B. C. If my contention about Ennius and Antipater stands, the Homeric-Pythagorean fantasies concerning Homer's "soul" are firmly attached to literary themes and notions of an earlier Hellenistic age. For one thing, they presuppose the kind of Homeric classicism considered for its traditional and non-Callimachean aspects in the first section of this paper; for another, they represent a very specific and colourful variant of those Hellenistic metaphors, considered in the same section, which purport by a strongly imaginative expedient to transmit what might be called the essence of Homer to subsequent ages, writers, and even genres.

Thus a fresh, though not perhaps surprising, touch of Pythagoreanism appears on the Hellenistic literary map. As long as the pseudo-Pythagorean writings were dated to the period of Roman neo-Pythagoreanism, beginning, say, about 100 B. C.,⁴⁴ Ennius' and Antipater's poetic notions seemed oddities, historically isolated and hard to explain. Renewed work in this field has shown that, although doubts on specific dates remain, many of these writings are in fact Hellenistic, and themselves contributed to the New Pythagoreanism of Nigidius Figulus and others.⁴⁵

informative piece of criticism, directly or indirectly Hellenistic, see Demetrius, *Interpr.*, 112-13 on Herodotus' and Thucydides' homerizing. Vitruvius, VII, praef. 3 calls Homer *poetarum parentem philologiaeque omnis ducem*. This is an echo of the prolonged Hellenistic discussions of Homer the polymath, more fully represented in Strabo, Book I.

⁴⁴ The *locus classicus* is Zeller's *Philos. der Griechen*, III, 2⁵, p. 123.

⁴⁵ I have in mind especially H. Burkert, "Hellenistische Pseudo-pythagorica," *Philol.*, CV (1961), pp. 16-43, 226-46; *Weisheit und*

The "Pythagorean doctrine" on the transmigration of souls is a case in point. It appears to have had a place in early Pythagorean teaching.⁴⁶ There must be some old warrant for the curious assertion that the soul of Trojan Euphorbus dwelt in Pythagoras.⁴⁷ But from there to a painstakingly constructed family tree is a far cry; and that family tree cannot be traced back beyond a work by Heraclides Ponticus in which the sequence is imputed to Pythagoras himself.⁴⁸ Numerical considerations are to be expected in such a context: they are attested in connexion with Pythagoras as early as Empedocles.⁴⁹

Wissenschaft: Studien zu Pyth., Philolaos und Plato (1962); H. Thesleff, "An Introd. to the Pythag. Writings of the Hellenistic Period," *Acta Acad. Aboensis, Humaniora*, XXIV, 3 (1961); "The Pythag. Texts of the Hellenistic Period," *ibid.*, XXX, 1 (1965). For other recent work, see Burkert (1961), p. 229; Thesleff (1961), ch. II.

⁴⁶ Some of the early sources are discussed by Zeller-Mondolfo, II, *Ionici e Pitagorici* (1938), pp. 564-71; Burkert (1962), pp. 86-142.

⁴⁷ Euphorbus is a minor figure in the *Iliad*, his claim to fame being that he wounded Patroclus, II., XVI, 806 ff., and was killed by Menelaus, XVII, 59-60; a relic in Mycenae was known to Pausanias (II, 17, 3). Why he came to be attached to the legend concerning Pythagoras is unknown. For various suggestions and discussion, see A. Delatte, *La vie de Pyth. de Diog. L.* (1922), p. 157; K. Kerényi, *Pyth. und Orpheus*⁸ (1950), p. 19; O. Skutsch (see below); Burkert (1962), p. 117. A possible derivation of the name—"he who eats the right food" not "he who eats well"—would fit the food-conscious Pythagoreans; so P. Corsen had hinted, *R.M.*, LXVII (1912), p. 22. It would also fit their etymologizing tendencies, as O. Skutsch noted (*C.P.*, LIV [1959], p. 114 = *Studia Enn.*, p. 151) when he rescued Corsen's brief aside from neglect.

⁴⁸ Heracl. Pont., *ap. Diog. L.*, VIII, 4, starting *τοῦτον* (*sc. Πυθαγόραν*) *φῆσιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγειν ὡς κτλ.* The extract is fr. 89 in F. Wehrli's collection of the fragments and without much warrant, if any, is there put down as belonging to the *Περὶ τῆς ἀπρον.* For the evidence, see Zeller-Mondolfo, *op. cit.*, p. 402, n. 2; E. Rohde, *Psyche*⁸ (1921), pp. 417-21; J. H. Waszink on Tert., *De an.*, 28, 3; Burkert (1962), pp. 114-15 with n. 109. Nothing is known about the doubtless critical context in which Dicaearchus the Aristotelian puts forward a different lineage containing among others the hetaera Alco (fr. 36, Wehrli). There is, however, evidence to show that Clearchus, another Aristotelian of the first generation (fr. 10, Wehrli), will in turn have been opposed to Dicaearchus' point of view, and yet offers the same family tree as Dicaearchus.

⁴⁹ Emped., *ap. Porph.*, V. *Pyth.*, 30 (= fr. 125-6 D.); Rohde, *op. cit.*; O. Skutsch, *C.P.*, LIV (1959), pp. 114 ff.; *Studia Enn.*, pp. 151 ff.

Such was the shape of the legend at the beginning of the Hellenistic age. In spite, or because, of their fictional character such family trees were widely disseminated. At least its oldest part, the equation Pythagoras = Euphorbus, was and remained firmly established within the *Pythagoraslegende*. Callimachus may reckon that his point is taken when, in his first Iambus, he refers to the mathematical theorems and the vegetarianism of the founder, not as the teachings of Pythagoras but of Φρὺξ Εὐφορβος.⁵⁰ This is reflected numerous times.⁵¹

It has often been noted that Ennius' *Epicharmus* shared some important features with the proem of the *Annals*. Both works offer instruction on occult matters of "natural philosophy." In the *Epicharmus* the old comic poet in his apocryphal and Hellenistic manifestation⁵² acts as instructor, a sage revealing the secrets of φύσις-natura;⁵³ in the *Annals* Homer plays a similar role, although he performs other functions as well.⁵⁴ A dream

⁵⁰ Callim., fr. 191, 59 (Pfeiffer).

⁵¹ Two well-known examples from Latin verse are Hor., *C.*, I, 28, 9-15 on *Panthoides*; Ov., *Met.*, XV, 60: *uir fuit hic ortu Samius*; 160-1: *ipse ego, nam memini, Troiani tempore belli / Panthoides Euphorbus eram*.

⁵² The putative pre-Hellenistic part of the evidence remains hard to judge. The "philosopher" Epicharmus has been considered frequently after a basis for discussion had been laid by Wilamowitz, *Teatgeschichte d. gr. Lyriker* (1900), pp. 24-7; W. Crönert, *Hermes*, XLVII (1912), pp. 402 ff.; F. Leo, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, I, pp. 199-201. Recently some clarifying observations have been made by W. Burkert, *op. cit.* (1961), p. 244, n. 1 and 3; (1962), p. 268, n. 71. The remains are found in G. Kaibel's *Com. Gr. Fr.*, pp. 88 ff.; a selection in Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokr.*, no. 23, which also contains the relevant text from Grenfell and Hunt's *Hibeh Papyri*, I (1906), p. 14, cf. Page, *Lit. Pap.*, no. 102 (c).

⁵³ The fragments of Ennius' *Epicharmus*, scanty though they are, suffice for this conclusion. For fr. 47, see S. Timpanaro, *S.I.F.C.*, XXIII (1948), pp. 8 f.

⁵⁴ For the *Annals*, see Vahlen's notes on frs. 10-14. Lucretius' wording as regards Homer in Ennius' proem is apposite here, I, 126: *rerum naturam expandere dictis*. The contents of Homer's lecture *De rerum natura* has been usefully considered by Waszink, *Maia* (1964), p. 331; *Mnem.*, ser. IV, XV (1962), p. 128; Grilli, *Studi enn.*, pp. 72 ff.; O. Skutsch, *Studia Enn.*, pp. 105 ff. Cf. also above, note 37. A possible coincidence between *Ann.* 10-12 and one of the Greek 'Epicharmus' fragments (172 Kaibel) has been considered by W. Nestle, *Phil.*, Supp. VIII (1899-1901), pp. 607-9.

provides the framework for the instruction in both,⁵⁵ and the two works alike make an imaginative and poetic use of these apocryphal and Hellenistic personages. Nor can, finally, a Pythagorizing implication be overlooked in either. The apocryphal Epicharmus was regarded as a Pythagorean;⁵⁶ the proem of the *Annals* operates with the notion of metempsychosis.⁵⁷ Popular

⁵⁵ Ennius, fr. 45 from the *Epicharmus*, maintains that he dreamt he was dead; fr. 5, from the *Annals*, says that he was asleep; and fr. 6, that Homer appeared to him (in his dream). Occult knowledge is thus attached to dream and death in shamanism; for a discussion of the evidence, see the section in Burkert's book (1962) entitled *Seelenwanderung und Schamanismus*. But residual beliefs of this kind are poetically exploited as early as Homer's *Necyia* and often thereafter in Greek letters; the two outstanding cases extant in Latin literature after Ennius are Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* and Virgil's Sixth *Aeneid*. 'Epicharmus' attached great importance to dreams in vaticination, Tert., *De an.*, 46, 10 f. (=fr. 55, Diels). It was Cicero who compared *Epicharmus* and *Annals* for Ennius' use of dreams, *Ac. Pr.*, II, 51; Fronto (p. 146 N.) said, *magister Enni Homerus et Somnus*. Other evidence is quoted by Vahlen on frs. 5, 6, 15, and 16.

⁵⁶ Plut., *Numa*, 8, 17; Diog. L., VIII, 78, *et al.* Cf. Burkert, cited above, note 52.

⁵⁷ An odd feature of that metempsychosis is the stage interposed between Homer and Ennius, that is, incarnation as a peacock: *Ann.*, fr. 15, cf. Waszink on Tert., *De an.*, 33, 8. Although transmigration of souls into animals and plants as well as humans may have been a Pythagorean tenet, and a mention as early as Xenophanes (fr. 7 D.; *ap.* Diog. L., VIII, 36) was so interpreted in antiquity, the Hellenistic family trees of Pythagoras himself did not apparently accommodate it. Guesses therefore that the peacock had its original place in the lineage of Pythagoras (O. Skutsch, *C.P.*, *loc. cit.*, *Studia Enn.*, p. 153, n. 26) are hazardous. Conflations between the descents of Pythagoras and of Homer appear to be late, and may be set aside (cf. S. Mariotti, *Lezioni su Ennio* [1951], pp. 86 ff.; Skutsch, *loc. cit.*). The peacock appears frequently on Roman imperial and on Christian artefacts. The explanation now commonly adopted is that of a symbol for immortality. The evidence is entirely iconographic and its interpretation therefore has an uncomfortable element of uncertainty. Nevertheless in the present context it may be noted that the gems on which the bird first seems to occur in Italy, and which suggested this explanation to A. Furtwängler (*Die antiken Gemmen*, III [1900], pp. 263 f.), are in fact dated to the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. Moreover R. Reitzenstein refers to a Ptolemaic instance in the dromos of the Serapeum at Memphis (*Das iran. Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 227). Thus,

Hellenistic Pythagoreanism clearly attracted Ennius, and it is easy to see, since some or much of it must have been current in South Italy—with which Ennius was familiar in his youth—why some students of these matters are prepared to emphasize this aspect of the poet's imagination more than any other.⁵⁸

This, however, is over-emphatic. In view of the importance of Pythagorizing and Hellenistic currents at Rome in Ennius' time and earlier, W. Burkert is right in redressing the balance in favour of the Roman cultural setting in which, we know, Ennius was involved in his mature years.⁵⁹ Whether it would also be right to say that the literary character of popular philosophizing interested him more than the "philosophy" seems to me an open question. Certainly as far as the proem of the *Annals* is concerned, it is well to remember O. Skutsch's salutary warning against "putting the Pythagorean cart before the Homeric horse."⁶⁰ But in what direction did the Homeric horse run? As he implies, it ran away from Callimachus, and it had so to run if a Homeric *carmen longum* was to have a warrant in theory and practice, however *dicti studiosus* Ennius was concerned to be, and however strongly marked was the Alexandrian flavour of *Hedyphagetica*, *Euhemerus*, and *Sota*.⁶¹ Certainly, it is hard to deny that the very setting of this proem invites comparison with the proem of Callimachus' *Aetia*, even though I do not think that the evidence is sufficient, either for Callimachus or for Ennius, to determine the relationship in detail. In any case, what comparison can only have enforced was not the likeness but the difference between the two poets. Homer *semper florens* was Ennius' inspirer, and the reader was allowed to see a highly un-Callimachean inspiration at work. Was this likely

allowing for the interpretation mentioned above, we may again be dealing with a Hellenistic feature.

⁵⁸ I am referring to F. Altheim, first in *Röm. Religionsgeschichte*, II (1932), pp. 126 ff., summarized, p. 138, as "the Pythagoreanism of Ennius, which he on his part must have brought from his home" (sc. in Greek South Italy), K. Kerényi, *Pythagoras und Orpheus*³ (1950), pp. 67 ff., *et al.*

⁵⁹ W. Burkert (1961), pp. 226 ff., especially pp. 243-6.

⁶⁰ O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* (Inaug. Lect. London, 1951), p. 10, repr. *Studia Enn.*, p. 8.

⁶¹ Skutsch, *The Annals*, p. 8, repr. *Studia Enn.*, p. 6.

to have been understood as a declaration that he was not an imitator of Homer but Homer re-born? ⁶² Hardly a convincing reply to the strictures of the Alexandrian critic.

Further questions may be raised. To say that "the poetic writ of Alexandria ran throughout the Hellenistic world," and that "that writ had put a ban on the imitation of Homer," ⁶³ is, in combination, something of an over-statement. Callimachus was not unopposed in Alexandria and, as the evidence discussed in this paper shows, his literary influence did not continue unabated. ⁶⁴ Nor, in spite of its obvious importance, did Alexandria have a monopoly of literary taste or criticism in the Hellenistic world. The variety of Hellenistic civilization is easily underestimated; that seems to me the chief lesson that may still be learned from Wilamowitz's *Hellenistische Dichtung*, although much new evidence and interpretation has accrued since it was published. Moreover it needs to be remembered that early literary study and theory at Rome was by no means all Alexandrian. At any rate soon after Ennius it had probably more Pergamenian colouring than Alexandrian. ⁶⁵

* * *

In this paper I have surveyed some evidence, partly literary and partly pictorial, for the Hellenistic notion of a deified Homer, and for the effect of such a notion on contemporary taste and poetic production. Ennius' dream-picture of himself as Homer reborn is considered on this basis. I have, however, refrained from drawing on the Homeric scholia because the material is too large to be accommodated in a paper.

⁶² Skutsch, *The Annals*, p. 11, repr. *Studia Enn.*, p. 9.

⁶³ Skutsch, *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Above, pp. 547 ff.

⁶⁵ Suet., *Gram.*, 2: *primus igitur, quantum opinamur, studium grammaticae in urbem intulit Crates Mallotes, Aristarchi aequalis, qui missus ad senatum ab Attalo rege inter secundum ac tertium Punicum bellum sub ipsam Ennii mortem . . . per omne legationis simul et ualitudinis tempus plurimas acroasis subinde fecit assidueque diseruit, ac nostris exemplo fuit ad imitandum.* R. Pfeiffer, *Hist. of Class. Schol.*, I (1968), pp. 246 and 266-7, has perceptive remarks on early Pergamenian and Alexandrian influences at Rome. But, although overstated, F. Leo's scepticism, *Plaut. Forschungen*, 2nd ed., pp. 30 ff., *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, I, p. 356, should still be borne in mind.

In the course of my argument I have discussed

- (1) some non-Callimachean traits in the literary theory and practice during and after the time of Callimachus;
- (2) the bearing of Homerea, temples dedicated to Homer, on the literary controversies of the time;
- (3) the "Apotheosis of Homer" by Archelaus of Priene, not considered as necessarily Alexandrian;
- (4) Hellenistic and subsequent metaphors expressing how Homer's spirit is imparted to later ages and poets;
- (5) the likelihood of a Hellenistic origin of Homeric metempsychosis, as it appears in Ennius and Antipater;
- (6) the rationale of Ennius deriving this notion from the Hellenistic tradition and, independently from the tradition, applying it to himself.

It will be seen that, in this paper, I have nowhere ascribed to Ennius himself the famous tag *alter Homerus*, which is known from Lucilius (fr. 1189, Marx) and Horace (*Ep.*, II, 1, 50). I know of no evidence confirming that Ennius used this tag, although its substance was inherent in the proems of the 1st and 7th books of the *Annals*. He wished to find, and did find, strong and convincing imagery to show that it was he who was legitimately carrying the large burden of Homer's heroic epic—*ingenio* as well as *arte maximus*. In this demonstration he was as naively dependent on the Hellenistic (not the Callimachean) tradition of Homer as he was independent of it, in that he displayed a fresh and strong emotional force, he used a new language, Latin, and he drew on new conventions, moral, social, political. This seems to me the way to put it, because even the technique of historical, as different from mythical, epic is certain to have been handled by Hellenistic, perhaps contemporary, poets⁶⁶—ignoring any treatment of the subject *uersibus quos olim Faunei uatesque canebant*.⁶⁷ Horace's criticism is not, in the first place, directed against the archaic poet. *Ennius et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus* is what the critics say. For

⁶⁶ Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dicht.*, I, pp. 228 f.; K. Ziegler, *Das hellenistische Epos* (1934; 2nd ed. 1966), especially the Appendix in the 2nd ed., "Ennius als hellenistischer Epiker."

⁶⁷ As Ennius was, in the companion poem in *Ann.* VII.

the sentence continues, *ut critici dicunt*, which seems to belong to all the preceding epithets. What Horace was doing was not to deny Ennius' standing as a creative artist, but to show up those who accepted Ennius' claim when it made sense no longer. It is *Vergilius*, as St. Jerome centuries later restated the Augustan position, who is *alter Homerus apud nos*.⁶⁸

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⁶⁸ Hier., *Ep.*, 121, 10, 5; cf. *Comm. in Mich.*, II, 7, 5-7.

PARENT'S COUSIN AND COUSIN'S CHILD.

According to the Roman method of computing blood relationships, two relatives—(1) a "parent's cousin" and (2) a "cousin's child"—were both posited in the fifth collateral degree. Even though the Roman jurists¹ never tell us explicitly how they arrived at their system of kinship gradation, nevertheless we can deduce from their writings that the degree of kinship of each relative—collateral, lateral, or lineal²—was reckoned on the basis of a vertical axis consisting of a chain or series of generations. To compute the degree of relationship of any kinsman, the Romans counted exclusively of ego up to the nearest common ancestor(s) of ego and his kinsman and then down to the kinsman himself. Hence it is easy to see why a *propius sobrino*, a "parent's cousin" and a *filius*, a *consobrini*, a "cousin's child" were each situated in the fifth collateral degree.³

¹ Legal sources which assign each relative to a specific degree of relationship and also provide definitions for kinsmen: Justinian, *Digest*, XXXVIII, 10, 1 and 3, Gaius, "Liber Octavus ad Edictum Provinciale"; 10, 10, Paulus, "Liber Singularis de Gradibus et Adfinibus et Nominibus Eorum." Justinian, *Institutes*, III, 6, "De Gradibus Cognationis." *Sententiae Receptae Paulo*, IV, 11, "De Gradibus." *Tractatus de Gradibus Cognationum*.

Legal sources giving only gradation: Justinian, *Novellae*, *passim*. *Fragmenta Quae Dicuntur Vaticana*, *passim*. *Lex Romana Burgundionum*, *passim*.

Non-legal sources giving only definitions: Isidorus, *Origines*, IX, 5, "De Adfinitatibus et Gradibus"; 6, "De Agnatis et Cognatis." Nonius Marcellus, *De Compendiosa Doctrina*, *passim*. Festus, *De Significatu Verborum*, *passim*.

The *Sent.*, *Tract.*, *Frag. Vat.*, and *Lex Rom. Burg.* are published in Johannes Baviera, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani, pars altera, Auctores* (Florence, 1964 [reprint of 1940 edition]).

² To define our terms—collateral: on both paternal and maternal sides, e. g. *consobrini*, a "cousin"; lateral: on either the paternal or maternal side, but not on both, e. g. *patruus* "father's brother" and *avunculus* "mother's brother"; lineal: neither collateral nor lateral but direct as an ancestor or descendant, e. g. *avia* "grandmother" or *filius* "son."

³ *Propius sobrino*, a "parent's cousin" is defined and assigned to the

G=generation

G+3		3 great grandparents
G+2	2 grandparents	4 great uncles and great aunts
G+1	1 parents	5 parents' cousins
G 0	0 ego	
G+2		2 grandparents
G+1	1 parents	3 uncles and aunts
G 0	0 ego	4 cousins
G-1		5 cousins' children

How the Romans determined that a "parent's cousin" and a "cousin's child" both belonged to the fifth collateral degree, we have attempted to show. Yet it is important to notice that, whereas a "parent's cousin" is a generation above ego, a "cousin's child" is a generation below. Moreover, since nowhere else in Latin do the sources make relatives of the same degree but of different generations terminological equivalents, it seems quite unlikely that the Latin term for "cousin's child" should ever be the same as that for "parent's cousin."⁴ For example,

fifth degree: Just., *Dig.*, Gaius, XXXVIII, 10, 1, 7; Paulus, 10, 10, 16 *bis*; *Inst.*, III, 5; *Tract.*, 7. *Filius, -a consobrini, -ae* is assigned to the fifth degree: *Tract.*, 7. In this instance *filius, -a consobrini, -ae* is used in its most general sense "cousin's child," but usually the jurists are more specific and employ one of these four terms: (1) *filius, -a fratris* or *sororis patrueis* "father's brother's child's child"; (2) *filius, -a amitini, -ae* "father's sister's child's child"; (3) *filius, -a consobrini, -ae* "mother's sister's child's child"; (4) *filius, -a consobrini, -ae* "mother's brother's child's child." For the terms for "cousin's child" see Just., *Dig.*, Gaius, XXXVIII, 10, 1, 7; *Inst.*, III, 6, 5; *Sent.*, IV, 11, 5. For evidence that a mother's brother's child could indeed be considered a *consobrinus, -a* see Just., *Inst.*, III, 6, 4 where it is stated that a mother's brother's child is a *consobrinus, -a* and conversely a father's sister's child is an *amitinus, -a*: *amitae tuae filii consobrinum te appellant, tu illos amitinos*.

⁴The importance of the generational factor for understanding Roman kinship terminology has already been recognized by Émile Benveniste, "Termes de parenté dans les langues Indo-Européennes," *L'Homme*, V (1965), p. 15. Benveniste coins (1) *homostathmique* to describe a term which denotes a class of relatives of the same generation and (2) *hétérostathmique* to describe a term which denotes a group of relatives of differing generations. Yet, since the French terminology is a needless encumbrance, we have not chosen to use it.

a *patruus*⁵ "father's brother" and a *filius fratris*⁶ "brother's son" are both in the third lateral degree, but, inasmuch as the former is a generation above ego and the latter a generation below, a *patruus* and a *filius fratris* are not terminologically identical:

G+2		2 grandparents
G+1	1 father	3 father's brother
G 0	0 ego	
G+1		1 parents
G 0	0 ego	2 brother
G-1		3 brother's son

The importance of generation is even more easily illustrated, if we turn our attention to lineal terms. In no other way can it be shown so clearly that the sources do not as a rule terminologically equate relatives of the same degree of kinship but of different generations. An *avus*⁷ "grandfather" is positioned in the second degree and so is a *nepos*⁸ "grandson." Here, though, the method of computation may need further clarification. In reckoning degree of relationship to his *avus*, ego knew that his "grandfather" was nearest common ancestor as well as designated kinsman, and so he simply counted upward two degrees. Similarly in computing degree of relationship to his *nepos*, ego recognized that he was his own as well as his "grandson's" nearest common ancestor, and so he merely counted downward two degrees.

⁵ *Patruus*—for gradation: Just., *Dig.*, Gaius, XXXVIII, 10, 1, 5; *Inst.*, III, 6, 3; *Cod.*, VI, 58, 7 and 15, 3; *Nov.*, 36, 2; *Sent.*, IV, 11, 3; *Tract.*, 5. For definitions: Just., *Dig.*, Paulus, XXXVIII, 10, 10, 14; *Inst.*, III, 6, 3; *Cod.*, VI, 58, 7; *Sent.*, IV, 11, 3; *Tract.*, 5; Isidorus, *Orig.*, IX, 6, 16 and 24.

⁶ *Filius fratris*—for gradation: Just., *Dig.*, Gaius, XXXVIII, 10, 1, 5; *Inst.*, III, 6, 3; *Cod.*, VI, 58, 3 and 15, 3; *Sent.*, IV, 11, 3; *Tract.*, 5; *Lex Rom. Burg.*, X, 8.

⁷ *Avus*—for gradation: Just., *Dig.*, Gaius, XXXVIII, 10, 1, 4; Paulus, 10, 10, 13; *Inst.*, III, 6, 2; *Sent.*, IV, 11, 2; *Tract.*, 4. For definitions: Just., *Dig.*, Paulus, XXXVIII, 10, 10, 13; Festus, p. 12 (Lindsay, 1913); Isidorus, *Orig.*, IX, 5, 9.

⁸ *Nepos*—for gradation: Just., *Dig.*, Gaius, XXXVIII, 10, 1, 4; Paulus, 10, 10, 13; *Inst.*, III, 6, 2; *Sent.*, IV, 11, 2; *Tract.*, 4. For definitions: Just., *Dig.*, Paulus, XXXVIII, 10, 10, 13; Isidorus, *Orig.*, IX, 5, 26.

G+2	2 grandparents
G+1	1 parents
G 0	0 ego
G-1	1 children
G-2	2 grandchildren

But, be that as it may, it must be stressed that generational difference is such an important factor in classifying kinsmen that those relations, be they lineal or non-lineal, who are consigned to the same degree but are born into different generations are not generally terminological equivalents. On the other hand relatives of the same degree of kinship and also of the same generation are quite regularly blanketed by the same term. Thus two "first cousins," who were mutually classed in the fourth degree, could use the term *consobrinus,-a*⁹ in speaking to or about each other, and two "second cousins," who were mutually assigned to the sixth degree, could address and refer to one another by the term *sobrinus,-a*.¹⁰ Consequently *consobrinus,-a* and *sobrinus,-a* can each be described as a self-reciprocating term, and furthermore this self-reciprocity can be directly attributed to two principal factors: (1) sameness of generation and (2) identity of collateral degree.

The generational factor seems to permeate Latin kinship classifications so thoroughly that it would seem rash to conjecture that any single kin term could by definition designate classes of kinsmen of the same degree but different generations. Therefore, when an excerpt in the *Digest* (Paulus, XXXVIII, 10, 10, 16) quotes Masurius Sabinus, a jurist prominent in the

⁹ *Consobrinus,-a* is the most general term in Latin for cousin. See Just., *Dig.*, Gaius, XXXVIII, 10, 1, 6: *sed fere vulgus omnes istos communi appellatione consobrinos vocant* and also 10, 15: *sed plerique hos omnes consobrinos vocant*. . . .

¹⁰ For evidence that *sobrinus,-a* was self-reciprocating see Just., *Dig.*, Paulus, XXXVIII, 10, 10, 17: *ipse his sobrinus est et invicem huic illi sobrini*. For gradation: Just., *Dig.*, Gaius, XXXVIII, 10, 3; *Inst.*, III, 6, 6; *Frag. Vat.*, 299; *Tract.*, 8. For definitions: Just., *Dig.*, Gaius, XXXVIII, 10, 3; *Inst.*, III, 6, 6; *Tract.*, 8; Isidorus, *Orig.*, IX, 6, 15; Festus, pp. 379-80 (Lindsay, 1913), records a definition given by C. Aelius Gallus whom Hyginus Funaioli in his *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta*, I (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 552-3 identifies as the prefect of Egypt in 25-24 A.D.

reign of Tiberius, as saying that a "parent's cousin" is a *propius sobrino,-a* and a "cousin's child" is a *filius,-a consobrini,-ae*, it should come as no surprise:

Nam, ut Massurius ait, quem quis appellat propiorem sobrino,¹¹ qui est patris matrisve consobrinus aut consobrina, ab eo consobrini consobrinaeve filius filia nominatur.

As we have been led to expect, terminological differentiation (i. e. lack of reciprocity) is due to difference in generation or degree or both. Here, though, since both terms lie in the fifth degree, their lack of reciprocity hinges solely upon the fact that each term designates a class of relatives of different generations.

If, then, the concept of generation plays such an important role in Latin kinship classifications, how can we reconcile a statement made by the second century lexicographer Festus (pp. 260-1 Lindsay [1913]) who claims that a "parent's cousin" and a "cousin's child" can indeed be designated by the single term *propius sobrino,-a*: *Propius sobrino mihi est consobrini mei filius et consobrinae meae filius et patris mei consobrinus et matris meae consobrinus*. Nor was Festus alone in asserting that

¹¹ In addition to the more usual form (1) *propius sobrino,-a*, the legal sources also give as morphological variants (2) *propior sobrino,-a*; (3) *proprior sobrinus,-a*; (4) *proprius sobrinus*; and (5) *propius sobrinus,-a*. The frequency of occurrence of these legal variants is as follows: (1) *propius sobrino,-a*: Just., *Dig.*, Paulus, XXXVIII, 10, 10, 16; *Sent.*, IV, 11, 5; Festus, pp. 260-1 and 380 (Lindsay, 1913); Just., *Dig.*, Paulus, XXXVIII, 10, 10, 17; Gaius, 10, 10, 18. (2) *propior sobrino,-a*: Just., *Dig.*, Gaius, XXXVIII, 10, 1, 7; Paulus, 10, 10, 16; *Sent.*, IV, 11, 6; *Codex*, VI, 15, 2. (3) *proprior sobrinus,-a*: Just., *Inst.*, III, 6, 5. (4) *proprius sobrinus*: Just., *Dig.*, Paulus, XXXVIII, 10, 10, 17. (5) *propius sobrinus,-a*: *Tract.*, 7. In his recent article "Le Nom du collatéral au 5^e degré," *Rev. Phil.*, XLII (1968), pp. 42-8, Jacques André is primarily concerned with tracing how one form of the term superseded another. He postulates this sequential development (p. 47): "On peut donc reconstituer une succession de formes qui ne se chevauchent pas chronologiquement: *propius sobrino* (-nā)→*propior sobrino* (-nā)→*propior sobrinus* (-nā) [variante *sobrinus* (-nā) *prior*]→*proprior sobrinus*→*proprius sobrinus*." However, André's belief that the forms occurred in just this sequence and that there was no temporal overlap is exceedingly questionable. It should also be noted that he evidently had no knowledge of the form *propius sobrinus,-a*.

a "parent's cousin" could be terminologically equated with a "cousin's child," for there is also an imperial rescript (Just., *Codex*, VI, 15, 2) dated to the year A. D. 290 in which Diocletian and Maximian wrote to a certain Sozio instructing him how he might enter upon the inheritance of his *propius sobrino*. The importance of the rescript is otherwise slight, but it does contain a statement very similar to that made by Festus: *propiozem sobrinum, id est natum a consobrina*. The term *propius sobrino, -a*, then, as both Festus and the rescript have revealed, could designate a "cousin's child." Yet the two statements should not be taken to mean that the term always had this significance, but rather should be understood as indications that the term was only later extended from its primary sense of "parent's cousin" to include the meaning "cousin's child."

That *propius sobrino, -a* at first designated only a "parent's cousin" can be exemplified best by viewing the term in its rightful context as an integral part of a network of kin terms. If one should assume the position of ego and consider the offspring of a great uncle or a great aunt, a logical sequence of descending terms presents itself. For example, to ego the child of a great uncle or aunt is a *propius sobrino, -a*; the grandchild a *sobrinus, -a*; and the great grandchild a *natus* or *nata sobrino, -a*.¹²

G+3		3 great grandparents
G+2	2 grandparents	4 great uncles and great aunts
G+1	1 parents	5 <i>propius sobrino, -a</i>
G 0	0 ego	6 <i>sobrinus, -a</i>
G-1		7 <i>natus, -a sobrino, -a</i>

Similarly, if ego takes into account the offspring of an uncle or aunt the usual sequence for their children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren runs like this: *consobrinus, -a*; *filius, -a consobrini, -ae*; *nepos, neptis consobrini, -ae*.¹³

G+2		2 grandparents
G+1	1 parents	3 uncles and aunts
G 0	0 ego	4 <i>consobrinus, -a</i>

¹² *Natus, -a sobrino, -a*—for definition and gradation: Just., *Dig.*, Paulus, XXXVIII, 10, 10, 18. For gradation *Frag. Vat.*, 301.

¹³ *Filius, -a consobrini, -ae*—above, note 3. *Nepos, neptis consobrini, -ae*—for gradation: *Tract.*, 8.

G—1

5 *filius,-a consobrini,-ae*

G—2

6 *nepos, neptis consobrini,-ae*

Both Latin sequences are internally consistent as they stand, for as the first series is made up of *sobrinus,-a* and its derivative terms so the second is composed of *consobrinus,-a* and its derivative terms. However, if in the second series the term *propius sobrino,-a* is substituted for *filius,-a consobrini,-ae*—a substitution which Festus and the imperial rescript permit—then the descending sequence becomes definitely disjointed. How disjointed the second series becomes is very apparent when we realize that the literal meaning of *propius sobrino,-a* is “(relative) nearer to a ‘second cousin’” but that, if the second series is altered, *propius sobrino,-a* is not followed by *sobrinus,-a* but rather is succeeded by *nepos, neptis consobrini,-ae*. Hence it can be seen that *propius sobrino,-a* originally belonged only to the first descending sequence.

The manner in which the term for “parent’s cousin” acquired the additional meaning “cousin’s child” becomes quite clear if we recognize that every kinship term has a complement. Ego uses a term in addressing or referring to his kinsman, and the kinsman in turn uses a term in speaking to or about ego. The terms employed form a complementary set or pair. Now the terms composing this complementary pair may be self-reciprocating or they may not. It will be remembered that in discussing the importance of generation we stated that the terms for the third degree complementary set “uncle” and “nephew” and the terms for the second degree complementary pair “grandfather” and “grandson” were not mutually self-reciprocating, but were instead mutually exclusive. For example, the term for “uncle” could not be used to designate a “nephew” or vice versa, nor could the term for “grandson” be used to denote a “grandfather” or vice versa. Yet any two “first cousins” could designate each other by the fourth degree term *consobrinus,-a*, and likewise any two “second cousins” could refer to one another by the sixth degree term *sobrinus,-a*. On the basis of analogy with the fourth and sixth degree “cousin” terms one of the fifth degree terms for “cousin”—either *propius sobrino,-a* or its complement *filius,-a consobrini,-ae*—would naturally tend to displace the other and become self-reciprocating too, even

though such a usage should provide the sole instance in Latin when kinsmen of different generations are not terminologically distinguished by definition. In reality, however, there was never any doubt about what term would be displaced. *Filius,-a consobrini,-ae* was intrinsically ill-suited to become self-reciprocating, for it would have been quite nonsensical to refer to a "parent's cousin" as a "cousin's child." On the other hand, though, the linguistic composition of the term *propius sobrino,-a* made it especially well suited. A fifth degree "cousin's child" was in fact *propius* "nearer" in degree, if not in blood, to a "second cousin" than any other relative except a "parent's cousin."

G+3		3 great grandparents	
G+2	2 grandparents	4 great uncles and great aunts	
G+1	1 parents	3 uncles and aunts	5 parents' cousins
G 0	0 ego	4 cousins	6 second cousins
G-1		5 cousins' children	

In the final analysis, therefore, the term *filius,-a consobrini,-ae* yielded to its complementary term *propius sobrino,-a* for two very compelling reasons: (1) the definite tendency to make all "cousin" terms self-reciprocal on analogy with *consobrinus,-a* and *sobrinus,-a* and (2) the fact that *propius sobrino,-a* was morphologically better suited for this purpose.¹⁴

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¹⁴ In literary texts dated prior to the third century of the Christian era there is only one instance when a form of the term *propius sobrino,-a* occurs. Tacitus (*Ann.*, XII, 64) gives: . . . *perdita prius Domitia Lepida muliebribus causis, quia Lepida, minore Antonia genita, avunculo Augusto, Agrippinae sobrina pr<op>ior ac Gnaei mariti eius soror, parem sibi claritudinem credebat*. Although the MSS read *sobrina prior*, M. Vertranius Maurus, a sixteenth century legal scholar, was certainly correct in emending *prior* to *propior*. The younger Agrippina was the daughter of Germanicus whose mother's sister's children were Domitia Lepida and Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus. Tacitus used the term *sobrina propior* to show that Domitia was Agrippina's father's cousin. On the other hand, André (above, note 11), pp. 44-5, lists *sobrina*

prior at *Annales*, XII, 64 as an acceptable morphological variant for *propior sobrina*, and hence maintains that the term does not need emendation. We question his judgment in citing Isidore (IX, 6, 28, Stemma II) as evidence that *sobrina prior* is not a Tacitean *hapax*. The corrupt state of Isidore, IX, 6, 24-9 strongly militates against assuming that the bishop is as reliable as the legal sources for morphology. But, in the final analysis, the chief objection to André's article is that he wrongly treats *filius, -a consobrini, -ae* (he cites only Isidore, Stemma II) as an infrequent periphrasis or alternative for *propius sobrino, -a* "cousin's child." Actually the reverse is true. Only in Festus and the imperial rescript is *propius sobrino, -a* given as an equivalent for "cousin's child." In all other sources (above, note 3), either the classificatory term *filius, -a consobrini, -ae* "parent's sibling's child" or else one of the four more specific terms subsumed under it is given as the term denoting "cousin's child." André, however, did intuit that *propius sobrino, -a* started its career by designating a "parent's cousin" and that it was only later extended to denote a "cousin's child." Yet he never attempts to explain how the term came to be used in its extended sense (p. 48):

. . . le fils du cousin germain, (*qui*) *propius sobrino (est)*, est désigné par référence à un nom de parenté (*sobrino*) qui n'existe pas dans la ligne collatérale de ce système, puisque nous n'avons rencontré pour désigner ce sixième degré que la formule périphrastique d'Isidore *consobrini nepos*, et nous avons déjà avancé la vraisemblance d'un transfert d'un stemma à l'autre entre collatéraux au même degré.

PROTHYMA.

Πρόθυμα belongs to that diminishing category of religious terms which appear to elude exact definition. Often scholars have assigned a specific meaning to it, but in each instance they have derived the meaning primarily from one context with only a cursory glance at the other occurrences of the word. As a result, *πρόθυμα* has been assigned various specific meanings, each of which apparently suits a specific context but then creates serious contradictions when compared with other occurrences of the word. J. J. Pollitt's discussion of *πρόθυμα* as it occurs in the Teithras Sacred Calendar (Side A, line 9)¹ illustrates this problem. He concludes that "it is probable that *προθύματα* were offerings of grain which immediately preceded the sacrifice of animals to the chthonic deities or to any deity in a chthonic aspect."² In the inscription of the Salaminioi of Heptaphyle and Sounion (lines 61-3),³ however, the *πρόθυμα* consisted of offerings which provided *κρέας* and *δέρματα*. Pollitt's definition of *πρόθυμα* obviously cannot be reconciled with the meaning of the same word in the inscription of the Salaminioi.

L. Ziehen in 1904 established for the verb *προθύειν* the meaning "vorher opfern" by demonstrating that in all instances known to him the *προ-* of *προθύειν* had a temporal meaning.⁴ He suggested that the *προ-* of *πρόθυμα* also had a temporal meaning: "mit *προθύειν* bzw. mit dem Substantiv *πρόθυμα* ein Opfer bezeichnet wird, das vor irgend einer andern Handlung stattfindet."⁵ The evidence shows this to be correct. With only two possible exceptions,⁶ which came to light a few years after Ziehen's article, all occurrences of *πρόθυμα* can be interpreted

¹ J. J. Pollitt, *Hesperia*, XXX (1961), pp. 293-8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 295.

³ W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII (1938), pp. 1-68.

⁴ L. Ziehen, *Rh. M.*, LIX (1904), pp. 391-406.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

⁶ The possible exceptions are Euripides, *Hyps.*, frag. I, IV, 36 and 60, 60-2. In *Hyps.*, 60, 60-2, however, the context is not positively established because of damage to the papyrus.

satisfactorily if the *προ-* is given a temporal meaning. Etymologically, therefore, *προθύμα* means a "pre-sacrifice."

Three occurrences of *προθύμα* may best be understood simply as "pre-sacrifice." In the inscription of the Salaminioi τὸ δὲ *προθύμα* τῷ ἀμίλλῳ (line 61) may be interpreted as "the sacrifice before the contest." Lines 62-3 indicate that this sacrifice consisted of animals which provided *κρέας* and *δέρματα*. The contest involved is not specified, but Ferguson identifies it with the contest between Epheboi in the Oschophoria.⁷

In the accounts of the Athenian amphictyony at Delos from 377 to 374 B. C. (*I. G.*, II², 1635aA), the expression *εἰς τὰ προθύματα τῆς ἑορτῆς* (line 37) parallels the use of *προθύμα* in the inscription of the Salaminioi. In these accounts the costs "for the sacrifices before the festival" were recorded. The nature of the *προθύματα* is not specified because the inscription itself is concerned only with the expenses.

Προθύματα are also recorded in the inscription of the Athenian epimeletes of the Eleusinian Mysteries (*I. G.*, II², 847) of 215/14 B. C., lines 11-17,

οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν μυστηρίων οἱ χειροτονηθέντες
εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Διοκλέους ἄρχοντος τάς
τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν ὅσαι καθήκον αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυ-
τῷ τῷ τε Δήμητρι καὶ τῷ Κόρη[ι] καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς
οἷς πάτριον ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πα[ι]-
δων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ προθύματα ἀε[ι]
καὶ τὸ ζεύγος παρεσκεύασαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων εἰ[s]
τὴν κομιδὴν τῶν ἱερῶν.

These *προθύματα* are associated with the preparation of the ζεύγος for the Eleusinian Mysteries, and this association would suggest that they, just as the preparation of the ζεύγος,⁸ occurred before the festival.⁹ In this case the use of *προθύματα* would parallel

⁷ Ferguson, pp. 34-41.

⁸ P. F. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis* (Paris, 1914), pp. 302-3.

⁹ Pollitt's claim (p. 295) that this inscription "boasts that the *προθύματα* were offered *ἀεῖ* to Demeter and Kore" must be seriously questioned. In the text of the inscription no recipients of the *προθύματα* are specified. The *προθύματα* are, in fact, distinguished from the regular sacrifices to Demeter, Kore, and the other gods to whom it was traditional to sacrifice.

that of the inscription of the Salaminioi and of the accounts of the Athenian amphictyony on Delos.¹⁰

The exact nature or purpose of these sacrifices before a festival or contest is somewhat uncertain. The inscription of the Salaminioi indicates that at least one πρόθυμα involved the sacrifice of animals, and from this we may infer that the sacrifice was of some magnitude and expense. Presumably these προθύματα τῆς ἑορτῆς were in some way intended to secure the prosperity and success of the ἑορτή. This use of πρόθυμα would be analogous to the use of προθύειν designated by P. Legrand (*R. E. G.*, XIII [1900], p. 291): "dans plusieurs exemples de l'époque classique le génitif qui accompagne προθύειν désigne l'entreprise dont le sacrifice en question doit fermer en quelque sort l'heureuse préface." To this general meaning of πρόθυμα may be assigned Euripides' use of πρόθυμα in *I. A.*, 1311-12: πρόθυμα δ' ἔλαβεν Ἄρτεμις πρὸς Ἴλιον. By the use of πρόθυμα Euripides evidently intended to reinforce the religious imagery and to intimate that Iphigeneia was the offering sacrificed before the expedition to Ilium in order to guarantee the success of that expedition.

The προθύματα sacrificed to one god before the sacrifice to another god form a second category, distinct from the προθύματα sacrificed before an undertaking such as a festival or athletic games. To one of these two categories all instances of πρόθυμα known to me may be assigned.¹¹

The sacrifices to Apollo in the cult of Asclepius illustrate the practice whereby one deity received sacrifices before the sacrifices to another deity. One would expect to find an exact description of these sacrifices in L. and E. Edelstein's *Asclepius*, but in fact their description¹² is so vague and tentative that a reexamination of the evidence is required.

The *Carmina Isylli* (*I. G.*, IV², 128), dated ca. 280 B. C., lines 29-31,

οὐδέ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκκῃ πεπραθείης
εἰς ἄδυντον καταβὰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἀφ' ἀγνοῦ
πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνος βωμοῦ θύσαις Μαλεάτα

¹⁰ See also Ziehen, p. 394, n. 1.

¹¹ The single exception is Euripides' unparalleled use of πρόθυμα to mean "sacrifice on behalf of" in *Hyps.*, 60, 60-2. See note 6 *supra*.

¹² L. and E. Edelstein, *Asclepius* (Baltimore, 1945), II, pp. 186-7.

reveal that at the sanctuary of Asclepius in Tricca a sacrifice to Apollo Maleates was required before the individual might address Asclepius, the primary deity of the sanctuary. From an inscription dated 380-360 B. C. from Erythrae,¹³ lines 6-20, we find that anyone who wished to sacrifice to Asclepius at Erythrae was required also to make offerings to Apollo, and, likewise, if he wished to sacrifice to Apollo, he was required to make offerings to Asclepius.

Two inscriptions which are very closely related not only establish that in the Peiraeus in the early Fourth Century B. C. *προθύματα* were offered before a sacrifice to Asclepius, but also describe precisely what those *προθύματα* were. *I. G.*, II², 47, lines 23-30,

Ἐδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ · Ἀθηνόδω[ρος] εἶπεν · περὶ ὧν ὁ ἱε-
ρεὺς λέγει ὁ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιῶ Εὐθύδημος, ἐψηφίσθη-
αι τῷ δήμῳ · ὅπως ἂν τά τε προθύματα θύηται
ἃ ἐξηγῆται Εὐθύ[δ]η[μ]ος ἱερεὺς τῷ Ἀσκληπιῶ κα-
ὶ ἡ ἄλλη θυσία γίγνηται ὑπὲρ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίω-
ν, ἐψηφίσθαι τῷ δήμῳ · τοὺς ἐπιστάτας τοῦ Ἀσκ-
ληπείου θύειν τὰ προθύματα ἃ ἐξηγῆται [Εὐ]θύδη-
μος. . .

indicates that the attendants of the Asklepieion were to sacrifice the *προθύματα* which Euthydemus, the priest of Asclepius, directed.

The question which arises from *I. G.*, II², 47 is what *προθύματα* did Euthydemus direct to be sacrificed. A carefully detailed answer to this question is given by Euthydemus himself¹⁴ in *I. G.*, II², 4962 A:

- 2 κατὰ τάδε προθύεσθαι · Μαλεάτῃ πόπανα τρία · Ἀπόλλωνι
πόπανα τρία · Ἑρμῇ πόπανα τρία · Ἰασοῖ πόπανα τρία ·
Ἀκεσοῖ πόπανα τρία · Πανακείαι πόπανα τρία · κυσὶν
10 πόπανα τρία · κυνηγέταις πόπανα τρία.
vacat
11 Εὐθύδημος Ἐλευσίνιος ἱερεὺς Ἀσκληπιῶ τὰς
στηλας ἀνέθηκ[ε] τὰς πρὸς τοῖς βωμοῖς, ἐν αἷς
18 τὰ πόπανα πρῶτος ἐξηκάσατο ἃ χρὴ πρ[ο]θύεσθ[αι].

¹³ F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1955), no. 24 A, pp. 61-2.

¹⁴ For discussion of Euthydemus see Douglas Feaver, *Y. C. S.*, XV (1957), pp. 150-1.

The close interrelationship of these two inscriptions, though hitherto unnoticed, is unquestionable. Both were discovered in the Peiraeus and both are dated to the early Fourth Century B. C. *I. G.*, II², 47 leaves open a specific question to be answered by a certain priest of Asclepius. *I. G.*, II², 4962 A provides a specific answer to that question and was erected by the same priest to whom the question was directed. The *προθύεσθαι* of *I. G.*, II², 4962 A, line 1, can surely represent the *θύεν προθύματα* of *I. G.*, II², 47, line 29. As Ziehen concludes, *προθύειν* is a general word, meaning "vorher opfern," and by itself indicates nothing further about the nature of the sacrifice.¹⁵ Thus among its various other uses it may also represent *θύεν προθύματα*.

Finally, *S. E. G.*, XI, 419a, lines 1-5,

ὁ ἱαρεὺς ὁ παρ' Ἀσκληπιῶι παρ[ε]-
 χέτω τοῖς προθυομένοις πά[ντ]-
 α ὅσων δεῖ ἐπὶ ταῖς προθύσαις ὁσ[οι]
 κα μὴ ἔκωντι ἔχοντες · λαμ[βαν]-
 ὄντω δὲ τούτων τριωδέ[λιον]

indicates that in Epidaurus in the Fourth Century B. C. the priest of Asclepius could provide the necessities for the *προθύματα* at a cost of one-half drachma. The low cost and the situation described correspond with the description of the *προθύματα* already established. J. Papadimitriou is surely correct when he identifies these sacrifices with the *προθύματα* regularly sacrificed to Apollo in the cult of Asclepius.¹⁶ And these were probably, as he suggests, *πόπανα*.

From the four inscriptions *supra*, *I. G.*, IV², 128, II², 47, II², 4962 A, and *S. E. G.*, XI, 419a, a clear picture of one type of *πρόθυμα* is established. In the cult of Asclepius at Trikke it was mandatory to give *προθύματα* to Apollo Maleates, and in the Peiraeus under the direction of Euthydemus, the priest of Asclepius, attendants of the Asclepieion sacrificed *πόπανα τρία* as *προθύματα* to individual members of the circle of Asclepius.

After a clear picture of the *προθύματα* offered at the sanctuary of Asclepius has been established from epigraphical evidence, it is possible to interpret the passage from Aristophanes' *Plutus*, lines 659-62, which has been the source of much confusion in the

¹⁵ Ziehen, p. 393.

¹⁶ J. Papadimitriou, *B. C. H.*, LXXIII (1949), pp. 366-9.

discussions of *πρόθυμα*. To be more precise, the passage itself is reasonably clear; it is the scholia which have created the confusion. The passage,

ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ τέμενος ἤμεν τοῦ θεοῦ
ἐπεὶ δὲ βωμῶ πόπανα καὶ προθύματα
καθωσιώθη πέλανος Ἡφαίστου φλογί,
κατεκλίναμεν τὸν Πλούτον, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν,

describes a procedure very similar to that described *supra* from the epigraphical evidence. When an individual entered the *τέμενος* of Asclepius he sacrificed *πόπανα* and *πέλανος* (a new element) as *προθύματα*. This interpretation assumes that *προθύματα* is in apposition to *πόπανα καὶ πέλανος* (or, likewise, that *πόπανα καὶ πέλανος* are in apposition to *προθύματα*). This assumption, which takes into account the asyndeton between *πέλανος* and *προθύματα*, provides a satisfactory and perhaps the only satisfactory analysis of the sentence. This interpretation is confirmed by one scholion: ἐπεὶ δὲ βωμῶ προθύματα καθωσιώθη Ἡφαίστου φλογί, πόπανα καὶ πέλανος.

The confusion develops in the other scholia, and especially in ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ πέλανος τῇ Ἡφαίστου φλογί καθωσιώθη καὶ τὰ πόπανα καὶ τὰ προθύματα. From this scholion, which ignores the asyndeton, or from the text of the passage itself, it may have appeared that the *προθύματα* were a third item, distinct from *πόπανα* and *πέλανος*. The scholiasts then naturally attempted to identify the *προθύματα* and eventually they chose, among other things, τὰς ὀλύρας, κριθάς, and λιβανωτόν as possible identifications. Deprived of the correct identification of *προθύματα* as *πόπανα καὶ πέλανος*; the scholiasts were led to search elsewhere for some identification that appeared satisfactory.

Simple identifications such as *προθύματα*· τὰς ὀλύρας, *προθύματα*· κριθάς, and *προθύματα*· λιβανωτόν have a natural appeal for one who is attempting to define one of the terms in question. In this specific case, however, they are misleading, for if one does not identify the *προθύματα* with *πόπανα καὶ πέλανος*, the asyndeton between *προθύματα* and *πέλανος* in the original text is inexplicable. Aristophanes must have meant the *προθύματα* to be understood as the *πόπανα καὶ πέλανος*. It then becomes clear that he was referring to contemporary practices in the Asclepieion in the Peiraeus, practices with which we are familiar from the inscriptions discussed *supra*.

The final surviving occurrence of *πρόθυμα* from the classical period is in the Sacred Calendar from the deme of Teithras, where on Side A, lines 7-12, the following sacrifice is listed:

τετράδι φθ[ίνοντος]
 ††† †Αθηνᾶι δῖν
 Δι : πρόθυ[μα]
 χοῖρον γα[λαθηνόν]
 [ι]ερεῶσιν[να]
 [. . .] εσθῆ [- - -]

Athena receives the offering of a sheep, and Zeus receives a *πρόθυμα*. This *πρόθυμα* is not, as Pollitt claims,¹⁷ an offering of grain, but is rather the suckling pig designated in the following line. Lines 8-10 should be interpreted as follows:

To Athena a sheep
 To Zeus as a pre-sacrifice
 a suckling pig.

Πρόθυμα does not indicate a specific object to be sacrificed, but rather indicates only that the sacrifice to Zeus (a suckling pig) is to be made before the sacrifice to Athena (a sheep).

The offering to Athena is the more expensive and hence presumably the more important sacrifice, and presumably the sacrifice on this day (Boedromion 27, see lines 1 and 7) was made at her festival. For this reason Athena is listed first. But the authorities of Teithras wished to indicate clearly that the sacrifice to Zeus, which is listed second, was to precede the sacrifice to Athena. And to indicate this important point of ritual they used *πρόθυμα*, the *vox propria* to designate a sacrifice to one deity before the sacrifice to another deity.

Thus *πρόθυμα* itself does not indicate a certain object to be sacrificed, such as grain, barley, incense, or a certain kind of animal. *Πρόθυμα* does, however, specify that the sacrifice designated as a *πρόθυμα* is to *precede* either an event (such as a festival, contest, or banquet) or a sacrifice to another deity.¹⁸

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¹⁷ Pollitt, p. 295.

¹⁸ *Πρόθυμα*, then, as one would expect, is the nominal equivalent of *προθύειν* and has the same two basic meanings as *προθύειν*. See Ziehen, p. 395.

APULEIUS AND PLATONIC THEOLOGY.

En ultro augeo magiae suspicionem: non respondeo tibi,
Aemiliane, quem colam βασιλέα; quin si ipse proconsul
interroget quid sit deus meus, taceo.

Apologia, 64, 8.

With these words Apuleius seeks to divert attention from the main issue of the indictment which had been brought against him, namely that he was involved in the practice of magic.¹ The point in question is the significance of a statuette (*Apol.*, 63), labelled a *sceletus* by his accusers and supposedly invested with magic powers.² It was essential for Apuleius' case that he be able to demonstrate that it was in fact innocuous, and he chose to do so by a digression into Platonic theology. The text under discussion has become a *locus classicus* for those interested in tracing the notion of the transcendent and ineffable god to its culmination in the Plotinian One.³ However, given the rhetorical context, it is necessary to reconsider the precise value of this passage for the history of the θεός ἄγνωστος.

It is necessary to insist in the first place that this passage is a digression. Apuleius seems to wish to endow his religious practices with an aura of orthodoxy, and the obvious way of

¹ Apuleius was supposed to have used these powers in persuading a wealthy and ageing widow (Pudentilla) to marry him. His accusers, who based their case on some such law as the *Lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis*, were interested in securing the inheritance of Pudentilla who, they claimed, had been bewitched by Apuleius.

² It was alleged that Apuleius addressed the statuette as βασιλεύς. In fact it represented Mercury (see Vallette, *L'Apologie d'Apulée* [Paris, 1908], pp. 310 ff.; A. -J. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, IV, pp. 102 ff.).

³ See Festugière, *ibid.*; E. Guimet, "Le Dieu d'Apulée," *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, XXXII (1895), pp. 241-8; R. E. Witt, *C. Q.*, XXV (1931), p. 197; see also H. Guyot, *L'Infinité divine depuis Philon le Juif jusqu'à Plotin* (Paris, 1906), and R. Mondolfo, "L'Infinità divina da Filone ai Neoplatonici e i suoi precedenti," *Atene e Roma*, I (1933), pp. 192-200. Strangely enough Norden (*Agnostos Theos* [Leipzig, 1913]) does not mention this passage, although he cites others of marginal importance in Apuleius.

doing this was to deny the *sigillum* any power of its own, by arguing that it was nothing but a symbol of the real βασιλεύς. Further, in his account of the real βασιλεύς, Apuleius makes the most of his Platonic affiliations in order to impress the presiding judge, Claudius Maximus, who is described as being sympathetic to and well-versed in the Platonic tradition.⁴

Why does Apuleius refuse to elaborate on the nature of the God he worships? Hermann⁵ has argued that Apuleius' reticence on the subject of his theology is an indication that he has in fact something to hide; namely a secret attachment to Christianity.⁶ While, as we shall see, the latter claim is impossible to substantiate, it is important to come to some conclusion on why Apuleius does refuse to enlarge on a crucial point. Hermann considers that his silence is odd, in view of the fact that in *De Mundo*, 37, Apuleius is quite willing to name the *deorum rex omnium et pater*, calling him Jupiter, with a liberal dose of epithets of other kinds. Hermann concludes that his reticence in the *Apologia* is simply a question of strategy, and that an effort must be made to discover the object of his secrecy.

⁴ In 64, 3-4, Apuleius associates both Maximus and himself with the *Platonica familia*: Maximus is said to be thoroughly acquainted with Plato's *Phaedrus*. Thus Apuleius seeks to drive a wedge between Maximus and Aemilianus, his principal accuser.

⁵ "Le Dieu-Roi d'Apulée," *Latomus*, XVIII (1959), pp. 110-16.

⁶ See also "Le Procès d'Apulée fut-il un procès de christianisme?," *Rev. Univ. Bruxelles*, n. s. I (1951-2), pp. 329-37. The point of view adopted in this article is highly speculative; to take but two points. To the accusation that he procured fish in order to fabricate a love potion (29-42), Apuleius replies somewhat lamely that he happens to be a fish fancier. It is true, as Hermann notes, that the fish was the acrostic symbol for Christ, but there is no evidence whatever that Apuleius attached this meaning to it. Hermann also suggests that the Clemens mentioned in *Florida*, 7, 4 is none other than Clement of Alexandria. While it is just possible that the latter Clement may have composed a poem on the virtues of Alexander, who had become a universal figure in contemporary syncretism (cf. M. Simon, "Alexandre le Grand, juif et chrétien," in *Recherches d'histoire judéo-chrétienne* [Paris-La Haye, 1962], pp. 127-40), there is no evidence whatever that this is the case. Indeed what we know of Clement's verses makes it quite unlikely. Cf. P. de Labriolle, *La Réaction païenne* (Paris, 1934), pp. 65 ff., who carefully considers the question, and who denies any reference to Christianity within the works of Apuleius.

Two points may be made here. In the first place, in the *De Mundo* passage Apuleius does not, as Hermann asserts, assimilate Jupiter to the *rex deorum*: in fact, he lists a number of names all of which refer to different aspects of the supreme God.⁷

Et cum sit unus, plurimis nominibus cietur (propter) specierum multitudinem . . .

The names given are in no way definitive as they give the false impression that God may be divided into a number of different beings. In fact another passage⁸ indicates that Jupiter, as well as a number of other beings, is to be considered as intermediary, and as of a semi-spiritual nature. It is therefore impossible to accuse Apuleius of inconsistency in this matter. Furthermore, in the *De Platone*,⁹ Apuleius reaffirms that God is difficult to comprehend, and impossible to describe to a group of profane listeners and in the *De Deo Socratis*, 3, the same principle is invoked, almost in the same rhetorical language as that of the *Apologia*:

. . . ac iam rebus mediocritatem meam in longe superantibus receptui canam tandemque orationem de caelo in terram devocabo.

Even outside the court-room Apuleius refuses to describe the nature of his god.

A second aspect of Hermann's case merits examination. In *Apol.*, 64, 5-6 Apuleius refers to a passage of the second letter of Plato (312E), where the God-King is associated with two other entities in a mystic triad. Plato asserts the necessity of extreme discretion in dealing with this subject, and Apuleius uses this passage to support his reticence. Hermann notes that this passage was a commonplace in Christian apologetics, certain thinkers wishing to see in it an adumbration of the doctrine of

⁷ On the idea of names being related to different aspects of the one god, cf. *Metamorphoses*, XI, 5 where in a famous speech Isis uses the same notion in relation to herself: *cuius numen unicum multiformi specie, ritu uario, nomine multiugo totus ueneratur orbis*.

⁸ *De Deo Socratis*, 2, 26: . . . *quos deos Plato existimat naturas (incorporalis) animalis*. *Animalis* designates the intermediate ontological substance of air: cf. Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, III, 34.

⁹ I, 5.

the Trinity. Justin draws an explicit parallel between Plato's triad and the three members of the trinity;¹⁰ Athenagoras quotes the passage, apparently assuming that its import will be readily understood.¹¹ Clement of Alexandria follows the tradition, commenting on the passage with the following words:

. . . οὐκ ἄλλως ἔγωγε ἑξακούω ἢ τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα μνηύεσθαι.
τρίτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸν υἱὸν δεύτερον, δι' οὗ
"πάντα ἐγένετο" κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ πατρὸς.¹²

The popularity of the text among Christian writers has provoked the suspicion that the second letter is not authentic, or that the trinitarian passage is an interpolation.¹³ It must be noted, however, that the passage met with an equally enthusiastic reception among pagan philosophers. Plotinus,¹⁴ Porphyry,¹⁵ and Proclus,¹⁶ all exploit it.

Thus the fact of Apuleius' reference tells us strictly nothing about his affiliations, as it could indicate adherence to either camp. Furthermore, that these affiliations were specifically non-Christian is attested by his own interpretation of the triad (ignored by Hermann), given in the *De Platone*, I, 5 ff. The three elements are: *deus primus, mens formaeque, anima*. Merlan¹⁷ rightly saw this as the forerunner of the Plotinian triad, in which the Forms and the Intellect are grouped together in second position. It seems then that it is unreasonable to suppose that Christian trinitarian ideas are behind Apuleius' refusal to expand on his theodicy.

When then is the explanation of the words *non respondeo tibi, Aemiliane*? It is, in simple terms, the consequence of what has already been said: God is among other things *neque loco neque*

¹⁰ *Apol.*, I, 60, 7.

¹¹ *Supplication for the Christians*, 23.

¹² *Strom.*, V, 14, 103, 1.

¹³ See G. Morrow, "Studies on the Platonic Epistles . . .," *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, XVIII (1938), p. 106.

¹⁴ *Enn.*, V, 1, 8.

¹⁵ Cyril, *Contra Iulianum*, VIII, p. 915 (*P. G.*, LXXVI).

¹⁶ *In Parmenidem*, VII.

¹⁷ *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, ed. A. H. Armstrong (Cambridge, 1967), p. 70. Cf. H. Dörrie, "Die Frage nach dem Transzendenten im Mittelplatonismus": *Fondation Hardt, Entretiens* V, p. 206.

*tempore neque uice ulla comprehensus eoque paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis.*¹⁸ God is beyond predication and conception; he is strictly speaking ineffable and it is this conception which causes Apuleius to halt his exposition. When he says that he intends to aggravate the suspicion of magic by refusing to go on, he is simply playing up his Platonic piety. His refusal to speak is intended to be understood as a respect for the principle of the *arcanum*,¹⁹ or the idea of the discreet secrecy practised by the initiate to the mysteries. In this case the *arcanum* is applied to Platonic theology. Hermann seems to miss the irony of Apuleius' reticence, for if he really had something to hide he certainly would not have pointed it out!

The idea of the discretion practised by the initiate is frequently found in Middle-Platonic writers, but it tends to take on a metaphorical sense. Philosophers such as Albinus and Plotinus use initiation vocabulary not so much to stress the need for concealing their true doctrines, but in order to underline the esoteric character of the Being they wish to present. The *arcanum* becomes a metaphor for the logical impossibility of expressing the One, or the First God. He is *ἀνονόμαστος* (*in-nominabilis*: Apuleius, *De Platone*, 1, 5), and the idea of the *arcanum* is simply a metaphor for the idea of ineffability. In fact H. Dörrie²⁰ has proposed that the initiation vocabulary is *purely* metaphorical, and that there is no hint in Middle-Platonism of the privileged circle of disciples.

However, Apuleius' words show that this is not entirely true. His reticence is not simply the logical consequence of his concept of the transcendence of God, since it is intended to be a sign of piety. The passage in question maintains both sides of

¹⁸ *Effabilis*, ἀπ. λέγ. The index of Oldfather, Canter, and Perry gives several instances of *ineffabilis* which are informative.

¹⁹ I use the word *arcanum* as a shorthand way of referring to the principle of concealing the essential details of religious truth, as in the mysteries: i. e. = *quicquid tacendum est vel ignotum*. Apuleius uses the plural in the same sense: *Met.*, II, 28: *per . . . arcana Memphisitica*.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 199-200. Dörrie notes the existence of initiation terminology citing Celsus, VI, 3, but denies that this implies a literal *arcanum*, asserting that the terminology used has led to misunderstanding. It indicates, he affirms, that the teaching of Middle-Platonism was indeed esoteric, but not secret.

the *arcanum*: (a) it is impossible to name or to describe God (the metaphorical sense); (b) it is impious to attempt to do so in a public place. Apuleius intends to suggest that he could say more, but that out of piety he refrains, even when his own life is at stake. It could be objected that because of the situation in which he finds himself, Apuleius attempts to make capital out of the *arcanum* by exaggerating it. Nevertheless it must be remembered that as well as being a philosopher he was a devotee of the mysteries, and therefore fully conscious of his cultic responsibilities.

In the second place, Apuleius quotes a line of the *Timaeus* which tends to support the literal, or semi-literal, interpretation of the *arcanum*.

. . . (sc. Deus) cuius naturam invenire difficile est, si inventa sit, in multos eam enuntiari non posse. Platonis haec verba sunt: θεὸν εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον εὐρόντα τε εἰς πολλοὺς ἐκφέρειν ἀδύνατον.²¹

The quotation (*Timaeus*, 28C) is not exact and is slightly reworked to fit in with the movement of Apuleius' sentence. But there is a significant change, which supports my case. In Plato's text the words run as follows: εἰς πάντας . . . λέγειν; but Apuleius substitutes πολλοὺς for πάντας. (There is a difficulty with the MSS, but Thomas rightly reads . . . ΟΑΑΟΥC as [Π]ΟΑΑΟΥC.) In this way a word with a pejorative nuance is introduced in place of Plato's more neutral word πάντας. The notion of οἱ πολλοί calls to mind more readily the distinction between the masses and the élite few.²²

²¹ *De Platone*, 1, 5. This same passage of the *Timaeus* is quoted by Clement of Alexandria at *Strom.*, V, 12, 78, 1. (Cf. the remarks of A. D. Nock, *Vigiliae Christianae*, XVI [1962], pp. 79-86.) It is worth noting that Clement also interprets it as a reference to the distinction between the initiate and the profane, since he explains it in relation to Moses' ascent of the mountain to receive the Law, while ὁ πᾶς λαός waited below. See 79, 1-2 for the introduction of mystery terminology. It is again important to note that Clement uses two ideas: God is ineffable (ἄρρητος), and secondly that one has to be an initiate to know him. If one can count Clement as a Middle-Platonist, this too can be used against Dörrie's claim that the idea of the *arcanum* is not taken literally in Middle-Platonism.

²² In Plato, *Rep.*, 505B οἱ πολλοί are contrasted with οἱ κομψότεροι; and for Epicurus ὁ πόλις is the ordinary, the common man (fr. 478).

It is true that these factors do not imply the existence of a rigidly enforced *arcanum*, but we can nevertheless discern in Apuleius a kind of protectiveness towards what he holds to be the essence of Platonic thought: he does not wish to cast his pearls before swine. He conforms to what might be described as a kind of modified *arcanum* in order to guard the truth from profanation.²³

In conclusion, Apuleius' refusal to develop his theological point of view can be considered a normal statement of the ineffability of God. It is quite in keeping with other Middle-Platonic statements of this kind,²⁴ and does not indicate an attempt to conceal that the author is in any sense a "crypto-chrétien":²⁵ his reticence is rather a sign of his piety, to be understood in relation to the principle of the *arcanum*. Lastly, the passage is of particular interest because it gives us an example of a semi-literal interpretation of this notion in Middle-Platonism. The *arcanum* is not entirely figurative as it does involve a sense of propriety on the part of the "initiate" to the Platonic "mysteries."

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²³ The *arcanum* in its strict sense can be found in Book XI of the *Metamorphoses*, where only a part of the rites is described. But what I have termed the "modified *arcanum*" bears examination in relation to Apuleius' contemporary Platonists: it may help to explain certain problems of style and presentation.

²⁴ Cf. the list given by Festugière, *op. cit.*

²⁵ Hermann, *op. cit.* (note 6 above), p. 337.

ISOCRATES, *AGAINST THE SOPHISTS*, 16.

Φημὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἰδεῶν, ἐξ ὧν τοὺς λόγους ἅπαντας καὶ λέγομεν καὶ συντίθεμεν, λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιστήμην οὐκ εἶναι τῶν πάνυ χαλεπῶν, ἣν τις αὐτὸν παραδῶ μὴ τοῖς ῥαδίως ὑπισχνουμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς εἰδόσι τι περὶ αὐτῶν.

Isoc., *Against the Sophists*, 16.

This passage has long perplexed commentators and translators. The chief difficulty about it is the precise meaning Isocrates assigns to ἰδεῶν. In spite of the many contributions that have been made towards the clarification of the term, a critic's remark in 1940¹ remains valid today that an investigation of its meaning is completely in order. The appropriateness of the investigation can be seen from a recent translation of the speech which understands the term as referring to rhetorical techniques.² This translation raises the central question whether or not a general or specific rhetorical meaning can be assigned to the term in the passage under discussion.

Commentators are generally agreed on the rhetorical context of the term;³ only the question of how precise and exclusive the meaning is divides them. A. E. Taylor saw in the term

¹ H. Wersdörfer, *Die Philosophie des Isokrates im Spiegel ihrer Terminologie* (Leipzig, 1940), p. 44.

² *Orazioni di Isocrate*, a cura di A. Argentati e C. Gatti (Torino, 1965), p. 49: "Io dico, infatti, che non è tra le cose molti difficili acquisire la conoscenza dei procedimenti retorici, coi quali pronunciamo e componiamo tutti i discorsi." Among standard translations the Loeb version by G. Norlin, *Isocrates* (London, 1929), II, p. 173, is ambiguous; the French of G. Mathieu, *Isocrate: Discours* (Paris, 1956), I, p. 148, suggests the terminology of rhetoric.

³ See, e. g., O. Navarre, *Essai sur la rhétorique grecque avant Aristote* (Paris, 1900), p. 191; A. E. Taylor, *Varia Socratica*. First Series (Oxford, 1911), p. 207; H. M. Hubbell, *The Influence of Isocrates on Cicero, Dionysius and Aristides* (New Haven, 1914), pp. 6-7; H. Wersdörfer, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-55; W. Jaeger, *Paideia* (tr. by G. Highet; New York, 1944), III, p. 64; W. Steidle, "Redekunst und Bildung bei Isokrates," *Hermes*, LXXX (1952), p. 264; E. Mikkola, *Isokrates* (Helsinki, 1954), p. 67; *Isocrate*, éd. de R. Flacelière (Paris, 1961), p. 89, n. 16, and p. 22, n. 11.

"both the *σχήματα* of Gorgias, and, more generally, the variety of 'manners,' 'styles' taught by the authors of the rhetorical *τέχναι* as appropriate to the different conditions in which a speech may be delivered." This exclusively rhetorical meaning in the sense of *λέξις* was expanded by Hubbell to cover also "the thought elements or ideas" which an orator uses in speeches. He found in the term the equivalent of the notion of rhetorical topics, the area of *εῖρεσις*. This extension of *ιδέαι* in the rhetorical sense reached its limit in Wersdörfer's inclusion of *τάξις*. The identification of the term with the divisions of formal rhetoric needs to be tested.

First of all, the word itself is capable of diverse meanings. Fifth century writers had used it in the sense of type or kind and of physical appearance,⁴ and the variety of fourth century usage is illustrated in Plato who uses it to describe geometrical, moral qualities, biological genera, physical appearance, as well as his philosophical forms.⁵ In both centuries the word varies from the notion of external appearance to that of abstract qualities or classifications. Isocrates in employing it is not noticeably more limited. Wersdörfer distinguishes seven variations in his usage while warning us not to expect clarity and certainty in assigning an exact meaning to a particular instance.⁶ The ambiguity of the term requires us to control the specific meaning in a passage by a careful regard for the context. Above all, the reader must avoid assigning a technical, rhetorical meaning until it can be shown that the sense of the passage requires it, just as one must not conclude *a priori* that Plato in every instance uses the same word in the technical sense of his theory of forms.

The first problem, therefore, to be resolved in the passage under discussion is to determine the validity of restricting *ιδέαι* here to a meaning of formal rhetoric. Isocrates is declaring that to acquire knowledge of the *ιδέαι* from which we express and compose all discourse is not a very difficult matter. The *ιδέαι* are characterized as a source from which speeches are derived,

⁴ E. R. Dodds summarizes the usage in *Euripides: Bacchae* (Oxford, 1960), p. 137.

⁵ See F. Ast, *Lexicon Platonicum* (Lipsiae, 1835-1838), s. v. *ιδέα*.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 53-4.

the material required for expression and composition. This latter doublet suggests an inversion of the rhetorical process which is specified and elaborated in the passage immediately following our quotation: first, selecting the proper *ιδέαι*, arranging them suitably, not missing the quality of appropriateness; secondly, varying the stylistic expression of the whole composition in accordance with its intended result, expressing it verbally in rhythmic and harmonious fashion. This double division is found developed in later rhetoricians who analyze this process into *ὁ πραγματικὸς τόπος* and *ὁ λεκτικὸς τόπος*.⁷ Significantly the former involves *εὕρεσις* and *τάξις*, the latter *λέξις*. It is to this double methodology that Isocrates refers in his expression *τοὺς λόγους ἅπαντας καὶ λέγομεν καὶ συντίθεμεν*. This aspect is concerned with rhetoric in the technical sense, and in contrast to the acquisition of the *ιδέαι* previously mentioned this process requires great care and qualities of maturity and adaptability. Specifically the pupil in addition to natural endowment must possess a mastery of the forms of rhetorical *εἶδη* and must exercise himself in their use; while the teacher of rhetoric must as thoroughly as possible teach all possible aspects of rhetoric and illustrate in his own achievement a model for his pupils. This brief statement by Isocrates contains a comprehensive description of formal rhetorical training from the viewpoint both of student and of teacher.

The text so far justifies the conclusion that the *ιδέαι* are elements from which rhetoricians derive the formal practice of their art. It is possible to understand the passage in question in the sense suggested by the commentators: to acquire an exact knowledge of rhetoric from which we express and compose all discourse is not very difficult. However, the context suggests another meaning. Isocrates has already in the same speech (12) repudiated those who try to make a static *τέχνη* a model for rhetoric which is a creative process: *οἱ ποιητικοῦ πράγματος τεταγμένην τέχνην παράδειγμα φέροντες*. So strong in fact are his remarks on this subject that ancient critics, presumably on the basis of this speech, denied that Isocrates even admitted the possibility of such a *τέχνη*, much less wrote one himself.⁸ Iso-

⁷ Dion. Hal., *Dem.*, 51.

⁸ L. Radermacher, *Artium Scriptores* (Wien, 1951), B XXIV 7-10, has collected the evidence.

crates does not mean that the theoretical mastery of rhetoric is an easy matter while its practice is quite difficult. For him, as later writers point out,⁹ rhetoric was not a *τέχνη* or *μέθοδος* but an *ἀσκησις*.

In limiting the passage to mean that the acquisition of an exact knowledge of *εὔρεσις* is not very difficult, Hubbell¹⁰ falls under the same criticism. For Isocrates *εὔρεσις* as a technique exists not as a theory of instruction easy to master but as the actual selection of appropriate topics, a skill that is not drawn from the intellectual mastery of any elements. Whatever these elements are from which rhetoric draws in producing its discourses, they are not strictly part of the rhetorical process although clearly contributing to it. Cicero neatly expresses the point by distinguishing the *materia artis* from the *ars*.¹¹

Another consideration will suggest the same conclusion. Since Isocrates stresses the complexity of rhetorical training, it is difficult to imagine that in the three or four years of his curriculum¹² he found a surplus of time in his ambitious program of training.¹³ He undoubtedly presupposed a previous educational experience on which he could build his advanced training.¹⁴ His

⁹ *Ibid.*, 9, 10.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*, (note 3 above).

¹¹ *De invent.*, I, 5, 7. In *De orat.*, I, 5-6 and 11-16, Cicero develops this distinction in insisting that rhetoric presupposes a fund of knowledge which rhetoric does not itself supply. These passages may be profitably read as an *Isocratia ratio oratoria*, as Cicero himself suggests, *Fam.*, I, 9, 23. I am grateful to Professor Georg Luck for turning my attention to *De orat.*

¹² *Antid.*, 87.

¹³ On this score there is some improbability in the opinion of A. Burk, *Die Pädagogik des Isokrates* (Würzburg, 1923), pp. 118-19, that within the rhetorical curriculum would be included: "Grammatik, Stil, Aufsatz- und Vortragslehre; Heimatkunde, Geschichte und Archäologie; Jurisprudenz auf ihren verschiedensten Gebieten; nicht zuletzt Religionslehre, Lebensweisheit und Philosophie."

¹⁴ K. J. Dover in treating the educational background of the period in *Aristophanes: Clouds* (Oxford, 1968), p. lx, wisely observes: "No one, so far as we know, ever suggested that sophistic education should or could be substituted for music, poetry, and physical training in boyhood. The sophists taught young men; it is implied by *Pl. Prt.* 318 D E and [*Thg.*] 121 D - 122 E that their teaching came after that of the *γραμματιστής*, *κιθαριστής* and *παιδοτρίβης* and this is consistent

later statements on education¹⁶ make it clear that he conceives three stages in educating the complete man of his ideal. The first of these is the period in which boys frequent a *διδασκαλεῖον*, learning elementary subjects. The second is a continuation of these studies in courses dealing with astronomy, geometry, eristics, and similar subjects. However, it should be noted that while he later in his career allows these as propaedeutic to his course of instruction, here at his professional debut as an educator he makes no such allowance. There are only two stages of instruction. The *ιδέαι* are the elements the first stage provides, and they are rigorously restricted to subjects in which *ἐπιστήμη* is possible and which provide the matter which rhetoric presupposes.¹⁸

Isocrates carefully insinuates what this preliminary education is not. It is not one which claims to impart an exact knowledge by which the successful student will have certainty about practical affairs and a guarantee of happiness (3). For Isocrates there is no such *ἐπιστήμη*. Positively stated, this preliminary course of instruction should treat only those subjects which can be mastered and lead to *ἐπιστήμη*. Again he does not indicate what they are, but he has already given an example: *τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων [ἐπιστήμην]* (10). It seems safe to conclude that he is referring to the content of traditional education and insisting on a solid instruction in those areas admitting *ἐπιστήμη*¹⁷ and providing the general education which the teacher of rhetoric could presuppose in his students. In contemporary Athens the emphasis and attention had shifted beyond this preparatory stage,

with the age of individuals mentioned in Plato and Xenophon as undergoing sophistic education."

¹⁶ *Antid.*, 261-9; *Panath.*, 26-9.

¹⁸ R. Johnson in his valuable article, "Isocrates' Methods of Teaching," *A. J. P.*, LXXX (1959), p. 30, tentatively suggests that subjects concerned with content were taught as incidental to the judgments required by rhetoric. This fund of knowledge would in my interpretation be acquired in an earlier stage without precluding, of course, continuing enrichment through a process only incidental to Isocrates' curriculum.

¹⁷ Perhaps by so limiting the content of education he is taking a position about the number of subjects rhetoric should treat. Cicero, *De invent.*, I, 5, 7, alludes to the difference of opinion among teachers of rhetoric, citing Gorgias and Aristotle as representatives.

and his insistence is a reminder about essential preparation for his type of higher studies.

In demanding that students in this period of formation be entrusted to instructors who were well versed in their field Isocrates gives us a glance at an area of education known to us in no great detail. Perhaps the only other evidence we have from him is his later criticisms of those educators who inadequately treated Homer and Hesiod.¹⁸ These remarks were occasioned by the attack of his enemies in 342 B. C., some fifty years after he wrote *Against the Sophists*. His failure to fulfill the promise to write *περὶ δὲ τῆς Ὀμηροῦ καὶ τῆς Ἡσιόδου καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ποιήσεως*¹⁹ suggests that his school was not directly interested in investigations of the poets. Like Socrates in the *Republic*²⁰ he may have felt that Homer and Hesiod were subjects more properly treated in the earlier stages of education, without denying that the experience of poetry could be useful in the process of education.²¹ It is significant, however, that this fund of literary background which Isocrates had in common with educated Greeks of his age is used sparingly and pragmatically.²² Perhaps it was this reserve in employing literary material in his own compositions, together with the absence of any formal treatment of literary subjects in his school, that led to the charge that he held poetry and literary criticism in contempt.²³ In any case, literature has for Isocrates only a modest and subordinate function in providing an experience on which the study of rhetoric might draw.

It would be interesting to know more fully Isocrates' evaluation of this preliminary education. The tenor of his remarks supports the view that he wanted this earlier stage to be more closely orientated to the rhetorical education he envisioned as its sequel. Obviously the nature of education at the higher level set the tone for boys who were preparing for it. In the passage

¹⁸ *Panath.*, 18.

¹⁹ *Panath.*, 33.

²⁰ 376 E ff.

²¹ *Ad Dem.*, 51-2; *Ad Nic.*, 12-13.

²² See his statements about the theoretical uses of history in *Ad Dem.*, 34, and *Ad Nic.*, 35. In practice he uses historical data for encomium, e.g. *Antid.*, 60-1, and for strict proof, e.g. *Paneg.*, 22-3.

²³ *Panath.*, 19.

under consideration Isocrates shows that young men who wish to enroll in his school should have a solid preliminary training in the subjects rhetoric presupposes and the teachers of these young men should have clear knowledge about these subjects and the relation of this curriculum to later work in Isocrates' school. The interpretation here presented would remove the passage from any direct controversy with Plato. Isocrates is here not dealing with rivals on the same educational level. Except for the possible irony about the ease with which *ἐπιστήμη* can be acquired he is showing the need of that educational background which prepares students for the higher discipline of his own system.

It is proposed, then, that Isocrates employs the term *ιδέαι* in the broadest sense of general education. It constitutes the *doctrina* on which rhetoric must draw in the exercise of its art. It is the same notion behind Cicero's question:

an tu existimas aut suppetere nobis posse quod cotidie dicamus in tanta varietate rerum, nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus . . . ?²⁴

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²⁴ *Pro Archia*, 12.

A NOTE ON JUVENAL, 10, 201 f.

The name Cossus appears three times in Juvenal.¹ The Cossus of 3,184 is a rich *patronus*:

quid das, ut Cossum aliquando salutes,
ut te respiciat clauso Veiento labello?²

In 8,21 the name appears as a touchstone for nobility of character:

Paullus vel Cossus vel Drusus moribus esto.³

There is no reason to wonder at the choice of the name in either passage. In the early Republic the Cossi were an illustrious family of the ancient *gens Cornelia*; a number of them had particularly distinguished careers in the fifth and fourth centuries (one, A. Cornelius Cossus, *R.-E.*, no. 112, took the *spolia opima* in 428).⁴ Though the family's glory then seems to have waned, the name Cossus was revived as a praenomen among the Cornelii Lentuli in the early empire. The splendor of this family is well attested; to Cicero (*Fam.*, III, 7, 5) *Lentulitas* represented the epitome of high birth.

The first Lentulus to bear the name Cossus seems to have been Cossus Cornelius Cn. f. Lentulus (*P. I. R.*,² C1380: Groag supposes that Cossus did not himself assume the agnomen *Gaetulicus*, but bestowed it upon one of his sons), cos. 1 B. C.,

¹ I follow Knoche and Clausen in rejecting the vulgate *Cossus* at 7, 144.

² Any notion that Cossus might be a *delator* or at least a powerful and potentially harmful noble like Veiento must be ruled out, as that would spoil the thrust of the satirist in *clauso . . . labello*. Cossus must be quite the opposite of Veiento for proper effect here: "What do you pay to assure the good will of a Cossus? / Or to avoid the ill will of a Veiento?"

³ Compare Sen., *Olem.*, I, 9, 10: *Cedo, si spes tuas solus impedio, Paullusne te, et Fabius Maximus, et Cossi, et Servilii ferent, tantumque agmen nobilium, non inania nomina praeferentium, sed eorum qui imaginibus suis decori sunt.*

⁴ See *M. R. R.*, II, p. 551; *R.-E.*, s. v. "Cossus" and "Cornelius", nos. 111 ff.

victor over the Gaetuli in A.D. 6, a man of affluence,⁵ and undoubtedly known to every educated member of Juvenal's audience. This Cossus had two sons who also attained consular rank: Cossus Cornelius Cossi f. Lentulus (*P. I. R.*,² C1381), cos. A. D. 25 (Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 34, 1), and Cn. Cornelius Cossi f. Lentulus Gaetulicus (*P. I. R.*,² C1390), cos. A. D. 26 (Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 42, 3 and 46, 1), the latter so popular that Tiberius felt constrained to leave him, alone of the *adfines Seiani*, untouched (Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 30, 2-7).⁶ The son of the consul of 25, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus (*P. I. R.*,² C1382), held that office himself in 60 (Tac., *Ann.*, XIV, 20, 1); his cousin, the son of the consul of 26, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus (*P. I. R.*,² C1392), was probably the father of the Cornelia selected *ex familia Cossorum* as a Vestal Virgin in 62 (Tac., *Ann.*, XV, 22, 4). In fact, there is no record of a black sheep among the Cossi. What Juvenal must have intended when he chose the name was Cossus as a type: a man of position, venerable lineage, wealth, and high moral character.

This brings us then to the apparent anomaly of Juvenal, 10, 201 f. In treating the folly of the wish for long life, the satirist describes the physical changes that attend old age (198 ff.): "All old men look the same. Their limbs tremble, and so do their voices. An old man has no hair; his nose—he's just like a baby!—is always running; he has to break his bread with toothless gums":

usque adeo gravis uxori natisque sibique,
ut captatori moveat fastidia Cossus.

Here *gravis* modifies *senis*, understood as subject of *moveat*, after *senum* in 198. This presents no difficulty, though an expressed subject would be helpful at this point. From what is known of the Cossi, and because of Juvenal's feeling for the name in earlier Satires, I propose that he did in fact put in a subject:

usque adeo gravis uxori natisque sibique,
ut captatori moveat fastidia Cossus.

⁵ Dio, *ind.* LV, and LV, 28, 3 f.; Vell., II, 116, 2; his father was probably Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, cos. 18 B. C. (*P. I. R.*,² C1378).

⁶ Though this leniency might have been partly a result of Tiberius' friendship with his father: cf. Crook, *Consilium Principis*, nos. 117 f.

Cossus would be appropriate as the victim of *captatio*—he is in 3, 184 introduced as the type of a rich man of good family pursued by those of lower rank. Juvenal would hardly have given a *captator* the name, and especially not in the passage in question, as it would shift the emphasis away from his subject, without any new effective satirical point. The point of the proposed reading, the corruption of which by a simple, early scribal error hardly requires explanation,⁷ is effective and pertinent: Juvenal means to let no one suppose that he can escape the evils of old age, least of all those with illustrious *stemmata* and inherited wealth (the group which had furnished Juvenal an object for his eighth satire). Juvenal's meaning at 10, 201 f., therefore, is this—and he stresses it by placing the subject of the sentence in the emphatic final position—that *every* man who lives to great age eventually grows repulsive, “so loathsome to his wife, his children, and himself, that he would turn away even a fortune-hunter in disgust, though he be a Cossus.”

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ON THE ALLEGEDLY HELIOCENTRIC THEORY OF VENUS BY HERACLIDES PONTICUS.

The *locus classicus* for ascribing to Heraclides Ponticus (and by implication to Plato) an epicyclic and heliocentric theory for the motion of Venus is a sentence in Chalcidius (ch. 110, ed. Wrobel, p. 176, 22-5) where it is said that Venus is located *interdum superior, interdum inferior sole*. This indeed seems to imply a variation of geocentric distance of the planet and hence to represent, in combination with the limited elongation from the sun, a heliocentric motion of Venus.

⁷ This sort of corruption at the end of a verse is not uncommon; examples from Juvenal include *agros* for *agri* (3, 141), *moechi* for *moechae* (6, 278), *Priapo* for *Priapi* (6, 316), *illos* for *illis* (9, 122), *peractum* for *peracto* (12, 86). Cf. *socius* in P for *socio* (10, 254, at mid-verse). The alteration of *Cossus* to *Cosso* was probably quite accidental, though it may have been deliberate had the erring scribe supposed that the name must go with *captatori*.

In fact, however, this interpretation ignores the existence of a corresponding terminology in early Greek spherical astronomy. The Greek original of *superior* / *inferior* is, of course, *άνώτερον* / *κατώτερον* which in the spherical astronomy of Theodosius¹ denotes positions in the ecliptic, equivalent to later *προηγούμενος* / *επόμενος*. Any variation in depth is excluded by the very nature of spherical astronomy which exclusively concerns appearances on the celestial sphere. Hence the proper rendering of these terms is "ahead" and "behind" (in the ecliptic), not "nearer" or "farther."

Applying this terminology to the chapter in Chalcidius we may now translate the beginning as follows: "Heraclides Ponticus, when describing the circle (*circulum*) of Venus as well as that of the sun, and giving the two circles the same centre (*unum punctum*) and the same mean motion (*unam medietatem*), showed that Venus is sometimes ahead (*superior*), sometimes behind (*inferior*) the sun." What follows is a lengthy discussion of this variable elongation, reaching 50° on each side of the sun. The topic of the whole chapter thus becomes a rather trivial discussion of the shift between the morning-star and the evening-star phase of the planet and has nothing to do with any heliocentric cinematic model.² Whether Chalcidius himself used as illustration an epicyclic model or not (four centuries after Apollonius) is of no interest. The reference to Heraclides contains no such element.

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¹ Theodosius of Bithynia, first century B.C., *De diebus et noctibus*, I, 9; 10; II, 16 (ed. Fecht, *Gött. Abh.*, N.F. XIX, 4); cf. also the scholia Nos. 41 and 45: "he calls *άνώτερον* / *κατώτερον* what is nearer or farther with respect to the solstices." A motion in the direction of increasing longitudes always proceeds from *άνω* to *κάτω*.

² Prof. H. Cherniss drew my attention to a paper by G. Evans (*C. Q.*, LXIV = N.S. XX [1970], pp. 102-11) in which he came to essentially the same conclusion but without knowing of the simple confirmation by the terminology preserved in Theodosius.

REVIEWS.

R. HOPE SIMPSON & J. F. LAZENBY. *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970. Pp. xvi + 191; 7 maps; 12 plates. \$8.50.

In this book Hope Simpson and Lazenby have provided "the concrete archaeological and topographical considerations" with which they insist that "any discussion of the Catalogue should at least begin" (p. 170). An introduction showing that continuity of tradition from the Mycenaean age was not only possible but even probable is used to provide a context for the book's thesis that the Catalogue "in some sense preserves a memory of Mycenaean Greece" (p. 10). The body of the book (pp. 15-151) is a contingent-by-contingent presentation of what is known about every place named in the Catalogue. Where they are relevant, map references are given both to the outline maps included in the volume for handy consultation and to the War Office G. S. G. S. 1:100,000 Series. The format employed in the case of individual places depends on the kind and extent of the evidence. For those sites the location of which is established and for which there is evidence of Mycenaean occupation there is given first a list of modern references and archaeological reports. In cases where location is either uncertain or unknown (or too certain to need proof, like Zakynthos) any possibly relevant topographical or archaeological evidence is referred to in the general discussion of ancient evidence and ancient and modern speculation which accompanies every place-name. This discussion may also include treatment of the classical site with the same name, analysis of topographical or other features suggested either by the name or the Homeric epithet, possible significance of archaeological material, a weighing of arguments for and against particular attributions, comparison of a possible location with known Mycenaean sites from the point of view of topographical suitability, coincidence of the Catalogue account with description elsewhere in Homer, etc. In the identification of individual places Strabo is most often accepted where he seems "reasonable" or when there is no other evidence. Perhaps this can not be helped, but one's faith is necessarily shaken when elsewhere the rightness of his identification is questioned either on the basis of some archaeological evidence or because it seems to have been arrived at by "reasoning" rather than by knowledge. And yet there is a very large element of chance in the existence of archaeological evidence and even in a modern judgment of whether an ancient geographer was making what seemed to him a logical deduction or using factual information. When the authors say "assuming these identifications to be wrong, since they would make nonsense of the Catalogue" (p. 142), they show how unconsciously they have assumed what has yet to be proved: that the "poetic" sense of the Catalogue (in terms of its

position and function in the tradition) is no guarantee of its historical or geographical sense but may be quite literally non-sense (see below, in discussion of Conclusions).

After dealing individually thus with all the places named for each contingent the authors discuss the group as a whole. The aim of this discussion is to determine what period in Greek history (Mycenaean, Protogeometric, Geometric, "historical") is most reasonably reflected in this particular combination of places (e. g., "the Catalogue's picture of Phocis seems to fit Mycenaean Phocis rather better than that of any later period, although our present knowledge of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods in this area are, as so often, too slight for any certainty," p. 45). Often the considerable number of unidentified places combines with inadequate archaeological evidence for many of the known sites to create difficulties and make some of the argument move in a circular fashion. For even if almost all identified sites in the Catalogue have produced evidence of Mycenaean occupation and if almost all important Mycenaean sites are mentioned in the Catalogue, this happy situation may be the result of archaeologists having gone to the Catalogue to find names for newly discovered Mycenaean sites so that students of the Catalogue may come along later and delightedly discover that so many places named in the Catalogue were actually inhabited in Mycenaean times. As is surely to be expected, consistency of argument is not always achieved: at one point the omission of a place important in historical times is taken as suggesting that the Catalogue reflects an earlier period (p. 134); elsewhere (p. 54) the absence of known Mycenaean sites evokes the following comment: "But the Catalogue is not, and does not purport to be, a complete list of all the settlements of any period, and not much weight should be placed on what it omits." (One should, perhaps, note in passing that the fact that some places were unknown in historical times no more proves that they were occupied by Mycenaeans than the later absence of the early Mycenaean boar's tooth helmet and towerlike shield proves that these were used by the later Mycenaeans of the Trojan War period!) "Geographical sense" is invoked (pp. 79, 102, 124) as an argument in favor of some contingent's holdings, and at one point (pp. 142 f.) the authors even refuse to accept what evidence there is in order to make sense, but elsewhere (pp. 70 f.) they regard lack of sense as a guarantee of truth: "The very strangeness of the kingdom (Agamemnon's), however, far from indicating that it never really existed, in fact provides the best ground for believing that it does correspond to reality." For the most part, here and elsewhere, the relationship between Catalogue and *Iliad* accounts is sensibly handled without unreasonable demands for a consistency which was neither the province of the poet nor in the interests of his story-telling.

All this detailed groundwork on places and kingdoms is highly useful and eminently usable, but it is in the general conclusions of Part III that the authors are most stimulating and provocative. The first tentative suggestion "that in the Catalogue we have a reflection, however partial and distorted, of Mycenaean Greece" (p. 153) is supported by summarizing the Mycenaean connections of

individual places. But when they consider "the political divisions which it implies" (p. 155) they slip into what seems the one fundamental fallacy of this book: the tendency to think of the Catalogue as one and indivisible, as a real document the monolithic nature of which makes it possible to apply conclusions valid for one part to any other. (This kind of thinking applied, for example, to the arming of Agamemnon in A, 17-44 would make this catalogue of armor a single document reflecting the military equipment of one period.) In the first place, the reality of individual places need *not* suggest the reality of their groupings, since there is at least one way in which individual place-names could come through the Dark Ages without benefit of Catalogue and with the potentiality of confusing political divisions: tales of heroes lived on; heroes were attached to places, both by virtue of formula and for the sake of magnification and verisimilitude; with the collapse of generations when heroes of the same places but of different times were brought together, magnetized by some great exploit, the resulting jurisdictional disputes must have necessitated the kind of gerrymandered kingdoms we find in the Catalogue's Argos and Thessaly. If an ambitious poet wishing to magnify the Trojan expedition put together not only all the place-names belonging to the heroes who were to take part but also all that were associated with other heroes in his repertory, the result would be very much what we have: a plethora of place-names (out of all proportion to their role at Troy) for those districts which were most prominent in other cycles of story (Theban cycle—Boeotia 29; Argonautic saga—Thessaly 30; Heracles and the Pelopidae—Peloponnesus 55). Our authors seem to see this (p. 87 "Most of the place-names in Nestor's tales are identical with those of the Catalogue") but think of it as a coincidence between two streams of legend rather than as the result of a poet's artificial creation on the one hand out of the stuff of tradition on the other.

The idea of a monolithic Catalogue entices our authors into agreeing with Page "that the Catalogue embodies Mycenaean tradition in a purer form than the *Iliad* as a whole" (p. 158), but the very nature of its compromising and reconciling function betrays it as a comparatively late concoction, albeit of the purest ingredients. (Nor would a Dark Age date for the composition be betrayed by demonstrably post-Mycenaean features, since if you are concocting what is to pass for a heroic milieu you will use heroic materials and combine them in such a way as to give all your heroes the widest possible domain consistent with having brought them into the same place at the same time.) But they do not hold with a muster-list: "It is much more likely that the Catalogue began as it ended, as poetry" (p. 161). But still thinking of it as a monolithic document created by near-contemporary poets with historical and geographical consciences (perhaps because only so does it provide a broad enough base to support theories and more toeholds by which to mount them), they look for a date which will explain the apparent contradiction between indubitably Mycenaean places and politically confused boundaries, and they find it at the end of the Mycenaean period in the break-up of power.

"To sum up, then, we suggest that the Catalogue probably originated in an attempt by oral poets contemporary with the historical Trojan War to record in their songs the names of the princes who took part, and the places from which their forces came . . . as time went on, . . . the siege of Troy became a focal point in the Greek epic tradition, absorbing other tales and other heroes . . . so the list of those who had taken part grew longer . . ." (p. 169). Our authors seem to have judged the early Greek bards by themselves, endowing them with a keenness for accurate detail and an eagerness for facts that may well be anti-poetic. To the extent that poets are not scholars, then, we may question whether it is right to use the indubitably Mycenaean places of which the Catalogue is composed as "an indication that quite lengthy and detailed fragments of Mycenaean *poetry* could be preserved through all the centuries that followed the collapse of Mycenaean civilization in something like their Mycenaean form" (p. 170).

An Appendix on the Trojan Catalogue rounds off this very good book. If its controversial position has been given more attention than its unquestionable excellences, this may be because by the latter it provides ammunition even to the opponents of the former.

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PETER GARNSEY. *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire*. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1970. Pp. xiii + 320. \$10.50.

It is the purpose of this book to illuminate how differences of prestige in the Roman world led to unequal treatment of Roman litigants in their law courts. The period covered is approximately from the age of Cicero to the end of the Severan dynasty; but the coverage tends to be uneven within that framework: From Hadrian onward the chief sources are found in legal writings quoted in the *Digest* and *Code*, and they are empire-wide in application and are preoccupied with the special privileges of such classes as the municipal decurions, who were so useful for the economical administration of the Empire. In this period also the *cognitio* procedure became paramount and therefore received a large degree of attention. In the Late Republic and Early Principate literary sources must be used. These tend to focus on the city of Rome and therefore emphasize the privileged position of senators and knights. Further and understandably, since direct evidence concerning discrimination is seldom specifically asserted for the jury trials of criminal courts and in the functioning of the formulary procedure, for the earlier period the author must frequently resort to inference.

This study originated in work for a Ph.D. thesis at Oxford and occasionally the fulsome citation of the sources for generally accepted facts betrays this origin; but Garnsey is also another member

of a growing group of extraordinarily well trained English scholars in Roman law: such men as Daube, Kelly, Watson, and Crook, who are making important contributions to our understanding of this discipline. This book immediately invites comparison with J. M. Kelly's *Roman Litigation* (1966), which broke ground in the investigation of how even-handed Roman justice really was. But Kelly's book tended to emphasize the machinery by which favor was applied, while Garnsey focuses on how status sparked that machinery, especially in the Principate. He occasionally takes issue with Kelly's conclusions, but on the whole the two works are complementary.

Garnsey first considers whether people of a given status enjoyed special treatment in one or another of the courts of the period. He finds that under the Julio-Claudians senators sometimes received rather lenient treatment in senatorial courts, while non-senators were dealt with more severely; but the chance of imperial interference made the outcome dangerously unpredictable. In the second century the senators felt less inhibited by the imperial presence, and at least in *de repetundis* trials senatorial opinion frowned on any too vigorous prosecutions of members of the order. In the courts of the emperor himself or of his delegates, provincials were apt to gain an ear if they made an appeal in Rome itself; but the emperors tended to pay closer heed to the useful decurions and veterans, while the humbler were tried by prefects and governors. The freedmen and equestrian officials of the Empire would, of course, be tried by the emperor himself.

A survey of the penalties meted out in the Principate reveals a trend toward harsher penalties as the period progressed. Torture, which at first was used on no free man, later was used on no citizen, then on no member of the upper classes, and ultimately, at least in cases of *majestas*, no one was exempt. Legal texts from Hadrian on mention dual penalty systems whereby citizens of low status received more severe punishment than their betters did. This system does not appear to have originated in the constitutions of the second century emperors, however, for their wording implies simply an affirmation of a situation already current. It seems that a dual penalty system began to evolve in the first century A.D. as the developing *cognitio* procedure in the courts gave judges greater flexibility in determining the severity of penalties, a severity that could hinge on the status of the defendant as well as on the gravity of the charge. As for the legality of the system of dual penalties: it had no more legality than the *cognitio* procedure that fostered it. Imperial rescripts that mention it were elicited to confirm the exemption from harsh penalties for certain important classes, such as veterans and decurions. The appearance of this discrimination by status is, then, not so much of legal as of historical interest.

The practice of protecting people of *dignitas* from legal actions that would lower their esteem in the public eye went well back into the Republic and had been confirmed by Caesar, when he allowed them to avoid the disgrace of bankruptcy by *cessio bonorum*, and by decrees of the Senate establishing *distractio bonorum* for people of rank. But Garnsey doubts that high ranking defendants were as immune to summons by a weaker plaintiff as Kelly was led to

believe. Such defendants were extremely sensitive to the disapproval of public opinion; and the weaker plaintiff also had some assistance from the State after the passage of the *Lex Julia de vi*. This law made it a crime to resist a summons by gathering a company to thwart the plaintiff, and once a criminal offense had been committed the summons became the responsibility of the State and not of the individual. Garnsey feels that preferential treatment of high-ranking defendants was due more to the social sympathies of officials than to any legal basis, but he is unable to demonstrate this belief convincingly in respect to praetors and *judices*: the charges are as general and vague as those made against judges by militants today.

Garnsey examines the evolution of the word *honestus* from a basically moral to a legal meaning. The privileged people of the Roman world got their right to privilege from their *dignitas*, and this was a product of character, moral values, education, and sometimes wealth. As the citizenship was extended all over the Mediterranean world, it became more difficult to enforce everywhere the privileges that had once belonged to every citizen, and it became easier for judges to exploit social division rather than the differences in civic status between citizens and peregrines. Garnsey finds it difficult to set a date for the advent of discrimination based on social status. It partly came from the ubiquitous increase in the severity of penalties, which was connected with imperial concern for law and order, and this in turn necessitated imperial rescripts protecting especially useful groups, such as local aristocracies. Surely this attitude has its roots deep in the Republic: that public service creates nobility, and that persons that have assumed the burdens of office deserve prerogatives not accorded, for example, to the equestrians, the simply rich.

Favor by status in the courts is no novelty to us, as the charges, whether warranted or not, of such worthies as the president of Yale indicate. And the disgrace to families with *dignitas* lays an extra penalty upon them, if one of their number errs. The press and public opinion see to that by widely publicizing errors that are largely ignored when made by the *humiliores*. The social distinctions among the Romans were deep and ancient, and privileges for the *honestiores* recognized in many cases their life-long services to the State. Garnsey's work is sufficiently important in assessing how status affected the administration of the law in the Roman Empire; but it plays a larger role too, in that it stimulates analysis of the appearance of favor in other legal systems and sober reflection on the likelihood or inevitability of that appearance.

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M. MARCOVICH. *Heraclitus. Greek Text with a Short Commentary.*
 Editio maior. Merida, Venezuela, The Los Andes University
 Press, 1968. Pp. xxix + 665. Table.

When Hegel remarked that "there is not a single sentence of Heraclitus which I have not incorporated into my *Logic*," and when Nietzsche wrote that "Heraclitus illuminated the mystic might of the problem of Becoming with a divine flash of lightning," they did not have a 660-page edition of Heraclitus by Professor Marcovich. It is doubtful that this edition, which has been awaited with eager expectation, would have caused them to alter their verdicts more than mildly. As one could reasonably have expected, although Marcovich has diligently added several hundred texts to those included by Bywater, Diels, Kranz, Walzer, and Kirk, he has not added a single word of Heraclitus himself to what was already known sixty and more years ago; in fact, with the famous exception of the discovery of the Hippolytus manuscript in 1851, very few texts containing new Heraclitean fragments have come to light in the last 150 years. What Marcovich does, however, succeed in establishing is that Heraclitus' doctrines were reported, misinterpreted, and, especially, vaguely echoed by more authors from classical antiquity to the early Renaissance than most scholars knew. He has left few Heraclitean stones untouched; even duplicate and triplicate pebbles washed on to Byzantine and Renaissance shores were raked together assiduously.

This material has been arranged under 125 "Fragments" which are in turn—in adaptation of a method used with great profit by Kirk (*Cosmic Fragments*)—organised by topical affinity into twenty-five "Groups" of "Fragments." These "Groups" are then consolidated into three major "Parts": 1. "The Doctrine on the Logos"; 2. "The Doctrine on Fire"; 3. "Ethics, Politics, and the Rest."¹ Each of the 125 "Fragment" sections is subdivided into three segments: (i) the Greek texts of all the testimonia concerning the "fragment," which are arranged according to derivation (a, a¹, a² a³) and diminishing authenticity (a, b, c, d, etc.);² (ii) an English translation of the literal quotations only; (iii) a brief commentary.

It is a pity that Marcovich never explains what a "fragment" is. For those who, rightly or wrongly, still use the word to refer to an authentic quotation of an author's own words, there will be little comfort in this volume. In a modified version of Diels' A-B-C method, Marcovich conscientiously labels almost every text "Quotation" (C), "Paraphrase" (P) or "Allusion (Reminiscence)" (R), yet throughout this work he uses "fragment" and "saying" indiscriminately to refer to any Heraclitean text, whether

¹No two scholars would propose an identical grouping. But given the relationship between Logos and Fire, one is hardly surprised to discover that Marcovich's grouping produces unresolved contradictions.

²The final results of his source analyses are codified telegraphically by these signs, but it is to be regretted that Marcovich rarely includes any critical discussion of the sources.

"C," "P," or "R." This might be his prerogative; but ambiguity persists in the very sigla and typography which are intended to reveal at a glance what the evidential value of a given text is. Thus texts are labeled "C" (authentic "quotation") and printed in heavy type even when they deviate from what Marcovich considers to be Heraclitus' authentic words (e.g., pp. 261, 476-7). The fate of B13 (Diels-Kranz)³ illustrates some of this confusion (pp. 179-83). First of all, it is printed in bold-faced type, which Marcovich explicitly reserves for authentic *quotations* only ("words . . . by Heraclitus himself," p. xv). Then it is labeled "P" (for *paraphrase*) and subsequently it is discussed as an "*allusion*" to Heraclitus' authentic words ("allude to," p. 182).⁴ Technical ingenuity and a resourceful use of signs and labels have, in this edition, not always brought about greater clarity, and the careful reader will learn to be wary of relying on dogmatic and inflexible symbols.

The apocryphal material which constitutes a large part of this volume and the rather imaginative classification of some texts as Heraclitean reminiscences raise the unanswered question of the criteria for the inclusion or exclusion of texts. The criterion for inclusion clearly is not (nor should it be) authenticity. It also does not seem to be significance or uniqueness, for at times up to ten different texts with exactly the same unauthentic and—by the author's own yardstick—even trivial contents, are printed in sequence. Nor is the criterion completeness, for a number of ancient texts relating to Heraclitus are excluded from this "complete source book" (p. xvi) without a word of explanation. The reader cannot help but wonder why, for example, passages from the Renaissance Platonist Marsilio Ficino, which are neither original nor unique, should be included, when almost all texts relating to Heraclitus' "book" and his life are excluded. A major part of the entry in the Suda (s. v. Herakleitos Blossonos), parts of Diogenes Laertius' and Sextus Empiricus' accounts of Heraclitus' philosophy, a comment by Clement on Heraclitus' political connections (*Stromata*, I, xiv, 65, 4), and a doctrine attributed to Heraclitus in "Apollonius of Tyana's" eighteenth Letter are not so much as mentioned (not even among the "Dubia et Spuria," pp. 567-601), although numerous texts which qualify with at least equal ease for the labels "fake" or "silly" are printed in full. And why is there not even a negative word about Diels' and Schubart's suggestion that remnants of a Heraclitean thought might lurk in the Berlin papyrus 9782 (*Anonymus in Theaet.*, 71, 17-26)? It is a pity that the principles that governed these and other undoubtedly difficult decisions are never explained briefly.

³ All fragment numbers in this review refer to Diels-Kranz.

⁴ Similarly, B9 (p. 184) and B102 (p. 480) are printed as Heraclitus' own words but labeled "paraphrase"; and B122, though an authentic "fragment," is only an "allusion" ("R", p. 565). Out of A18-19 he reconstructs a "fragment" (p. 556) labeled "O" and "R" (i.e., both "decontaminated original" and "allusion to original"—simultaneously!). B51 and B123 remain without any label.

In addition to almost all the texts labeled dubious or spurious by Diels-Kranz (B126a-139), Marcovich rejects 18 fragments in DK as unauthentic (B8, 19, 37, 49a, 67a, 69, 70, 71, 73, 75-77, 82, 83, 91, 112, 113, 116). He also rejects parts of three further fragments (B12b, 14a, 72b), suspects the authenticity of three fragments (B46, 47, 115) and retains only πολλῶν ἱστορίας as genuine in B35. All of this is not quite as radical as it might at first seem, because almost without exception the genuineness of these fragments has been doubted seriously by previous scholars, and very few new arguments are adduced by Marcovich. Since the arguments on all sides are well known, further summary is superfluous. But Marcovich not only removes quotations from the Heraclitean corpus; he also defends some which have previously been attacked as anachronistic paraphrases. Thus he considers B66 authentic, B89 a minimally rephrased version of the original,⁵ B106 virtually identical with Heraclitus' original words (and also independent of B57, of which Reinhardt and Kirk considered it a distorted version), and B125a a reworded version of a genuine saying (*vs.* Wilamowitz, Walzer, and Kirk). Wisely following the recent example of W. Burkert (*Weisheit und Wissenschaft*, pp. 107-8, 142-4), he also regards B129 as a genuine quotation.

On the whole Marcovich treats the texts established in modern critical editions of the sources with balanced respect.⁶ He suggests emendations in more than fifty instances, but most of these affect the context in which fragments occur rather than the texts of fragments themselves. Approximately ten important exceptions deserve brief mention. In B14 Marcovich deletes μάγους and then follows Reinhardt and others in declaring the entire first half of the fragment unauthentic (pp. 464 f.). Apparently he failed to be persuaded by W. Burkert (*Rh. Mus.*, N. F., CV, p. 38; N. F. CVI, p. 122) that μάγος could mean "quack, medicine-man, charlatan" as early as Heraclitus. In B21 ἵππος is emended to ἵππαρ against the evidence of the only MS (p. 247). The notorious γραφέων of B59, defended at length by Kirk (*Cosmic Fragments*, pp. 97-104) is emended to γνάφων. The author's tortuous argument in defence of this (pp. 163-7) is unlikely to be found compelling even by those who (like Tannery, Bywater, Diels-Kranz) have also rejected the reading of the MS. In B67 Marcovich (p. 413) has the understandable desire to add ὁ just after the πῦρ which Diels already added, but I, for one, would be perfectly content to continue without this additional intervention against the only extant MS. Marcovich also suggests, without any explanation, the apparently unnecessary addition of a τ after the relative pronoun in B85 and

⁵ His view in this case was apparently influenced by that of Vlastos (especially *A. J. P.*, LXXVI [1955], pp. 337 ff.). It is unfortunate that Vlastos' other arguments (particularly those concerning the authenticity of the river fragments and B113, as well as the text of B41 and B51) do not seem to have received adequate consideration.

⁶ Not all texts, however, are culled from the best critical editions. The general completeness of detail in the apparatus should not lull the reader into assuming that it is always complete and accurate; I observed several lapses.

after γενέσθαι in B135. In B102 he deletes, without entirely convincing arguments, καὶ ἀγαθὰ (pp. 480-2). He follows DK and Kirk (*Presocratic Philosophers*, p. 205) in reconstructing the original form of B118 as αἴη ψυχὴ . . . ; most of the more than ten ancient sources suggest αἴγῃ ἐξηρή ψυχὴ . . . as the original text (pp. 371-7), but there are of course well known reasons for accepting this emendation.⁷ He also follows Kirk (*Cosmic Fragments*) in discarding ἀναθυμίασιν and the entire second half of B12, in reading συλλάψεις for συνάψεις in B10, and παλίντονος for παλίντροπος in B51, but he restores τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπάντων to B30 (pp. 261; 268 f.) with good reason.

Perhaps more significant than any of the emendations I have mentioned is the fact that Marcovich on occasion adopts the questionable principle of "correcting" or supplementing the transmitted text in order to create metrical units out of Heraclitus' words. He does so despite his explicit disavowal of the notion that Heraclitus employed metre systematically (p. 462). Although I found some of Deichgräber's observations (*Rhythmische Elemente*) impressive and would grant the presence of dactylic rhythms in, for example, parts of B5 and B100, emendations *metri causa* strike me as a particularly insidious temptation in the case of Heraclitus, even if it involves no more than minor transpositions—as in the case of B44 and B78. The latter demonstrates just how treacherous this practice could become: first Marcovich "tentatively suggests" (p. 477) emending the text of the fragment as it appears in Origen in order to render it more metrical, and then he states with a peculiar but by no means isolated perversion of logic: "Since Celsus ap. Origen is a trustworthy source, we might suppose that the metrical form of the saying is by Heraclitus himself" (p. 477). And if a fragment seems to contain an incomplete metrical unit, he does not hesitate to suggest supplementary words to complete the "verse," for example, in B5, B33, B49 (pp. 463, n. 2; 537; 519). Conversely, words considered suspect are not athetized so long as they constitute part of what seems to be a metrical unit (the first μὲν in B102, pp. 481-2). Even B132, considered such a blatant fake that it merits no comment (p. 595), is emended *metri gratia*.

Finally, as far as the commentary is concerned, the author clearly was in a quandary and deserves sympathy. He wanted to keep it "as short as possible" (p. xvi) and yet record both his general interpretation of each fragment and his polymorphous individual observations. The result is, for the most part, a strange, labyrinthine aggregate of textual and grammatical observations, old and new arguments, statistics, and useful references to secondary literature—in short, a monument to contemporary Alexandrianism. At times it seems to have been inspired by Joycean advice ("Wipe your glosses with what you know"); at other times lengthy line-ups of references to modern scholarship dominate the commentary.

⁷ Only Aristides Quintilianus (Winnington-Ingram, p. 89) has the reading αἴη, and it seems rather inexplicable that Marcovich (p. 374) should have suppressed this information in his text of the passage from Aristides, to which he provided no apparatus at all.

Views of other scholars are sanctified or excommunicated ("wrong," "obviously wrong," "unlikely") summarily and without much argument, let alone proof. In fact, the reader is frequently informed that a scholar is wrong without being told what his view is. Marcovich's discerning knowledge of a mob of more than two hundred modern interpreters is astounding and admirable. It is a pity, however, that this vast knowledge was not displayed with greater clarity of principle, and that the ringleaders were not separated more often from the rest of the mob for as much as perfunctory debate. As it stands, not even the dogmatic excommunications make a coherent, systematic interpretation of Heraclitus visible in this volume, and the gray features of his philosophy that emerge from it most often are obscurity, pedestrianism, and latent contradiction. Perhaps this reflects the author's ultimate conviction, but it is unlikely to excite enthusiastic agreement. His interpretation of individual doctrines was already announced in numerous articles, including a comprehensive one in Pauly-Wissowa (Suppl. X, cols. 246-320) so that there is no need to summarize all over again here. Let it suffice to mention that his treatment of the anthropocentric fragments is least satisfactory; a comprehensive interpretation of these fragments remains a desideratum.

It is no part of a reviewer's task to complain of misprints in a publication that appeared in a country which does not have much experience of printing Greek or English, and in fact most of the misprints are not particularly misleading. The four indexes are very useful and marred only by an occasional omission, erroneous reference, or lapse in the observation of the alphabetical order. Other infelicities include the use throughout the volume of phrases such as "where comes the name of Heraclitus from?" "both views are unlikely for me," "this interpretation is not likely to me," "Kirk . . . have to presuppose," "neither . . . interpretation of the fragment were happy." But then, those who dare to write in a language other than their own should probably be commended for their courage. And in any case, "indeede," as Shakespeare noticed, "words are very Rascals."

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STANLEY ROSEN. *Plato's Symposium*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1968. Pp. xxxviii + 346. \$10.00.

Though most interpreters of Plato agree in principle that analysis of Plato's argument requires some attention to the rather elusive dramatic form in which it is presented, few have attempted in practice to combine literary and philosophical analysis. There seems in fact a good deal of scepticism about the extent to which literary analysis can illuminate the meaning of the dialogues. Because Rosen presents his book as a test of what a synoptic interpretive method can accomplish, it could damage the very cause it advocates.

In his provocative introduction Rosen insists that "every statement in a dialogue must be understood in terms of its dramatic context" (p. xxv), and he emphasizes "*the recognition of irony as the central problem in the interpretation of Plato*" (p. xiv). He finds most contemporary critics of Plato guilty of "a decaying sensitivity to irony, . . . a lapse in historical perception" (p. xxx); theirs is "an ironical, and for the most part unexamined, allegiance between historically disinterested 'conceptual analysis' and assumptions derived from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philosophies of history" (p. xii). Were it not for their vagueness, Rosen's complaints would be worth pondering, but the unnamed scholars are merely straw critics erected as a foil for Rosen's own whole-minded "methodology." He expects those "who warn against excessive 'speculation' in the interpretation of the dialogues" (p. xxx) to disapprove his "speculative," "talmudic" method (p. xxxvi). His expectation should be amply fulfilled. Enemies of speculation will find much to disapprove here; and so, I suspect, will the lovers of clear thinking and writing.

Like his teacher, Leo Strauss, Rosen believes that Plato used irony to conceal the esoteric content of the dialogues and "to protect philosophy from the rage of the nonphilosophers" (p. xxv). Hence he treats the dialogue as the merest tip of a philosophic iceberg; to reveal the invisible fundament lurking beneath, speculation is needed. It is not Plato's words that intrigue Rosen, but his silence: "In sum: regardless of whether or not an oral teaching exists, the unspoken dimension of the dialogues is in fact a dimension of the dialogues and, for methodological purposes, the most important one. There is a dialectic between the speech of the characters and the silence of the author, whose subtlety alone determines the degree of complexity to which speech and silence are interwoven" (p. xix). In revealing unspoken dimensions method is clearly of great importance; but Rosen conceals in ironic silence his techniques of speculation.

Luckily we have the "phenomena" of the book's main part. In its eight chapters—one each for the prologue and the seven speakers—he discusses action, character, argument, etc., often translating selected passages. His techniques are manifold and difficult to define, but a few recurrent devices may be noted: 1) exploitation of the historical fallacy; 2) interjection of alien texts on the basis of scant or apparent allusions; 3) assumption as fact of often dubious premisses; 4) digressions; 5) non-sequiturs; 6) equivocation; 7) restriction of focus to a part rather than the whole of an argument. And finally, a tendency perhaps less conscious than these: 8) mistranslation of Greek. Persistent readers may discover others, but these, I think, are the principal tools in Rosen's bag. By isolating a few examples I can only hint at their dazzling combined impression:

(1) Historical or documentary fallacy seems to be one of Rosen's favorite critical devices. In his discussion of Socrates' companion Aristodemus in the *Symposium*, he treats Aristodemus' role as historical fact: he is suspicious about when he fell asleep and how

this affects the completeness of the narration (p. 9); he wonders why a character who gave no speech at the banquet became loquacious enough to narrate it afterwards: "since Agathon and Aristodemos were quite drunk toward the end of the evening, it is possible that only Aristodemos recalled, however fuzzily, the final events" (pp. 11-12, n. 29). Surely no one but Plato "recalled . . . the final events" of a banquet that perhaps never occurred. And if we must explain Plato's failure to write a speech for Aristodemos, two answers seem likely: a) each speaker is an outstanding representative of a single and distinct *τέχνη*—e.g. Rhetoric, Comedy, Tragedy; since Socrates already fills the chair of Philosophy, his assistant Aristodemos serves as recording secretary. b) Since Aristodemos does not give a speech, he becomes more credible as an objective narrator of others' speeches. But, assuming that it was Aristodemos and not Plato who created the narrator's role, Rosen suggests in answer to his own question that he was silent "mainly because he is unwilling to praise a god" (p. 18). Suggestion becomes fact as we learn that "the man who reveals to mortals the divinely inspired speeches, or violates the mysteries, is himself an unbeliever" (p. 18), and that "the religious character of the *Symposium* is at least tinted by the dubious character of Aristodemos' views on religion. He is a lover of Socrates, but a mocker of what the *Symposium* calls the daimonic" (pp. 19-20). Note how readily Rosen assumes that all the speeches are "divinely inspired," and that their narrator "violates the mysteries." This facility with equivocating labels and identifications increases as the book progresses. From Rosen's revelations throughout we can surmise that Plato was especially paranoid about religion and politics.

(2) The same fascination with the "unspoken dimension" characterizes Rosen's treatment of quotes and allusions. Here the task is easier, for poetic quotations may be scrutinized for details omitted or suppressed by Plato. A technique of some validity is discredited by the extremes to which Rosen presses it. A half line of Homer leads to a literal identification of Socrates and Diomedes, Aristodemos and Odysseus, Agathon's house and the enemy camp at Troy (pp. 23-4; cf. pp. 204-5, 312-13). Few scholars are likely to be persuaded that Phaedrus' failure to quote two disputed lines of Hesiod (*Theog.*, 118-19) forms part of a theological-political plot against the Olympian gods.

(3)—(7) False or dubious assumptions often produce lengthy digressions which obscure the progress of the argument but add new features to the Weltanschauung Rosen projects. In the *Protagoras* Phaedrus had appeared in the same room as Hippias, and Pausanias in a room with Prodicus. This leads Rosen to assert that the two symposiasts are students of these sophists, to discourse on the nature of discipleship, to analyze the teachings of Hippias and Prodicus, and to interpret these two speeches accordingly.

"A digression on incest" (pp. 211-15) takes the place of the careful analysis deserved by a subtle passage (*Symp.*, 199D-E). Even without stimulus Rosen manages to introduce his favorite themes by means of inaccuracies, sweeping generalizations, and non-sequiturs. Consider his passage on "the Sophist as Prometheus"

(pp. 64-8): "In the *Symposium* the students of the Sophists are united by a taste for pederasty and the praise of *technē* . . . This union is an allegiance of war against the Olympian gods . . . The first three speakers can all claim to be motivated by philanthropy in advocating the use of *technē* for man's greater freedom. This enterprise is immediately reminiscent of the myth of Prometheus, and especially of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*." Here comes a digression on the *P. V.* followed by another on Plato's *Protagoras* myth. A highlight of the first: "Is it too much to suspect that Hephaestus is the successor to Zeus prophesied by Prometheus?"

We may note these reservations: Neither of the first two speakers even mentions *technē*, much less praises or advocates it. Pausanias (cf. p. 65, n. 13) did not "invent a Uranian Aphrodite"; for her birth see Hesiod, *Theog.*, 188 ff., for her cult at Athens see e.g. Hdt., I, 105, 131; Paus., I, 14, 6. Even so, Rosen's assumption that Pausanias made this distinction in order to "denigrate the gods of Olympus" (p. 48) is bizarre. As he uses the *νόμοι* of Athens, so Pausanias uses two existing cults to justify his own position. The key point he makes about Aphrodite Urania is that she is *ἀμήτωρ*; hence the eros he associates with her is non-heterosexual—exclusively masculine like his own. The opposite of "Urania" is not "Olympia" but "Pandēmos." Pausanias' aim is not to distinguish between divine political parties but between a supposedly noble love of the psyche and the vulgar, predominantly heterosexual love of the body. The irony of his pose is obvious, and the falsity of his distinction will be revealed by Socrates' account of Eros as a universal desire for immortality through creation—a desire in which heterosexual lovers conspicuously share. All of this Rosen blurs, ignores, or distorts while discovering a technological revolution against religion and state. It is doubtful whether "the recognition of irony" is an appropriate description of this process.

The suspicion arises that the author approached his work with a preformed idea of the system presumably lurking in the "unspoken dimension." And though it is difficult to know what system he discovers, its resemblance to the thought of Plato's dialogue seems often accidental.

I counted more than forty errata, mostly in spelling and accent of Greek words and in Stephanus-page attributions. More troublesome are confusions about fact, as when Rosen, in a barely intelligible passage (pp. 110-12), seems to assert that Heraclitus is a Sicilian singing a "harder music" than the "soft Ionian music" of Empedocles.

His ventures into textual criticism are ingenuous. Consider his note on *Symp.*, 188C 7: "I follow Burnet in accepting *τοὺς ἐρωῦντας*, the reading of W, rather than *τοὺς ἐρωτας* of B and T. Bury's *Ἐρωτας* has no manuscript authority and is certainly wrong" (p. 118, n. 62). But *ἐρωτας* makes perfect sense and is almost certainly right. *ἐρωῦντας* is not the reading of W (Burnet was mistaken, cf. Bury, Robin, Sykoutris) but of Stobaeus. In denying "manuscript authority" to the reading of BTW, Rosen is apparently objecting to Bury's capitalization, as is confirmed by his remark elsewhere: "The cosmic Eros is now capitalized because Eryximachus is apparently speaking in a religious or pious vein" (pp. 117-18).

Rosen also struggles with the Greek language. His translations are often awkward, and frequently incorrect. A few examples must serve: a) *Symp.*, 182C 3: *φιλίας ισχυρὰς καὶ κοινωνίας*. Rosen translates "strong and common friendships" (p. 77) making the noun into an adjective. b) *Symp.*, 196A 2-3: Agathon describes Eros as "fluid in form" and thus capable of "engulfing [a soul] completely." Rosen interprets the acc. *εἶδος* as a masculine subject and *πάντη* as an indefinite neuter accusative: "the form is fluid . . . to embrace anything" (p. 180, cf. p. 298). c) *Symp.*, 202E 6: *ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων συμπληροῖ*. The daimonic element which is midway between the human and divine "complements both." Here Rosen takes the active form as a passive: "and so filled up with both" (p. 228). His error leads him to assume that "the problem . . . is to reconcile the terms 'between' and 'filled up with'," but he solves the problem easily: "the reconciliation is possible if we identify the daimonic with the tendency of genesis to be continuously other than it is," etc.

The book as a whole seems more an ingenious reaction to Platonic stimuli than a critical analysis of a dialogue. Yet here and there Rosen's ingenuity will reward the reader with a provocative observation, as e.g. in some of his comments on the interrelation of the speeches, the narcissism of Agathon, or the drunkenness of Alcibiades. Provocation seems part of Rosen's design, and for this he deserves our gratitude.

As a champion of bold speculation he invites criticism, of course; but it is not to speculation that I am objecting here—rather to a lack of philological control over it. Stated in Rosen's own terms, "The degree to which we are able to reconstruct the thought of a philosopher is controlled by the degree of our own speculative 'hybris' . . . Hybris alone, however, may lead to an all-too-human madness; it must be balanced by caution in the form of a rigorous fidelity to the written text" (p. 50). His book offers too much of the one and too little of the other.

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G. KARL GALINSKY. *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome*. Princeton University Press, 1969. Pp. xxvi + 278; 6 text figures; 173 plate figures. \$12.50. (*Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology*, XL.)

This book does not pretend to be a complete treatment of Rome's Trojan legend or even of Aeneas' part in it. It is rather a series of five studies of various aspects of the legend with emphasis on the "archaeological and art historical aspect." Not every one of the ancient artistic representations is discussed, but certainly the major representative types are treated and the text is accompanied by an extensive and clear set of plates, the most comprehensive on the subject to be found anywhere.

As to the text, the author is fully aware of the difficulty of his task in approaching topics that "do not easily breed unanimity of opinion." The information is carefully assembled and the result is on the whole an estimable work, but one that must be used with some caution. Galinsky reaches conclusions which are for the most part sensible, but not always by a sensible means. He has a tendency to push the evidence farther than it can rightfully be pushed and occasionally he will indulge in circular arguments.

For example, the major objective of Chapter I is to show, chiefly by a review of the archaeological evidence, but with a consideration of written testimony as well, that *pius Aeneas* is the creation of Vergil. This is probably in some sense correct, but he seems to limit pre-Vergilian *pietas* to its religious aspects so that he can exclude early representations, e. g. (p. 10): "there is little certainty that the motif of Aeneas' carrying Anchises out of Troy has to be taken inherently for an expression of the hero's *pietas*. In the relief of the Augustan altar, however, he is indisputably represented as *pius*: with veiled head, *capite velato*, he participates in a sacred action." At the end of the chapter he concludes (p. 60): "It may even be suggested that *pietas erga patrem* was only a late, though direct, extension of this original meaning [i. e., as bearer of the *sacra*] of *pietas*," but he himself has placed this limitation on its earlier meaning.

Even earlier representations of Aeneas as bearer of the *sacra* are explained away. Explained away in not too convincing a manner are the coins of Caesar: "Brimming with strength and striding ahead, Aeneas does not lead his son but instead carries the Palladium, which is a more martial emblem of Troy's survival than the sacred chest with the peaceful household gods." The Penates Publici were certainly not such peaceful images, for they held spears (see Galinsky, pp. 154 f. and Fig. 8). The author, of course, excludes military prowess also from any definition of *pietas* here and is at great pains to contrast the military aspect of the Caesar coins with representations of the same scene on the coins of Antoninus Pius which were deliberately designed to recall Aeneas with all his Vergilian *pietas*. How one can say that the Caesar coin is more warlike when it shows Aeneas nude and with no military accoutrements save the Palladium as opposed to the Antonine coin which shows Aeneas in military garb (breastplate and boots at least) escapes the reviewer's ken.

Whether or not Anchises is carrying a *cista sacra* on the coins from Aeneas of the 6th century B. C. is a matter of conjecture (see Texier in *Revue Archéologique*, ser. VI, XIV [1939], pp. 12-21) but the Etruscan items: the gem of roughly the same date (but cf. Pallottino in *Studi Etruschi*, XXVI [1958], p. 337) and the red figure amphora, both with *cista* prominently displayed, albeit mentioned by Galinsky (p. 60), are not seen as contradictory to the thesis—perhaps because they are non-Greek. And furthermore, can the *Tabula Iliaca* be so easily dismissed (pp. 106 f.): "the conspicuous importance the *cista* is given in both scenes conforms to the Italian-Roman tradition, whereas Stesichorus, being a Greek, is unlikely to have emphasized or even mentioned this detail in his poem." This seems to be another circular argument.

In Chapter II where the author's main assertion is that no Trojan ever actually landed in Sicily he is possibly correct, but it is far from proved by the evidence we have. For no real reason, just because he feels that it cannot be, he rejects, Dionysius notwithstanding, any Trojan connections with the Venus shrine at Eryx. And in the face of Thucydides he further rejects any Trojan association with the Elymians, seeing in both cases confusion of Trojans with Phoenicians. Of course Phoenician influences in Western Sicily abound, but do these *per se* negate any possibility of early Trojan migration?

Chapter III is best in its discussion of Aeneas in Etruria where the evidence (principally the Aeneas vases and the Veii statuettes) is thoughtfully interpreted. Clearly "when Aeneas appeared in Italy . . . he belonged to the Etruscans." The author is cautious, however, about assigning an Aeneas cult to Etruria in spite of the Veii votives and is commendably skeptical of Ferri's "Trojan" reconstruction of the Veian acroteria, rightly seeing the presence of the Heracles fragment as chief obstacle. He also admirably admits the absence of any "fully satisfactory explanation of the sudden appearance of the Aeneas myth in Etruria at the end of the sixth century B. C." It is clear, however, that the Romans first encountered the story from this source and Galinsky may well be correct when he assumes that a reaction against it in the wake of the expulsion of the Tarquins explains its eclipse in the Greek accounts from the 5th to the 3rd centuries B. C.

Chapter IV deals with the thorny problems of Aeneas at Lavinium and at Rome (Venus Erycina) and the author handles the evidence very sensibly. The main thesis that "these cults were merely manifestations of the political use of Rome's Trojan legend in the field of religion" is well argued.

The final chapter is a slightly revised version of "Venus in a Relief of the Ara Pacis Augustae," *A. J. A.*, LXX (1966), pp. 223-43, where it is stated that the famous Tellus relief represents not Tellus but Venus. Although much evidence is marshalled, it is the reviewer's opinion that not many have been or will be convinced. In such interpretations a great deal of subjectivity is necessarily involved, but graphic symbolism, to be effective, must be somewhat obvious. Since the point must be labored, I doubt that even Galinsky would assert that the figure is 'obviously' Venus. There certainly is, however, a connection between Augustan art and literature, and the parallels Duckworth has pointed out (here reiterated) between the Ara Pacis, the Roman Odes, and *Aeneid* VI are not as absurd as some critics imply. It is dangerous, nevertheless, to push such parallels to the point where they belie what our eyes tell us.

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VOLKER FADINGER. *Die Begründung des Prinzipats, Quellenkritische und staatsrechtliche Untersuchungen zu Cassius Dio und der Parallelüberlieferung.* Bonn, Habelt, 1969. Pp. 361.

The legal and constitutional complexities surrounding the foundation of the Augustan principate remain the subject of inconclusive debate. The field is a difficult one and exceedingly well-trodden even as a proving-ground for dissertations; but the novel task the author sets himself in this doctoral thesis is to reconstruct the interpretation of the original sources underlying the principal authorities that have come down, especially Cassius Dio (p. 28).

Fadinger's basic thesis is that the *Lex Titia* of 27th November, 43 B. C., while clearly contrary to the principles of the Republican constitution, was nevertheless justified by the state-emergency—the version of events officially set out, he believes, in Augustus' autobiography. The Second Triumvirate is therefore to be considered "legitimate" by the standards of emergency law, and the same argument can be applied to its renewal in 37 B. C. or even to Octavian's high-handed action in seizing Anthony's will in 32 B. C. Fadinger is well acquainted with the modern theory of *Notstandsrecht*; but was this concept in vogue, even if not explicitly formulated, in the last century B. C.? Fadinger asserts that it was (cf. p. 147) and by way of proof points to the *senatus consultum ultimum* (pp. 16 f.). The aim here was the salvation of the state (*salus populi suprema lex esto*; Cic., *De Leg.*, III, 3) at the cost of the temporary suspension of the positive laws of the Republic, and the decision that a state of emergency existed lay with the senate supported by the *consensus bonorum omnium* (Cic., *De Dom.*, 35, 94). There is some evidence, also, if it is not simply rhetoric, for the idea that one could save the state without or in opposition to the senate (cf. J. Baron Ungern-Sternberg von Pürkel, *Untersuchungen zum spätrepublikanischen Notstandsrecht* [1970], pp. 131 f. quoting Cic., *Phil.*, XI, 11, 27); and Augustus even justified the raising of a private army by the principle of *res publica salva* (*R. G.*, 1, 1). But this hardly attests a contemporary conviction that the outright overthrow of the constitution by individuals acting on their own initiative might be justifiable by the provisions of a higher legality; certainly Cicero's verdict on the *Lex Valeria* (*De Leg. Agr.*, III, 2, 5) falls short of proof, and no ancient authority terms the Second Triumvirate legitimate in Fadinger's sense of the word. In that case whether the *Lex Titia* was "legitimate" in terms of the modern theory of emergency law is beside the point. Did the Athenian action on Melos break the Geneva convention?

On other issues Fadinger takes a more conservative stand. Thus he settles for the majority view that the second quinquennium ended 31st December, 33 B. C., and holds that many of Octavian's subsequent measures are based—"legitimately"—upon continued exercise of triumviral *potestas*, an attractive argument that goes back to one part of Mommsen's early theory (*St. R.*, I, p. 697; II, pp. 719, 1; 745, 1). He is surely right, too, to take the oath of all Italy (*R. G.*, 5, 3-6) as simply one manifestation of the *consensus universorum* (*R. G.*, 6, 13-16); Fadinger's points apart, the Greek

version εὐχάς would tell against the commonly held identification of the two (p. 289, n. 1). Octavian now had the declared backing of the overwhelming majority of the Roman people, whether the oath be taken as a surrogate for the formal legalisation of his constitutional position (p. 288) or as an expanded *Feldherrneid* on the lines of the military *Treueid* of the late Republic (see P. Herrmanns' study *Der römische Kaisereid, Hypomnemata*, XX [1968], pp. 78-89). But unless one is to accept the author's notion of legitimacy, there is more to be said for Instinsky's idea of the "ratifizierende Kraft" of the *consensus* (*Hermes*, LXXV [1940], p. 276); that is, it showed Augustus was acting in accordance with the will of the people in continuing to exercise his triumphal power after the beginning of 32 B. C. without formal covering.

Fadinger has a tendency to be cavalier in his treatment of the opinions of others and conversely to regard his own hypotheses on one page as established facts on the next; cf. his questionable analysis of Livy, *Epit.*, 132 (pp. 114 ff.) and subjective reconstruction of Octavian's speech in early February 32 B. C. (pp. 206 ff.). Nevertheless, this is an able, extremely thorough piece of work written along the lines of a systematic *Forschungsbericht*, even if opinions will differ on the merits of main points. Jurists grappling with the abstract theory of *Notstandsrecht* may find the fall of the Roman Republic as interesting a case-study as, say, the collapse of the Weimar Republic; but the main interest of these years for the historian lies surely in the status of the triumvirate or Octavian's personal position in terms of Roman Law and the Republican constitution. Fadinger makes some sound observations in this respect, and it is a pity that his analysis is overshadowed by the attempt to add a new dimension to the subject. But the theory that Dio, like Appian and Plutarch, drew heavily on Augustus' autobiography raises more questions than it answers. No one would want to deny that Fadinger has part of the truth: Dio himself expressly cites Augustus' autobiography as his source in XLIV, 35, 3 (cf. p. 29). It is also likely he made use of a source friendly to Anthony, quite possibly Asinius Pollio. The difficulty comes when one tries to decide exactly which parts of Dio go back to Augustus' own words (as opposed to Cremutius Cordus?), to what extent Dio used the autobiography directly or via an intermediate source (Livy, Aufidius Bassus?), and when precisely Dio is making an independent judgment of his own. Fadinger picks his way very carefully, is often persuasive, and could well be near the mark much of the time. But proof surely lies beyond the bounds of possibility; otherwise Fadinger would be well on the way to reconstructing Augustus' lost autobiography itself. By and large one would agree with F. Miller, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (1964), p. 84, that "source criticism normally ends in mere speculation"—however levelheaded.

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G. L. HUXLEY. *Greek Epic Poetry: From Eumelos to Panyassis*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1969. Pp. 213.

Studies of classical literature may be divided into two classes: studies of literary works that exist and studies of literary works that are nonexistent. The second group includes the book under review. Huxley is one of those who find it more interesting to deal with the lacunae between extant texts than with the texts themselves.

Between Eumelos and Panyassis (ca. 720 to 550 B. C.) lots of epic poetry was composed but only scattered fragments survive, excluding of course Homer and Hesiod. The reader who comes to this book looking for anything like a sustained discussion, interpretation, or analysis of Greek epic poetry will not find it here. And yet the book has its merits: I doubt there is anywhere else we can find, compressed into less than 200 pages, a survey, often with detailed discussion, of what seem to be all the chief surviving non-Hesiodic epic fragments. In addition, Hesiodic fragments plus passages from the extant Homeric and Hesiodic corpus are discussed or cited wherever judged relevant.

Huxley begins each investigation by bringing together the surviving evidence from major authors and their scholia and from later authorities like Apollodorus, Pausanias, the Suda, etc., and cites the related historical, philosophical, or epic fragments (Jacoby, Diels-Kranz, Allen, or Kinkel), and, where it exists, the evidence afforded by vase-painting or other archaeological sources. The study is organized into fourteen chapters on such topics as the types of lost epic ("Theogonies and Theomachies," "Two Mantic Poems"), or a certain lost poet ("Epimenides," "Panyassis"), or a favorite subject ("The Theban Epics," "The Aftermath of the *Iliad*"). There is no sustained argument on the nature of early Greek epic; hence there is no connecting thread from chapter to chapter. Each is a self-contained discussion, and may be as short as four or even two and a half pages. Inevitably one must wonder whether the survey is really exhaustive, and to what extent the choice, division, and organization of topics as well as the large doses of speculative reconstruction—in sum the final shape the book has taken—depend on the author's personal interests, and to what extent on the nature of the evidence.

Let me illustrate what I mean by taking an example from chapter IX, "Epic Poetry in Attica and the *Theseis*." On p. 118 we read: "To conjecture whether, for example, the seizure of Helen or the hero's birth and sojourn in Troizen appeared in the epic is profitless, even if the stories are of high antiquity." But on pp. 119-20 we find the author devoting considerable space to conjecture over which details of Theseus' adventures in Hades might have been included in the lost epic *Minyas*, which dealt with the terrors of Hades. It may possibly have included among its details the very specific one of Theseus and Pirithous seating themselves in the "chairs of forgetfulness." Huxley believes it did, because of Pausanias' "belief that the *Minyas* was the source for a painting of Hades by Polygnotos at Delphi" (X, 28, 2), because we know that "Polygnotos painted the two heroes seated in the chairs (Pausanias 10.29.9),"

and because in a poem more or less contemporaneous with Polygnotos' painting Panyassis (F9 Kinkel) "vividly described the heroes' flesh growing to the stones of the seats; in another version the heroes were tied down by snakes." The inference looks plausible at first sight, but a close comparison of Huxley and Pausanias raises objections. Pausanias' words are: "Polygnotus, it seems to me, followed the poem called the *Minyad*; for in the *Minyad* there is a passage about Theseus and Pirithous:—

Then the bark of the dead, which the ancient
Ferryman, Charon, was wont to guide, they found not at its
moorings.

Accordingly," continues Pausanias, "Polygnotus has represented Charon as an aged man" (X, 28, 2, tr. Frazer).

We see from the full context that Pausanias is citing the *Minyas* as a source for only one detail of the painting, the depiction of Charon as an aged ferryman guiding his bark. The detail of the chairs in Polygnotus is no evidence that it was in the *Minyas*, nor is Panyassis' vivid description any testimony to the content of the lost *Minyas*. The "other version" involving snakes offers a vivid detail, but Huxley never tells us where we can find it. Finally, Huxley suggests that a fitting dramatic ending to the *Minyas* would have been the rescue of Theseus from Hades by Heracles. There is no denying this would have been dramatic, but so would various other hypothetical endings. It is obviously impossible to discuss poems consisting largely of lacunae without mixing a great amount of speculation with a tiny amount of fact.

A related problem is Huxley's liking for fine distinctions where the criteria are such as to render his exercise pointless. On pp. 151-2 ("The Aftermath of the *Iliad*") we read that the opening phrase of the *Little Iliad*, "Ἰλιον ἀείδω, can only indicate a poet who is singing (although on the next page it is allowed he may be "speaking"), while the opening Μῆνιν ἀειδε of the *Iliad* suggests a poet who could be singing or writing: he does the writing while "praying to the Muse to sing for him of the wrath of Achilles." Then we are told that the ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα that opens the *Odyssey* is more likely to come from a poet writing than is the opening phrase "I begin to sing of long-haired Demeter" of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. Now that he has the reader really wondering what this has been all about, Huxley winds up his speculation with the disclaimer "But here too proof is lacking, because we have no canon to measure the probability or likelihood of such inferences." Such salutary caution could have been useful in larger doses throughout the book, perhaps at the beginning rather than at the end of discussions.

To take one final example: Huxley believes (p. 171) that Eugammon's *Telegoneia*, because it begins (at least in Proclus' summary) with the burial of the suitors by their kinsfolk, may well indicate that the *Odyssey* known to Eugammon ended before the so-called "Continuation" (XXIII, 297 to the end of the poem); and he cannot help citing, with a hint of approval, the belief of "two distinguished Hellenistic critics" that the true "limit" of

the *Odyssey* was XXIII, 296. My own feeling is that Eugammon was free to begin his poem about Telegonus wherever he wanted, the main criterion being that it suit his artistic design, which we are in no position to judge adequately. Since we have the modern example of Kazantzakis also beginning his "sequel" after Book XXII, because it suited his story-telling needs, I would be reluctant to make any inferences challenging the authenticity of the "Continuation" of the *Odyssey* based on the reported structure of the *Telegoneia*.

One of the most interesting parts of the book, for those interested in the nature and genesis of epic poetry, is the Appendix on Irish analogies. Huxley believes that too much faith has been put in the analogy between twentieth-century Yugoslav oral poetry and early Greek epic. Like Douglas Young¹ he has turned to the rich medieval tradition of Celtic oral verse for examples with which to refute the widely accepted Yugoslav analogy; and the Irish evidence is impressive. As in archaic Greece, the Irish poets moved within an essentially aristocratic society; they performed for noble families, were in competition at public festivals, preserved in their verse a great quantity of important geographical, genealogical, and historical information, and maintained a pure and uniform traditional language. The highest class of poets, the druid-like *filí*, were involved also in divination, and there are numerous suggestions in early Greece that the dual roles of poet and seer could be combined in one person (cf. the figures of Musaeus, Orpheus, Empedocles, the ascription to Hesiod of an *Ornithomanteia*, and the tradition recorded in Pausanias, IX, 31,5 that he learned the mantic art from the Acarnanians).²

Huxley's main point is that the Irish analogies argue against the idea of an oral dictated text as the prototype for the Homeric poems we possess, since dictation among the Irish poets caused both reciter and scribe to weary rapidly and to lose interest first in the details of the story and finally in the artistry. Huxley persuasively assigns this decline to the absence of a living audience to offer encouragement and stimulus, and he suggests that a writing poet would suffer the same handicaps (but the illusion of recitation, with the expectation it brings of audience rapport, would no longer be a burden to the writing poet; he would be the creator of his own world, and could conceivably become very adept at it). As an alternative to the dictation theory, Huxley has found in the Irish tradition another model that would still allow for the recording and transmission of Homer's authentic words. There was a clear distinction between the poet who composed the verse and the reciter or bard who performed it publicly: the latter "got it well by heart" from the poet and then performed it to music. Huxley therefore imagines that the Homeridae, having learned the master's poem in sections, could well have dictated it to a scribe over

¹ "Never Blotted a Line," *Arion*, VI (1967), pp. 295 ff.

² See further M. L. West, *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 15-16, and M. Detienne, *Les maîtres de vérité dans la Grèce archaïque* (Paris, F. Maspero, 1967), especially ch. 2, "La mémoire du poète."

several days. This seems a plausible rival to Lord's dictation theory, and although it is hard to say which is the more likely to be true, we do need a transcription procedure like that envisioned by Huxley or by Lord to account for what Huxley rightly calls the "essentially oral, spontaneous, and non-serial aspect of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*."

I have given most attention to the book's weaknesses in the belief that some warning was in order for prospective readers, and have said little about its merits, which reside chiefly in Huxley's erudition and his power to compress much into a short space. Such compression does not make fluent reading, and it is impossible not to sum up with the paradox that this awkwardly constructed book, alternately enlightening, annoying, and tedious, is one which no serious student of early epic can afford to overlook.

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PIERRE CHANTRAINE. Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots. Tome II E—K. Paris, Éditions Klincksieck, 1970. Pp. 307-607.

The first volume of this etymological dictionary was reviewed in *A. J. P.*, XCI (1970), pp. 372-5, where in the first three paragraphs its character was described in general terms and its great importance and value emphasized. The fact that the present volume has appeared after rather a short lapse of time is a special cause for gratification. A review of this second volume must, quite naturally, consist of discussion of a few individual entries which present particular problems or features of interest.

ἐλκω is one of several forms where Chantraine admits a possible alternation of initial *s* / *sw*, others being ἐλεῖν, ἔει, ἐξέ, and ἤρωσ. In the present instance he brings ἐλκω (which is without metrical evidence of digamma) into connection with Alb. *helq* 'pull, tear off' (<**solkeiō*), Toch. B *sälk* 'pull,' as does Frisk also, and further with Lith. *velkù*, OCS *vlěko* 'I pull' as support for the variant with initial **sw*-. Since the Baltic and Slavic forms lack the *s*-, it will then be necessary to admit a threefold alternation *s*/*sw*/*w*-, as suggested by F. Specht, *K. Z.*, LXVI (1939), p. 25.—ἐμέω: this verb is again without evidence of digamma, so that connection with Skt. *vamiti*, L. *vomo*, though generally admitted, does nonetheless present a difficulty. F. Specht, *K. Z.*, LIX (1932), pp. 118 ff., had assumed dissimilatory loss of *ɸ* in the sequence *ɸ . . . μ*., while Chantraine suggests early loss of *ɸ* in a term belonging to a familiar stratum of the vocabulary. W. F. Wyatt, *Lg.* XXXIX (1963), pp. 231-4, argued in favor of the already recognized early loss of initial digamma before *ō*. Perhaps ἐμέω may be regarded as another instance of dissimilatory loss of *ɸ* in a labial environment, despite the front vowel *e* which intervenes. In any case there appears to be no

other form *ρεμ*- with digamma maintained, which could conflict with such a conjecture.—*θέλυμνος*: on first reading the discussion of *προθέλυμνος* in the second paragraph of this entry it was not fully clear to me whether the brutality of Wackernagel's *solution ingénieuse et brutale* consisted in the nature of the military operation described or in the phonetic change assumed, with Aeolic *π* for *τ*, -*ρο*- for -*ρα*-, the **τρα*- in turn for **πτφρα*- '4-.' It is indeed the latter, and Chantraine leaves the question in doubt. Even for less bold conjectures than the present one he usually maintains a wholesome skepticism.—*θριγκός*: Chantraine cites a late doublet *τριγκός* (3rd-4th century A. D.). A similar alternation of aspirate . . . non-aspirate / non-aspirate . . . aspirate occurs in *Θελγίγες* / *Τελγίγες*, to be treated under *τ*, and in the Semitic loan *χιτών* / Ionic *κιθών*.—*θυμός*: on semantic grounds Chantraine is skeptical of the connection usually maintained with Skt. *dhūmāh*, L. *fūmus*, OCS *dymō*, and prefers connection with *θύω* 's'élancer avec fureur.' Yet the phonological correspondence with the Sanskrit, Latin, and Slavic forms is so perfect that it seems hard to avoid associating all four forms and accepting Frisk's 'Rauch, Hauch, Geist, Mut usw.' as a reasonably satisfactory explanation of the semantic development.—*ιάομαι*: personal names are reported in a large number of instances (and not infrequently place-names as well), but we miss the name of the Argonautic hero *Ίάσων*. Jessen, *R.-E.*, IX (1916), col. 759, affirms the recognition of Jason in antiquity as a god of healing and the connection of his name with *ιάσθαι*, and cites Pind., *Pyth.*, IV, 119, and Jason's early education by Chiron.—*ἵημι*: the resemblance of *ἵημι*: *ἦκα* to L. *iacio*: *iēci*, and further to the correspondence seen in *τίθημι*: *ἔθηκα*, *facio*: *fēci* has led many scholars to analyze *ἵημι* as a reduplicated present from **yī-yē-mi*, and Chantraine tends to favor this opinion (root **yē* / *yə*-). Persson, *Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung*, I, pp. 361 ff., argued that the segmentation of L. *iacio*, *iēci* into *ia-c-*, *iē-c-* had no other basis than its assumed connection with *ἵημι*, and that, on the other hand, it was difficult to escape connecting *ἵημι* with Skt. *sāyaka*- 'Geschoss, Pfeil,' *senā* 'Wurfgeschoss,' *pra-sita*- 'dahinschiessend,' *pra-siti*- 'Wurf, Geschoss, Anlauf.' Frisk therefore (*Eranos*, XLI, 1943 [not 1941], pp. 49-50 = *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 345-6) favors connection with L. *sero*, the derivation of which from a reduplicated present of root **sē-* is generally recognized, and he cites Arm. *himn* 'Grundlage, Basis' (cf. *fundamenta iacere*, *jeter les fondements*, *κρηπίδα*, *οικοδομίας βάλλειν*) as support for a more general notion of throwing than 'scatter seed, seed,' the only meaning of forms of the root **sē-* found in the western Indo-European languages together with Balto-Slavic. Although Frisk in his *Eranos* article does not suggest a blending of roots **yē-* and **sē-* in *ἵημι*, he does suggest such a blending in his *Wörterbuch*. Chantraine cites his opinion and his use of Arm. *himn*, but regards the semantic restriction to 'sow, seed' in other European languages as a strong argument against admitting **sē-* as a source of *ἵημι*. The whole question must still be considered unsolved and probably incapable of solution.—*ἰσχός*: connection with *ἔχω*, sometimes upheld, is treated here with considerable skepticism, and, while *ἰσχω*, *ἰσχός* 'ancre' are listed as derivatives

under 1 ἔχω, ἰσχύς and ἰσχυρός are not. The relationship of all these forms, however, seems free from serious objection. ἐχυρός 'victorieux, fort' is recognized as related to ἔχω, and despite the difference in the quantity of the *v* one is tempted to see a proportion ἰσχυρός: ἰσχω = ἐχυρός: ἔχω. —κτάομαι: Frisk, while regarding connection with Skt. *kṣayati* 'herrschen, gebieten' as satisfactory on semantic grounds, objected on formal grounds, because of the suspicion that κτάομαι is a relatively late formation and because of the lack of Indo-Iranian forms closely matching the non-present forms in Greek. Chantraine is equally skeptical of this connection but regards κτάομαι as possibly related to κτίζω, with an underlying sense 'occuper un terrain.'

Misprints are far from numerous. Under θαῦμα, near the end of the article, for **dhe₂-w-* read **dha₂-w-*. In two of the articles on forms whose *θ-* is of labiovelar origin (not velar + *w*) we find **gh^w* for **g^wh* (under θείνω and under θέρομαι). Under κίνδυνος, twelve lines from the bottom of the page, κίνδυνος would have come from **κυνδυνος* by dissimilation, not assimilation.

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B. H. WARMINGTON. *Nero: Reality and Legend*. London, Chatto and Windus, 1969. Pp. xii + 180. 21 s. (cloth); 10 s. (paper). (*Ancient Culture and Society*.)

This is a general study of the reign of Nero rather than a biography. Its scope is apparent from the chapter titles: Sources for the History of Nero's Principate; Nero's Accession, Seneca and the Principles of Government, Co-operation between Emperor and Senate 54-62, Nero's Court 54-62, Provincial Government, The Imperial Finances, Defence of the Empire, Nero the Philhellene Emperor, The Fire of Rome in 64 and its Consequences, The Conspiracy of Piso, Stoicism and the Opposition to Nero, and The Fall of Nero. Warmington has taken pains to accommodate the non-specialist, for whom his book is primarily intended: all quotations of the sources are in translation; Latin terms—even *pater patriae*—are either translated or explained; the maps are co-ordinated effectively with the text and make few assumptions about the reader's knowledge of ancient geography; developments of Nero's reign are related carefully to the broad themes of imperial history. Still the author never popularizes his subject, and the specialist, though he may regret the absence of notes, will find this work surprisingly useful, especially as a companion to the Neronian books of Tacitus' *Annals*. Regrettably the genealogical tables record a number of incorrect dates—most notably, the birth of Nero himself is two years in arrears.

In achieving his aim of separating reality from legend in the Neronian tradition Warmington relies less than his predecessors on

standard source criticism. His method is rather to view the reign in a different perspective—that of the empire as a whole and of a century of imperial rule. The first effect of this approach is naturally to reduce Nero's historical importance. But he is also sometimes the beneficiary. For example, Warmington palliates Nero's murder of Britannicus by placing it in the context of the removal of Agrippa Postumus and Tiberius Gemellus; and by insisting on the dynastic nature of Nero's crimes until well past 62 he is able to argue that the ruling classes as such enjoyed a long respite from the persecution which they had experienced under Claudius.

Still the overall assessment of Nero is negative. In the first half of the reign the real direction of affairs was in the hands of Seneca: he is credited with the good relations between emperor and Senate; the "maintenance of strict justice for provincials" is attributed to his "régime"; his acumen and Burrus' experience are seen behind the sound fiscal policy. Nor is Nero's role in government in the years following the death of Burrus and the retirement of Seneca marked by significantly increased activity or concern. His saving virtue appears to have been a willingness to be talked out of ill-considered projects. Deprived of credit for most of the successes of his reign, he is nonetheless held accountable for his own fall, which Warmington explains chiefly as a consequence of ruling-class opposition which Nero provoked by flouting Roman tradition and abusing senatorial *libertas* but lacked the will or capacity to face.

Warmington's respect for the testimony of the sources and the restraint of his argumentation make this a work that one can recommend confidently to the amateur or undergraduate.

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J. DIGGLE. Euripides, *Phaethon*. Edited with Prolegomena and Commentary. Cambridge, University Press, 1970. Pp. 244. \$19.50.

Diggle has produced a full-scale edition of Euripides' *Phaethon* with an introduction on the myth, on the reconstruction of the play and its date, a new text, a very full commentary, and appendixes on Ovid and Nonnus, the Rhetors, and the few illustrations of the myth. It is good to have a new edition of this very interesting and baffling play in English, and this will remain a very useful work however much one may disagree with it in detail.

In the section on the myth Diggle is of course right in distinguishing the *Phaethon* of Hesiod, *Theog.*, 984-91 from our *Phaethon*, but this does not prove that Euripides could not have borrowed his rape by Aphrodite. Diggle also argues that Hyginus, 154 has a minimum to do with Hesiod. He has an interesting suggestion that Rhode may have been the mother of *Phaethon* and the *Heliades* in Aeschylus' *Heliades*.

On the date Diggle uses metrical statistics to bring Wilamowitz' "youthful drama" down to within a few years of 420. I see no reason to reject the rather later date proposed by Zielinski. It is wrong to exclude proper names because a poet with as subtle an ear as Euripides will compensate for them, and it is entirely wrong to sweep away Zielinski's qualitative distinctions with a scornful "they are not substantial."

The hypothesis (*P. Oxy.*, 2455, fr. 14) precedes the text. I do not know how far the new readings are justified. They have the remarkable effect of giving Merops six legitimate daughters. It is then suggested that they sing the marriage-song. This is most unlikely; why among other things does Merops have to fetch them from outside the palace?

The prologue is given to a mortal on no satisfactory evidence. The real question is whether the audience needs to know the identity of the bride. If they do, the only mortal who can tell them is asleep. The problem of the sun's power (7, 50) is difficult: Lesky's suggestion that Merops' palace was treated differently from the rest of the Aethiopians cannot be dismissed out of hand. In 49 Phaethon fears the heat of the sun's own house, and Klymene implies that he would not harm his son anymore than he had harmed her: this suggests that a visit could be dangerous to Merops. At the end Diggle commits himself to the unparalleled situation of the chorus entering for the parodos from the central door of the palace.

On the parodos itself I note some metrical points: 63, etc. are better called heptasyllables to distinguish them from the dimeters with which they alternate, and the free responsion of telesilleian to choriambic heptasyllable (69/77) is just like the commoner responsion of glyconic and choriambic dimeter. For 84 pentamakron is perhaps a better name than dodrans in an anapaestic context.

Diggle does not discuss the identity of the herald. Euripides must have meant something by his unique and solemn entry. Either he represents the bride or he is going to accompany Merops on a solemn mission. I think that Diggle is unclear about what happens to Merops at the end of this scene. Phaethon undoubtedly goes to Helios. According to Diggle Merops thinks Phaethon has gone to fetch his bride (see below), but what happens to Merops, because later on he leads the marriage-chorus in from outside and he cannot have been in or near the house during the sequence that embraces the messenger-speech about Phaethon and the arrival of Phaethon's body? I think that he must go to fetch the girls now.

Diggle makes the messenger Phaethon's *paidagogos*. This raises various problems. I do not see how a mortal could know the details of Phaethon's crash, and it would be unparalleled, I think, for a messenger to have a part later in the play, which according to Diggle he does. I see no evidence that the *paidagogos* appears later; the character labelled *troph* on the evidence of all other such labels is *trophos* rather than *tropheus*. But this does not dispose of the first difficulty; what mortal could hear the Sun giving Phaethon instructions in flight? Diggle suggests that a shepherd supervised the actual arrival of Phaethon's body, and this is certainly possible.

This brings us to the crucial marriage-song. First a minor metrical point: in this context 232 seems to me easiest taken as a dragged ithyphallic (see Dale, pp. 180-1) and 235 as a catalectic version of it. Then we read: "Since previous commentators, by muddled thinking and heavy-handed emendation, have foisted on to Euripides a bizarre fantasy of their own invention, . . ." After this fanfare it is disappointing only to find warmed-up Weil. There are, of course, two questions; is the solution likely, and do the words carry the meaning? According to this theory "your newly-yoked child" is Hymen, and the bride of Phaethon is one of the daughters of Helios. There appears to be no Greek evidence for Hymen being the child of Aphrodite and no evidence at all for his being hidden in heaven by Aphrodite (234), nor is there evidence for an intended marriage between the daughter of Helios and Phaethon. This would not necessarily matter if Euripides had a strong reason for inventing these myths. To close the strophe with an allusion to an unknown myth about Hymen would be at least perverse when the audience is primarily interested in the present marriage.

One argument against the identification of the bride is given perhaps inadvertently by Diggle himself when he says at the end of his account of the messenger speech: "how the marriage problem, with which Phaethon's request to Helios at least temporarily conflicts, was settled to the satisfaction of Helios and the bride, we cannot guess." Nor can we guess why Euripides emphasises the dangers of approaching Helios' house (50) if Merops can send Phaethon there and if he has been there to negotiate with Helios himself. The whole idea of the bridegroom going to fetch the bride before dawn is surely in any case bizarre. And is a daughter of Helios a great enough goddess for the extravagant language of the antistrophe of the marriage-song?

Finally the terminology is difficult. In the strophe "your newly-yoked child" has got to mean something like "your child (Hymen) since his wedding-night." In the antistrophe *νυμφεύει* has to mean "preside over the marriage of" instead of "marry." The only parallel for this use of the middle appears to be *Hippolytus*, 561, where it is an emendation by Kirchhoff and very doubtfully necessary. (Diggle's substitution of the second for the third person of the verb is a minor point; but possibly the chorus sing the antistrophe without Merops and therefore use the third person as in the papyrus.) I do not see how to avoid Wilamowitz' conclusion that the bride is Aphrodite and that Euripides borrowed his transference to heaven from the legend of the other Phaethon. But this does not mean that anyone except Merops thought of it as an ordinary marriage.

For the end of the play there are few clues (and on any reasonable calculation of the preceding gaps a considerable stretch of play is left). Merops has to learn the parentage of Phaethon and presumably tries to punish Klymene and is prevented by a *deus ex machina*. This sequence certainly starts with a dialogue between a character labelled *troph*, who by all analogy should be Klymene's nurse rather than Phaethon's *paidagogos*, as Diggle thinks. A great deal remains uncertain and disputable but it is very useful to have

an up-to-date text with full discussion of palaeographical detail and a commentary with a wealth of parallels for the language and the thought.

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H. BARDON, ed. *Catulli Carmina*. Bruxelles, Latomus: Revue d'Études Latines, 1970. Pp. 229. 375 F. (*Collection Latomus*, 112.)

If there is now little need for a new edition of Catullus, there is no need for this one. It consists of an introduction (nine pages on "Vie et Oeuvre," eighteen pages on "Le Texte"), a text with full apparatus, a facing translation with notes, and an Index Nominum. The translation claims to "reproduce the spirit and manner of the text" and to deal openly with Catullus' vulgarity; unfortunately (for it may be the only merit of the book) I cannot judge its success. The occasional notes are factual rather than critical, identifying names, places, allusions, or commenting on a difficulty of language or of text: they contain little that is new. Likewise, the patchwork of pages in the Introduction devoted to "Life and Work" are mechanical and flat: Bardon bows to a wide range of scholars without coming to grips with any particular difficulties. (One interesting detail: he seriously entertains the idea that Catullus died in 47 B. C., though without real conviction.) It is, however, the text that claims the most attention, which is a pity: Bardon is no editor or textual critic, and there are definite signs that he became bored with the job before he had finished.

Bardon's main purpose seems to be the resuscitation of the Datanus: "Le *Datanus* apporte la preuve que les groupes X et O ne constituent pas les seules branches de la tradition dite V: il est le témoin,—interpolé et déformé certes,—d'une autre famille, et il atteste la complexité d'une tradition qu'on s'acharne en vain à réduire aux deux groupes X et O" (p. 22). The validity of this proposition must be demonstrated in two ways: there may be external indications that D inherited readings from a tradition independent of V; there must be definite proof that D has good readings of its own which represent this independent tradition and cannot be the result of humanist conjecture.

Bardon's attempts to demonstrate a tradition independent of the Veronensis are extremely sloppy and often incoherent. O and X, he says, are two "families" (and thus the siglum V is never found in his apparatus, though "*codd.*" often appears), and he refers to D as another "family" (p. 22, quoted above); but the critic's "dream," a tripartite stemma, vanishes almost immediately, when we realize that Bardon means rather that there are two "archetypes" (*pace* Maas!) represented by V and by another stream rising in antiquity, flowing through the ninth-century Thuaneus, and trickling finally into D. Bardon's attempt to show that T is independent of X, O

(pp. 19-20) is feeble: in the instances he cites where T has a better reading than X, O, the latter can, of course, easily derive from the T tradition. Bardon, too, believes every humanist statement about readings to be found in their rare old MSS; and, even more incredibly, he refers in the same breath to a variant in Apuleius which "confirms the hypothesis . . . of the existence of an archetype other than V."

The situation is no better when one examines the long list of readings from D cited by Bardon presumably to illustrate and prove its independence from the V tradition ("... des leçons . . . qui le situent à part des familles O et X," p. 21). We are given readings of D which in most cases are to be found earlier. Thus, for example, "62, 12 *meditata requirunt* (D, T): *meditare querunt* X, O" might at first glance cause a quickening of the pulse; the fact, though, is that the right reading *meditata requirunt* is a conjecture of η , and thus enters the Italian tradition. Even more blatantly misrepresented is "83, 4 *sana* (D): *samia* X, *sanna* O," which should be "*sanna* O, *samia* X (al. *sana* R)." And so it goes. Occasionally, when not collecting earlier conjectures, D can be seen conjecturing himself, but Bardon, again incredibly, is oblivious to this aspect of his favorite: in fact, he seems to consider all readings in the *Itali* as genuine tradition. (His only mention of humanist scholarship is, "Il nous paraît inexact de considérer systématiquement comme conjectures d'humanistes des leçons importantes fournies par d'autres manuscrits.") The Datanus after all is dated 1463, after Mynors' groups α , β , γ , δ , ϵ , and at the time humanist criticism of Catullus was at its peak (groups ζ , η ; as Mynors elegantly notes, "*Illuxisse deinde studiis Catullianis diem, nisi potius aetatem quandam dicendum, nos docet messis uberrima emendationum ante annum MCCCCLXI factarum plures in codices recondita*"—but of all this, hardly a word by Bardon). D's part in the transmission of Catullus is very similar to that of the Leidensis for Tacitus, *Ann. XI-Hist. V*, interesting as a collection of previous conjectures with an occasional one of its own; and in D too one may note readings ranging from the impossibly bad to the very good. Bardon has done nothing to support his claim for D and has ignored the one aspect that gives it some interest (though little real importance)—that it is a document of humanist scholarship. "Parisians ate rats in the siege. . ."

Bardon's app. crit. is a terrible mess, and anything but critical. He cites frequently two other MSS, A (Ambrosianus M 38 sup.) and Len. (Leningrad, Cl. lat. 4° V6), the first for no apparent reason, the latter because "Son principal intérêt est de n'avoir pas été entièrement collationné." Often a selection of editors follow readings like pearls on a string (e.g. at random, 22, 13: "*tritius Pontanus, Lachmann, Ellis, Schuster*: *tristius* X, O, *scitius* L. Mueller, Kroll, Mynors": *tritius* wins, 4 to 3); a properly trained student would translate 23, 1 "*furi* β , Len., Mynors: *furei* X, O, *edd.*" as "Mynors, before the discovery of β and Len., had conjectured *Furi* for the *Furei* of V and all the editors," and would be wrong. Again, one must be careful to check that readings attributed to D do not in fact occur earlier in the tradition. Not a single obelus appears in the text. Orthography is inconsistent;

Bardon prints, for instance, *loedere* (17, 1), *Romulei* (28, 15), and *sei* (39, 2); but then why not *acsuleis* (Ellis) for *axulis* (17, 3) or *quoi* for *cui* (17, 14), etc., where the indications for the archaic spelling in the MSS are just as good? Bardon's text is conservative, generally acceptable, and without particular interest. At 66, 70, however, text and translation are at odds, and at 6, 14 Bardon reads *nec* but translates *ni*.

The worst feature of this edition, however, is the shocking lack of care taken in proof reading: anyone who cares to use it will have to check every word. T. P. Wisemann (p. 7), E. A. Havelok (p. 13), P. K. Marshall (p. 67, three times), and Good (G. P. Gould? at 115, 5) will agree. Even in the text there are four errors (not counting some oddities of spelling and a misnumbered line): 52, 4; 54, 1; *salsa* omitted in 64, 6; and the unmetrical and monstrous (try translating it) "*reclude pectus: nudum / En hic in roseis latet papillis*" (55, 11-12), attributed to poor Friedrich in the app. crit. In the Test. and app. crit. there are too many errors of all sorts to list, but a sample can be given here. Readings of O are attributed to D at 9, 1 and 64, 68 (of D to O at 78b, 1), are omitted at 2, 3; 40, 8; 64, 61, 66; and invented at 64, 330 (O, as Bardon also notes, omits the verse). The reading of X is omitted at 39, 4; *herculei* (55, 13) and *exuviae* (66, 62) are both in fact read by X, O. R and R² should exchange the readings reported by Bardon at 8, 4; 22, 17; 37, 2; 38, 2; 39, 11; 45, 5; 61, 119; 64, 106, 132; R² should be credited with the correct reading at 64, 253, 293. There is no note on 64, 388 *venissent* (-et V) or on 64, 392 *ruentes* (t- V) or on 61, 161 *subi* R²: *sibi* V. Schmidt (and Baehrens) conjectured *mi ista ipse valet* at 6, 12, not *ni* . . . At 23, 15 "*sit O: sit Xm*" should be ". . . si Xm." At 112, 2 *te scindat* belongs to Schwabe, not Mynors. These, I repeat, are just a sample. When, in two lines of a Test. (at 39, 11) one finds two misspellings and an omitted word, or (in the Introduction, p. 16) the scribe's note to G is transcribed with two misspellings, one wonders who, if anyone, was responsible for the proof sheets. It does not seem likely that Bardon saw them himself, for one of his three emendations, *et* for *ut* (V) at 2, 8 (the other two at 29, 23 and 66, 78 are trivial), is actually attributed to the MSS: the note there reads, "*et tam ego, e coniectura Johannis Préaux (ut tam): et cum X, O. . .*"

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HUGH LLOYD-JONES. Aeschylus, Agamemnon. The Libation Bearers. The Eumenides. Translation with Commentary. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1970. Pp. xx + 107; xxii + 73; xvi + 79. (*Greek Drama Series*.)

A translator can hardly abstain from giving to his work a certain cast that arises from either his own concerns or what he believes are the concerns of the author. Richmond Lattimore's *Oresteia* was primarily false to the original in the first respect, Hugh Lloyd-Jones' is primarily false in the second. Lattimore's translation was colored by the post-Georgian Anglo-American school of literary criticism, for which the essence of poetry was imagery and image-patterns. The consequence of this was twofold: lack of clarity and of notes. Notes were unnecessary because poetry was understood "unhistorically," the poem too sealed off from the world for us to need the world for understanding it. Obscurity, on the other hand, was not a fault, since thought was subordinate to texture and tone. Lloyd-Jones' translation and commentary do not perplex the reader in either respect. The English is clear and meaningful; notes on each page explain what the words in themselves cannot. Yet Lloyd-Jones seems to distort the original no less than did Lattimore.

One characteristic of Aeschylus' language is what can be called jamming: the combination of words that do not "naturally" belong together (cf. *Ag.*, 11). This is not merely a matter of "style." δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις βίαιος σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων (*Ag.*, 182) illustrates the combination of force and grace by the jamming of the "high" word σεμνόν with the "low" word σέλμα. Lloyd-Jones so translates it as to remove the paradox and the problem: "There is, I think, a grace that comes by violence from the gods seated upon the dread bench of the helmsman." To make the violence precede the grace trivializes the thought; Cassandra, who embodies the co-presence of divine grace and violence, even as does the Trojan War itself, should have been enough to warn one away from this interpretation: ἀλλ' ἦν παλαιστῆς κάρτ' ἐμοὶ πνέων χάριν (1206). That this kind of jamming begins to diminish in the course of the trilogy (*Ag.*, 926-7 is the first sign of its future disappearance), and is almost entirely absent from the *Eumenides*, suggests one way in which Aeschylus welded his poetic powers to his intention. Law, he implies, is the uneasy resolution of βία and χάρις (cf. *Ag.*, 1207).

The watchman calls the stars he has observed a δμήγυρις (*Ag.*, 4); and this metaphor could dispense with a note were it not that somewhere near the beginning of the *Choephoroi*, Orestes remarks on the δμήγυρις of mourning women (10), and then paradoxically qualifies it with φάρεσιν μελαγχίμοις πρέπονσα, for the watchman too speaks of the stars as ἐμπρέποντας (cf. *Ch.*, 356). One is thus led to examine the occurrence of πρέπει in the trilogy: *Ag.* has 17, *Ch.* 6 (of which four are in the first eighty lines), *Eum.* 4 (the last three are 914, 995, 1031). However this is to be understood, the translator must give a glossary that records its every instance along with the variety of ways it has been translated. Without such help

the reader is at the mercy of the translator; and he has no hope of understanding, "untrammelled by preconceptions and conventional categorizations" (Maynard Mack's Foreword). There are many other words that would have to be recorded. The reader should be told who first speaks of Olympian gods, who of punishment after death, and when τὸ δίκαιον, as opposed to the goddess Δίκη, occurs (*Ch.*, 308). That adverbial δίκην occurs at least as often in the trilogy (24 times) as in all the rest of classical poetry combined suffices to indicate the importance of statistics.

Lloyd-Jones' indifference to linguistic matters of this kind is not unrelated to the difficulties from which his overall interpretation suffers. Aeschylus, he says, was not concerned with presenting "individual autonomy" (*Ag.*, p. 6). To have individuality means for Lloyd-Jones to be a character, and only idiosyncrasy would guarantee that the poet is concerned with the heart. Only if the characters stepped out of character, i.e., became comic, would he grant Aeschylus a "psychology." Aegisthus, we are told, is shown to be a "mean and contemptible person" through his frequent use of proverbs; but since everyone in the play cites proverbs, the conclusion is unwarranted. To translate φῶτα (*Ag.*, 1665) as "fellow" is tendentious. Aegisthus speaks proverbially and therefore brutally because he has a view of justice for which proverbs are perfectly adequate, whereas everyone else has been more deeply affected by the problem of justice. What Lloyd-Jones is reacting to in Aegisthus is the character of the others, who have shown themselves his superior in precisely that "individual autonomy" which Lloyd-Jones denies them. Cassandra says that she pities the unfortunate more than the fortunate (1330). Lloyd-Jones is inclined to accept the emendation that would make her say that she pities both equally. But perhaps Cassandra means what she says: she pities herself more than Agamemnon. Cassandra's vision of the future is partly dictated by her desire to be avenged (1279 f.); but Orestes does not kill his mother to avenge her. Cassandra is not merely the spokesman for the view that the house of Atreus is under a curse. That she is the first to express such a view, and that this essentially changes the sequel—Clytemnestra ultimately abandons her own case against Agamemnon—cannot be denied; but equally important are these questions: Why does Clytemnestra leave Cassandra outside, as if she knew that Cassandra would feel compelled to enter? Would she have killed her afterwards? Does Cassandra properly understand Apollo's punishment? Why should Cassandra side with Agamemnon, the conqueror of her city and the destroyer of her family? Lloyd-Jones raises none of these questions. Plot without soul is empty, soul without plot is blind.

Lloyd-Jones denies that the conjuration in *Choephoroi* takes place in order to overcome Orestes' reluctance to commit matricide. And yet, as he admits, the conjuration has the effect of steeling Orestes for the crime. The *Persians*, moreover, does give us a conjuration; there the Queen tells the Chorus to call Darius up from the dead, and they proceed to do so. In the *Choephoroi*, the *kommos* does not begin as a conjuration; it is not until the Chorus inform Orestes that there is life after death that all work themselves up to a con-

juration. Darius, moreover, appears; Agamemnon does not. If Lloyd-Jones is right, the question must be raised: Why does Orestes take heart from an unsuccessful rite? Orestes has no doubt, according to Lloyd-Jones, that right is on his side; but it is Lloyd-Jones and not Aeschylus who has Orestes speak of his "duty" to kill his mother (925); and it is Orestes who says, "Ἀπὸς Ἀπὲρ ξυμβαλεῖ, Δίκη Δίκη. The very fact that Orestes implies that simply private and political considerations, regardless of Apollo's oracle, induce him to commit matricide (298-304) shows that divine right is no longer manifest. The emblem of the *Choephoroi* is Hermes, who is as invisible in daylight as at night (817-18). The low and everyday come into their own: the *πρόμαρτις* Nurse replaces Cassandra. Orestes knocks upon the palace door and says like any Athenian, but unlike any other tragic figure, *παῖ παῖ* (653; cf. Sophocles, *Ant.*, 1289). Lloyd-Jones has the Chorus speak of Orestes as a hero (808); but no tragedian ever speaks of heroes in this Homeric sense.

How Lloyd-Jones' well-known interpretation of Aeschylus' theodicy skews his translation and commentary is too complex an issue to be discussed here. This note, however, is typical: "The *argumentum ad hominem* by the Erinyes [in which they cite Zeus' binding of his own father as evidence that the father is not due all reverence] is calculated to disturb those who think that Aeschylean theology always occupies the loftiest height of abstract speculation" (*Eum.*, p. 51). The Chorus' argument cannot fairly be described as *ad hominem* or even *ad deum*; it assumes that men should do what the gods do and not what the gods tell men to do. Lloyd-Jones, moreover, assumes that to be profound is to be abstract; but one could readily deny Aeschylus the one without denying him the other. "Primitive" and "archaic," as opposed to "modern," words that recur throughout Lloyd-Jones' notes, do not make the best framework for interpreting a poet who revealed the inadequacy of Promethean wisdom.

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Ricerche sui Papiri Ercolanesi, a cura di FRANCESCO SBORDONE,
Volume I. Naples, Giannini Editore, 1969. Pp. 372. L. 6,000.

This is the first volume of a comprehensive series devoted to the papyri of Herculaneum and related material. The editor of this series, F. Sbordone, says in his introduction: "Essa comporta non solo la pubblicazione dei testi, ma anche le varie esigenze tecniche del restauro (o svolgimento, o conservazione) sia dei Papiri Ercolanesi che delle Tavole Cerate venute alla luce nell'area pompeiana."

The present volume contains three monographs, each an edition with extensive commentary: 1) F. Longo, *Nausifane nei Papiri Ercolanesi*; 2) G. M. Rispoli, *Il primo libro del περὶ μουσικῆς di Filodemo*; 3) F. Sbordone, *Il quarto libro del περὶ ποιημάτων di Filodemo*.

In general the commentaries contain much useful information.

Especially interesting is the first monograph: The author, F. Longo, assembles all that is known about Nausiphanes, and he sketches his philosophical system on the basis of Philodemus' long polemic against him in *Περὶ ῥητορικῆς*, 6. In the course of this sketch, Longo provides a complete text of a papyrus briefly referred to by Usener (*Epicurea*, p. 414), shows its pertinence to Nausiphanes, and suggests, with strong probability, that it belongs to *Περὶ ῥητορικῆς*, 6.

The edition of the Greek text, however, can be improved by comparing it with the accompanying hand drawings.¹ I here give several paleographic observations:

2-3 There is not enough room for the editor's ἀκρο[ασάμε]νοι. Therefore read ἀκρο[ώμ]ενοι.

5 τί δ]ή is impossible, since the pap.² has]ν.

12 There is no room for [αὐτόν, and the restoration is suspect at any rate, since it rests on an emendation in line 13.

17 οὐτω ed. The pap. has οὐπω (the right vertical of the pi is gone, and the letter superficially resembles a tau, but it is unlike any other tau on the pap.).

The other monographs in this volume have a higher standard of editorial accuracy, though it is clear that in several places they too require revision. Rispoli's text at times contains incorrect readings; e. g. on p. 38, in line 10 the pap. has ἄρτα not αἰτά[ς]. Some improvements should also be made on Sbordone's text, where we are fortunate in having, besides the hand drawings, a good set of photographs at the end of the volume; cf. e. g. p. 319, where the right margin, as restored, is far too uneven for all the supplements to be correct.

But these are relatively minor criticisms of *Editionstechnik*.³ The commentaries, which contain much of value, contribute significantly to our understanding of the texts, and the book is a timely response to E. G. Turner's suggestion (*Greek Papyri* [Princeton, 1968], p. 41): "Outside Egypt it is time for work to be resumed vigorously at Herculaneum." I applaud the editors' enthusiasm for undertaking such difficult papyri, and I recommend their volume to all scholars who are interested in *Herculaneusia*. They will find it both interesting and stimulating.

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¹The hand drawings in this volume are usually the *disegni* (i. e. the *apographon Osoniense* and the *apographon Neapolitanum*).

²Throughout this review I use "pap." in a loose sense, including not only the cases where the papyrus still survives (Monograph 3), but also the instances where the text depends solely upon the *disegni* (Monographs 1 and 2).

³Those who are interested in a more rigorous approach to the editing of Herculaneum papyri should consult A. Henrichs, "Toward a New Edition of Philodemus' Treatise *On Piety*," forthcoming in *G. R. B. S.*, XIII (1972).

J. M. RIST. Plotinus: The Road to Reality. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1967. Pp. vii + 280. \$9.50.

It is Professor Rist's avowed purpose to give in this work a detailed discussion of certain problems in Plotinus' thought and not an outline of his philosophy. In accordance with this purpose—apart from a short introduction, a conclusion, a chapter on Plotinus' life, and one on Neoplatonic Faith—the bulk of the book is devoted to some of the central problems of the *Enneads*. It is difficult to criticize either the author's aims or the headings under which he discusses Plotinus' thought. Rist is well aware of the fact that Plotinus' writings do not easily lend themselves to this type of treatment, and he often stresses the need of being acquainted with the whole of the *Enneads* to be able to understand even a single sentence in them. If the reader is disappointed with the handling of Plotinus in this book it is mostly because the author's approach to the topics selected for discussion is too much influenced by some recent studies and does not arise for the most part from the difficulties presented by the text itself. Important passages are not discussed in contexts where they are highly relevant, and in his treatment of Plotinus' predecessors Rist's account omits too many things and not infrequently runs into positive misinterpretation. I do not mean to deny that Rist makes some good observations, but his claims to originality are exaggerated and are not made more convincing because he often scores a point against Inge. In the short space assigned to this review only a few specific points may be touched upon briefly.

Rist acknowledges that almost all we know about Plotinus' life comes from Porphyry, yet he attacks Porphyry for lack of understanding and even suggests that he at times suppresses evidence. Porphyry's *Life* is an important document in itself, though the student of Plotinus is entitled to scepticism. But it is difficult to see what is to be gained by Rist's own conjectures. There is no evidence to support Harder's notion that Plotinus' permission to join Gordian's expedition and his dangerous position after the latter's death were due to connections with senatorial circles at Rome. The same may be said of Rist's refusal to believe Porphyry when he tells us that Platonopolis failed because of the machinations of courtiers; the failure was probably due, according to Rist, to the difficulty of finding settlers. How would these conjectures, even if true, help us in understanding Plotinus' character and thought, which is the reason given by Rist for dealing with Plotinus' life at all?

Though Rist devotes a chapter to mysticism, it would have been more appropriate to deal with this subject in connection with Plotinus' One; for some of Plotinus' difficult statements about the One are better explained in relation to his mystical experience, to his dependence on the school tradition, and to the failure of language, rather than by saying that Plotinus' One is Infinite Being and that in this connection Plotinus held a doctrine of analogy.

In his discussion of Plato's influence Rist's treatment runs into serious difficulty. Fair examples of this are his statement that the

Platonic Good is identical with the One and his denial that Plato posited a Form of Being; these misinterpretations have influenced his discussion of Plotinus. Plato's and Plotinus' conceptions of Beauty have similarities and also marked differences, but it is not true that Plato failed to see that sometimes the claims of Beauty and of the Good on man are incompatible. Plato, who held that the higher virtues do not have visible images as beauty does (cf. *Phaedrus*, 250 A-D; *Politicus*, 285 D-286 A), could neither have identified Beauty and Goodness nor have considered the former as a logically necessary part of the latter. Rist himself says that though courage and moderation are parts of virtue they can be in opposition to one another. This is Plato's customary way of showing that the several virtues are different because they have different ends; yet virtue for Plato is identical with the Good (and the good of *Republic* 509 B is, *pace* Rist, the idea of the Good, cf. 505 A-B, 506 D-E, 507 A-B, 508 B-C, 508 E-509 A, 540 A, etc.). Is one to deny, after the *Phaedrus*, that for Plato love of beauty can be evil? Nor is Rist right when he states that for Plato symmetry is of the essence of Beauty; when Plotinus rejects this notion he is refuting the Stoics, not Plato. For Plotinus the ultimate source of Beauty is the Good; after this comes νοῦς which is τὸ καλόν; then soul is made beautiful by νοῦς; and everything else, actions, bodies, etc., is made beautiful by the soul, which gives form to these things in so far as they can have it. One does not do justice to this conception by saying that for Plotinus the essence of Beauty is life.

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KARL-ERNST PETZOLD. Studien zur Methode des Polybios und zu ihrer historischen Auswertung. Munich, Beck, 1969. Pp. 223. DM 38. (*Vestigia*, IX.)

The territory Petzold is staking out is opposed to that of Pédech,¹ who saw Polybius primarily as a scientist, interested in history as a series of problems to be solved, but with the didactic element kept secondary. Still, Pédech's recognition of the apodeictic method in Polybius is approved by Petzold; the problem is that this method was used in a far more thoroughgoing way than Pédech realized. Following some suggestions of his teacher, Matthias Gelzer, Petzold wrote this study as a Habilitationsschrift for the University of Frankfurt (Main) in 1966, attempting to show how the apodeictic method was employed pervasively by Polybius throughout the first two books, the προκατασκευή, just where Pédech thought it impossible. Here we have, according to Petzold, not just a compressed summary of events preceding the Second Punic War, but a purposeful exposition of basic causes.

¹ P. Pédech, *La méthode historique de Polybe* (Paris, 1964).

The bulk of Petzold's book is divided into two parts, each dealing with a different section of the *προκατασκευή*. The first takes up the *Achaica*—II, 37-70. Petzold argues that Polybius' goal of teaching his readers a practical understanding of causes so that they can master events would hardly be served by placing conclusions on a platter. Instead, readers are given a glimpse into the "workshop" of the historian. Polybius employs here the descriptive form of the apodeictic method, the *argumentierende* report, not to be confused with *narratio*. It takes the form of *ἀπόφασις-πράγματα* and serves to convey the main ideas, the *κεφάλαια*. These are not arranged chronologically, but by categories, and in the *προκατασκευή* their purpose is to convey the basic premises of Rome's rise to world empire.

In the *Achaica*, Polybius also uses the comparative method, but in such a way as to suggest to Petzold that the *Achaica* was added after most of the rest of the work had been completed. Although Polybius' original purpose had been to give the reader confidence in the material underpinnings of Roman world conquest, his interests shifted and he came to feel that moral principle (*προαίρεσις*) was more important. So he broadened his history, alluded to changes in the Roman *προαίρεσις*, and inserted the *Achaica* with its theme that the success of the Achaean League was due to its democratic ideology. It will be evident that Book VI is involved here, too. Originally the mixed constitution was to be the source of Roman success. But Petzold believes that Polybius inserted three passages into Book VI, introducing "biological" theories and evolutionary principles, thus opening the way, theoretically, for the eventual overthrow of Rome.

Modern scholarship has taken Polybius severely to task for seeming to promote the "legend of a triple alliance" (Walbank) between Doson, Cleomenes, and Aetolia by his account at II, 45 ff. Yet this false impression, Petzold argues, is due to a misunderstanding of Polybius' method. The section which seems to refer to a pact is an *argumentierende* part, separated from the historical part by a bracketing system of phrases. The narrative is broken. There is no logical development of facts supporting his judgment, and close examination shows that he was simply suggesting the pact as a possibility.

Petzold's final section is devoted to resolving some problems in the account of the preliminaries of the First Punic War. He dates the battle at the Longanus to 269 and argues that there is no evidence of imperialistic goals in either Roman or Carthaginian policy at the time of the Roman crossing to Sicily; Roman policy, still oriented toward the interior, was quite innocent of any conception of the sea as a field of operations.

Petzold's German is not the most graceful, but any historian who wants to use Polybius as a source will henceforth have to take this book into account.

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DANIEL BABUT. Plutarque De La Vertu Éthique. Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1969. Pp. 188. (*Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon*, XV.)

Babut has contributed much to understanding a neglected treatise, studying it for itself "et en y cherchant avant tout ce que l'auteur a voulu y mettre et ce que nous pouvons y apprendre . . . sur l'orientation de sa pensée et sur sa personnalité de philosophe et d'écrivain" (p. 2). Since the treatise's organization appears loose, and occasionally incoherent, Babut devotes much attention to its composition. Many seeming inconsistencies, digressions, abrupt transitions, and, in particular, the relationship between the work's two main themes (the nature of ethical virtue, 440D-445A, and the refutation of "la théorie intellectualiste des passions," 446E-451C) are explained by Plutarch's anti-Stoic attitude. This tendency of the treatise has, of course, been noted by others, e. g. K. Ziegler. Babut's main contribution is to offer cogent arguments showing that the two major themes, and also the treatise's lesser sections, are united "par un lien essentiel, et non accidentel" (p. 42), i. e. Plutarch's anti-Stoicism. At times, however, Babut perhaps imposes more order than exists in Plutarch's reasoning. He himself sees in 448D-449A "le résultat d'un effort conscient de synthèse entre les deux thèmes . . . effort que l'on peut juger maladroit sans doute . . ." (p. 25).

Parts II and III of the introduction (pp. 44-80) are devoted to the treatise's sources and its historical importance for understanding Plutarch's thought. In these parts, Babut argues convincingly against Ringeltaube's views (*Quaestiones ad veterum philosophorum de affectibus doctrinam pertinentes* [Diss., Göttingen, 1913], pp. 14-29), adopted by Pohlenz, (a) that Andronicus of Rhodes was an intermediate source, furnishing Plutarch with Posidonian materials for his attack on orthodox Stoicism and for Aristotelian themes of the treatise's first part (pp. 44-9); and (b) that Posidonius is a primary source for the treatise's second part (pp. 54-65). Babut concludes "qu'il n'y rien de spécifiquement poseidonien dans notre traité, y compris dans sa seconde partie" (p. 65). Especially judicious is Babut's examination of alleged Aristotelian influence (pp. 66 f.). Concerning Plutarch's bipartition of the soul into rational and irrational parts, Babut maintains that there is no *a priori* reason "de supposer que le préférence . . . pour la bipartition témoigne d'un abandon des principes de la psychologie platonicienne au profit de la doctrine aristotélicienne des traités éthiques" (p. 71). According to Babut, Plutarch is neither an Aristotelian nor an eclectic: ". . . il restait au contraire sur un terrain authentiquement platonicien" (p. 75).

De virt. mor. is one of Plutarch's most difficult works to date, and for this reason Babut's discussion of its chronology is unsatisfactory, being based on the treatise's relation to other anti-Stoic writings. He may be correct in assuming that *De Stoic. rep.* is anterior to *De virt. mor.* (pp. 81 f.), and that there is an affinity between the latter and *De prof. in virt.*, but nothing certain can be concluded.

A brief section (V, pp. 84-5) dealing with the text is useful in determining Babut's divergence from Pohlenz's Teubner edition. Babut is generally conservative, preferring the readings of most or all MSS and tending to reject the "corrections" of Pohlenz. Thus, at 440E 1, he rejects the reading of "certains manuscrits (notamment des planudéens)" and of Pohlenz. He retains *ἄλλον καὶ ἄκρατον* with *ἀρετῇ*, remarking correctly that it "n'a rien d'impossible" (p. 131, n. 4). Again, at 441B 1 he prefers, with good reason, the reading of all MSS: *κατὰ τὸ ποιόν*. An original emendation of Babut is to read *παράινειν* instead of *περαίνειν* at 443A 1 (see p. 144, n. 50), a minimal change from the reading of all MSS, which clarifies an otherwise strange sentence. His removal of *σοφία* (in all MSS) at 444D 1, however, is less judicious. There is reason for omitting *φρόνησις*, but Plutarch's words, . . . *περὶ τὸν εἰλικρινῆ καὶ ἀπαθῆ νοῦν συνισταμένη . . . αὐτοτελής . . . καὶ δύναμις ἣ τὸ θεϊότατον ἐγγίνεται τῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ μακαριώτατον . . .*, seem especially appropriate as a description of *σοφία*. Babut's reason for rejecting *σοφία* ". . . car P. n'a dû opposer une vertu dianoétique à l'ensemble des vertus éthiques" (p. 152, n. 92) does not seem strong, especially in view of the immediate context. If *φρόνησις* be excised, there is nothing but *σοφία* which could be opposed to the ethical virtues.

Generally Babut's translation is good, and the commentary helpful, though perhaps occasionally too brief and not always critical; he accepts, e.g., reports by Cicero, Galen, and others, that Pythagoras divided the soul into two parts (p. 135, n. 23).

In sum, Babut's work is a readable and welcome addition to Plutarchan studies.

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PIERRE HUART. *Le vocabulaire de l'analyse psychologique dans l'oeuvre de Thucydide*. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1968. Pp. 545. (*Études et Commentaires*, LXIX.)

"La méthode de Thucydide est nouvelle . . . il est le premier à avoir voulu réaliser une histoire scientifique, qui repose essentiellement sur une étude psychologique de l'homme; ce 'pionnier,' cet 'aventurier de la pensée' n'a-t-il pas eu aussi, dans une certaine mesure, à se créer, sinon une langue nouvelle, du moins un style original, à faire figure, là encore, de 'pionnier'?" (Introduction). Huart then proceeds to analyse exhaustively the use by Thucydides of words that he deems to possess psychological connotations. The titles of the chapters indicate the scope: Thucydide et les 'facultés de l'âme,' Les émotions, La connaissance (information et enquête, savoir et opinion, de la pensée à l'action), Psychologie de l'action, L'idéal et les vertus dans le vocabulaire de l'analyse psychologique, Conclusion ("Thucydide . . . nous a laissé un 'monument éternel' sur la nature humaine"). The Bibliographie is lengthy; the Index is a list of words studied in the text.

There is some value to a study such as this. The danger, however, is that the author will press too hard and see in individual words psychologically significant shades of meaning of which Thucydides himself was quite unaware. I estimate that about thirteen hundred words are entered in the Index. It is to me preposterous to suggest that all have a legitimate place in the "vocabulaire psychologique" of a historian whom Huart himself recognises as an intellectual who built his own style and therefore his own intellectual vocabulary.

Huart knows the text well and is familiar with the modern literature. There is much here that is perceptive, e.g., on the speeches, p. 11) but there is also far too much that is repetitive and obvious. As a result, prolonged concentration on the book is extremely difficult, and the reader is likely to experience irritation and a sense of tedium. My impression is that we have an exhaustive draft, satisfactory perhaps in a dissertation, that has not been subjected to a final rigorous editing that the published book requires. There are similar faults in the bibliography: the editions of ancient authors are listed in no systematic order; some moderns are granted initials, some are not. The proof-reading, on the other hand, has been well done.

Despite my strictures, the book will prove useful, chiefly as a work of reference.

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CLAUDE MOSSÉ. *The Ancient World at Work*. Translated from the French by Janet Lloyd. New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1969. Pp. 126. \$5.00. (*Ancient Culture and Society Series*.)

For the last century and more, work has been considered a very desirable activity; nowadays, especially in May, one's students seem to be as dubious of its values as was much of literate antiquity. Mlle. Mossé has divided her brief study of the subject into three parts: first, the social, political, intellectual, and technological conditions affecting ancient work; then rural activities; and finally the labor of urban artisans. Two brief appendices give translations of two Athenian inscriptions in part (*I.G.*, II,² 1688; I,² 373) and comments on ancient monetary equivalents (incidentally, Rome may have begun to strike the *denarius* only at the end of the third century, but had issued silver coins earlier). The bibliography, which was prepared for this translation, lists only works in English; another change from the French edition of 1966 is the addition of many relevant quotations from ancient authors. The index is adequate; there are four plates.

The discussion is set firmly within the *polis* framework. The author uses Rome, both republican and imperial, as a counterpoint to Athens, her prime Greek example; this restriction produces the somewhat odd conclusion that after the fall of Athens "the problem

of labour in Greece became frozen in a permanently archaic condition." At points the treatment is very detailed, as on the provision of wheat and bread to Rome in the Late Empire; elsewhere analysis is rather brief. In treating the idea of work in antiquity in six pages, for instance, Mlle. Mossé emphasizes aristocratic prejudice against a state of dependency and the presence of slavery. One wishes that scholars would keep in mind the fact that ancient society was based on back-breaking physical labor which killed most men by their 30's; the idealization of work has come largely in an era when these conditions no longer persist. Even in her discussion of agricultural activity the human toil involved is not adequately stressed; remember the bitter words of a figure in Ronald Blythe's *Akenfield*, "It was the farm versus their bodies, and the farm always won."

Apart from possible difficulties in coping with the broad canvas of a millennium, the beginning student should have no problems in following the discussion; the book can easily be read in an evening. For those who complain that ancient history is simply a tale of battles and civil strife the work may have its interest.

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